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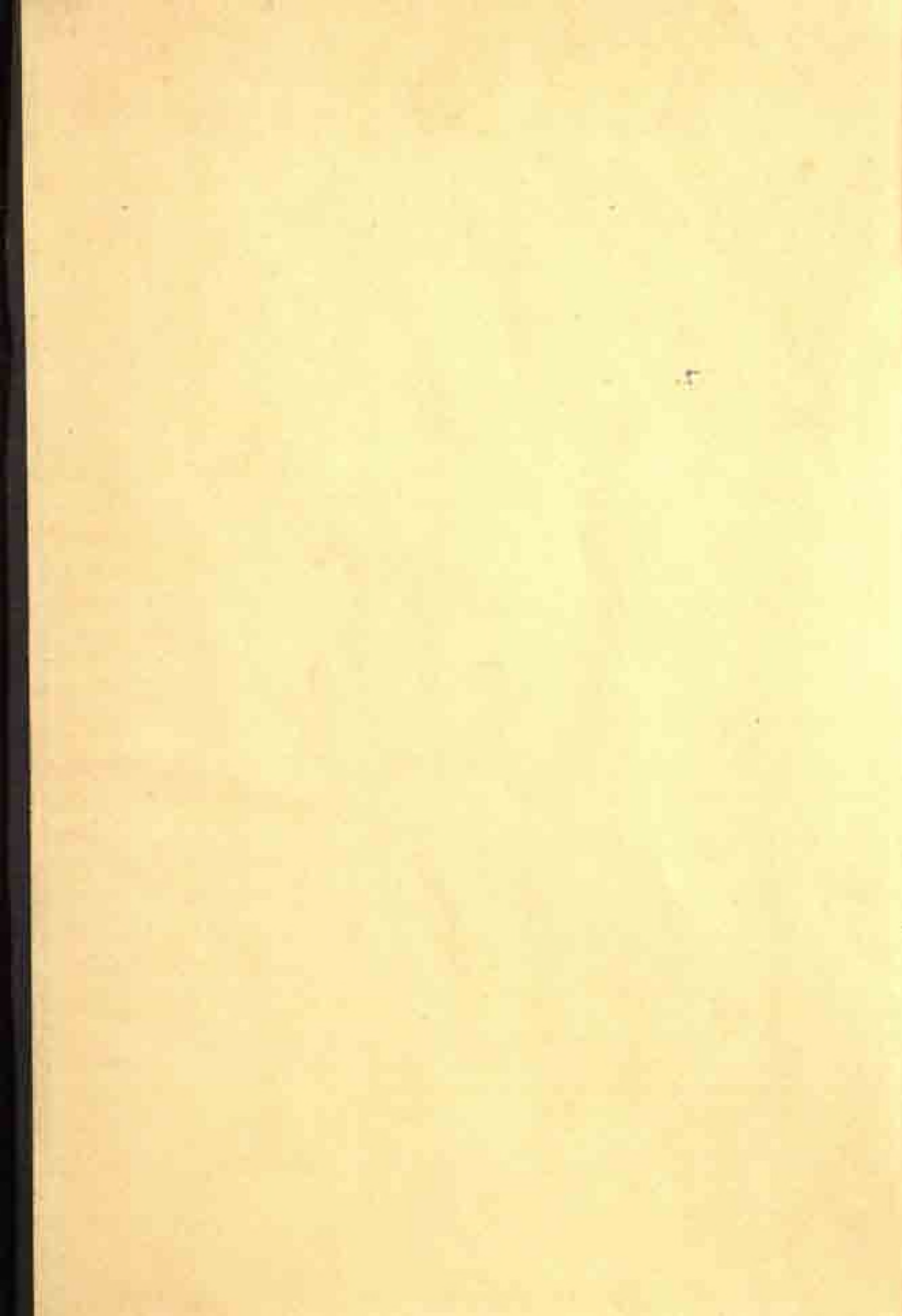
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THE CHINESE CLASSICS.

VOL. V.

THE CH'UN TS'EW, WITH THE TSO CHUEN.



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害辭不

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逆志是

爲得之。

MENCIVS, V. Pt. i. IV. 2.

NOT TO BE ISSUED

THE  
CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES,  
PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D., LL.D.,

OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES.



VOL. V.—PART II,

CONTAINING

DUKES SEANG, CH'AOU, TING, AND GAE, WITH TSO'S APPENDIX;  
AND THE INDEXES.

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THE CH'UN TS'EW;  
WITH THE TSO CHUEN.

BOOK IX. DUKE SEANG.

*First year.*

春秋

附左傳

襄公

<sup>一</sup>元年春王正月公卽位。

<sup>二</sup>仲孫蔑會晉欒黶宋華元衛甯殖

曹人莒人邾人滕人薛人圍宋彭

城。

<sup>三</sup>夏晉韓厥帥師伐鄭仲孫蔑會齊

崔杼曹人邾人杞人次于鄆。

<sup>四</sup>秋楚公子壬夫帥師侵宋。

<sup>五</sup>九月辛酉天王崩。



來聘 荀營 侯使 聘晉 剽來 公孫 侯使 冬衛 來朝 邾子

左傳曰：元年春，己亥，圍宋彭城。非宋地，追書也。於是爲宋討魚石，故稱宋，且不登叛人也。謂之宋志，彭城，宋晉人以宋五大夫在彭城者歸，實諸瓠丘，齊人不曾彭城，晉人以爲討。二月，齊大子光爲質於晉。夏五月，晉韓厥、荀偃帥諸侯之師，伐鄭，入其郛，敗其徒兵於洧上。於是東諸侯之師次于鄆，以待晉師。晉師自鄆以鄆之師侵楚焦夷，及陳，晉侯、衛侯次於戚，以爲之援。秋，楚子辛救鄭，侵宋呂、留，鄭子然侵宋，取犬丘。九月，邾子來朝，禮也。冬，衛子叔晉知武子來聘，禮也。凡諸侯卽位，小國朝之，大國聘焉，以繼好結信，謀事補闕，禮之大者也。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 Chung-sun Mëeh joined Lwan Yin of Tsin, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Ning Chih of Wei, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Keu, an officer of Choo, an officer of T'ang, and an officer of Sëeh, in besieging P'ang-shing in Sung.
- 3 In summer, Han Keueh of Tsin led an army, and invaded Ch'ing. Chung-sun Mëeh joined Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, an officer of Ts'aou, an officer of Choo, and an officer of K'e, and halted, [with their forces], in Tsäng.
- 4 In autumn, the Kung-tsze Jin-foo of Ts'oo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 5 In the ninth month, on Sin-yëw, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
- 6 The viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.
- 7 In winter, the marquis of Wei sent the Kung-sun P'ëaou to Loo on a visit of friendly inquiries. So did the marquis of Tsin send Sëun Ying.

TITLE OF THIS BOOK.—襄公, 'Duke Sëang.'

Duke Sëang's name was Woo (午). He was the son of duke Ch'ing, and as we learn from the Chuen after IX. 6, at the time of his accession was only 4 years old. His mother was not the daughter of Ts'e, of whose marriage with Ch'ing we have an account in his 14th year, but of a Sao (婁), a lady of Ke, whose death appears in the 4th year. His posthumous title Sëang denotes—'Successful in his conduct of affairs' (因事有功曰襄).

Sëang's 1st year synchronized with the 14th of king Këen (簡王); the 1st of Taou (悼) of Tsin; the 10th of Ling (靈) of Ts'e; the 5th of Hëon (獻) of Wei; the 20th of King of Ts'ao; the 18th of Ch'ing (成) of Ch'ing; the 6th of Ch'ing (成) of Ts'aou; the 27th of Ch'ing of Ch'in; the 63th of Hwan of K'e; the 4th of Ping (平) of Sung; the 5th of King (景) of Ts'in;



the 13th of Kung (共) of Ts'oo; and the 14th of Shou-mung of Woo (吳壽夢).

Par. 1. See on VIII. 1. 1; *et al.*

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—This year, in spring, on Ke-hao, there was the siege of P'ang-shing. It did not now belong to Sung;—the text calls it Sung's retrospectively. At this time [the States] were punishing Yu Shih for Sung, and therefore the city is called Sung's, and moreover the text would not sanction the exaltation of a rebel. The language has respect to the wishes of Sung [in the matter].

P'ang-shing surrendered to Tsai, and the people of Tsai took the five great officers of Sung who were in it back with them, and placed them in Hoo-k'ew. The troops of Ts'oo were not present at [the siege of] P'ang-shing, which Tsai thought was a ground for punishing [that State], and in the 3d month the eldest son of [the marquis of] Ts'oo became a hostage in Tsai.

According to Tso-she's own remarks in the above Chuen, the 宋 before 彭城 in this par. is Confucius' own,—an instance not of his pruning, but of his correcting pencil. But the reasons for his view are very shadowy. Ts'oo had not taken P'ang-shing from Sung, and appropriated it to itself. King Kung had indeed placed Yu Shih in it, as a thorn in the side of Sung, and had supplied him with a force to enable him to maintain his position, but he had not made him its ruler with the title of baron, or viscount, or any higher dignity. Nothing had occurred which should make the historiographers not speak of the city as Sung's.

Par. 3. Tsang was a city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. Say Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. It must not be confounded with the State of Tsang, V. xiv. 2; *et al.* For 厥 Kung-yang has 屈, and for 節合.

The Chuen says:—In summer, in the 5th month, Han Kueh and Seun Yen of Tsai invaded Ch'ing, with the forces of [several of] the States, and entered its outer suburbs. They defeated its infantry near the Wei. At this time the armies of the [other] States were halting at Tsang, waiting for the army of Tsai. When that came from Ch'ing, it made a junction with them, and made an incursion into Ts'oo-o of Ts'oo, and into Ch'iu. The marquis of Tsai and the marquis of Wei remained in Ts'uih, to render any aid that might be needed.

Chao P'ang-fei says on this paragraph:—Tsai, as chief among the States, invaded Ch'ing many times. The reason why it thought

it necessary to maintain its grasp of it with the forces of the other States was not the strength of Ch'ing, but the fear of Ts'oo. Had there been no Ts'oo to come to the help of Ch'ing, Tsai might have penetrated to its outer suburbs with a small force. The manner in which it now took its measures in reference to Ch'ing may be pronounced prudent and skilful. With Han Kueh alone attacking the capital of Ch'ing in front, and the soldiers of the five States ready to succour him in the rear, if the forces of Ts'oo did not come forth, the single Han Kueh was abundantly able to take the city; if they did come forth, the armies of the five States were sufficient to fight them without fear. These arrangements showed the care with which Tsai made use of the other States, and did not lightly expose their people in battle. Therefore the sage by the terms "invaded" and "halted" indicated his admiration of its measures in dealing with the offending Ch'ing. Expositors, regarding only the statement in the next paragraph, that an army of Ts'oo made an incursion into Sung, say that the States halted at Tsang to save Sung. But it was not till the autumn that Ts'oo made that incursion;—how should the States have halted here beforehand with a view to save Sung? Such a view shows no consideration of the order of the paragraphs. Moreover, Tsang was in the territory of Ch'ing;—would they have halted in Ch'ing to save Sung?

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—In autumn, Tze-sin of Ts'oo went to succour Ch'ing, and made an incursion on Leu and L'ew of Sung. Tze-jen of Ch'ing made an incursion into Sung, and took K'ewen-k'ew.

Par. 5. This was king K'ien (簡). He was succeeded by his son, king Ling (靈).

Par. 6. Tso-she says this visit was "proper,"—to congratulate, I suppose, the child-marquis on his accession.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—In winter Tze-shuh of Wei, and Che Woo-tse of Tsai, came to Loo, with friendly inquiries; which was proper. On the accession of any prince, smaller States appeared [by their princes] at his court, and larger ones sent friendly missions,—for the continuance of their friendship, and cementing their good faith, to take counsel on affairs, and to repair deficiencies. These were the greatest of ceremonies.

These courtesies to Loo, it must be supposed, were sent before the States had heard the news of the king's death, because after such an event there was an intermission for a time of those observances.



## Second year.

<sup>一章</sup>二年春，王正月，葬簡王。

<sup>二章</sup>鄭師伐宋。<sup>三章</sup>夏五月，庚寅，夫人姜氏薨。

<sup>四章</sup>六月，庚辰，鄭伯睞卒。

<sup>五章</sup>晉師、宋師、衛甯殖侵鄭。

<sup>六章</sup>秋七月，仲孫蔑會晉荀瑩、宋華元、衛孫林父、曹人、邾人、于

<sup>七章</sup>戚己丑，葬我小君齊姜。

<sup>八章</sup>叔孫豹如宋。

<sup>九章</sup>冬，仲孫蔑會晉荀瑩、齊崔杼、宋華元、衛孫林父、曹人、邾人、

<sup>十章</sup>滕人、薛人、小邾人、于戚，遂城虎牢。

<sup>十一章</sup>楚殺其大夫公子申。



左傳曰：二年春，鄭師侵宋，楚令也。

⑤齊侯伐萊，萊人使正與子賂夙沙衛，以索馬牛皆百匹，齊師乃還。君子是以知齊靈公之爲靈也。

夏，齊姜薨，初，穆姜使擇美壙，以自爲櫬，與頌琴。季文子取以葬。君子曰：非禮也。禮無所逆，婦養姑者也。虧姑以成婦，逆莫大焉。詩曰：其惟哲人，告之話言，順德之行。季孫於是爲不哲矣。且姜氏，君之妣也。詩曰：爲酒爲醴，烝畀祖妣，以洽百禮。降福孔偕。

鄭成公疾，子驪請息肩於晉。公曰：楚君以鄭故，親集矢於其目，非異人任，寡人也。若背之，是棄力與言，其誰曜我？免寡人，唯二三子。秋七月庚辰，鄭伯瞞卒。

於是子罕當國，子驪爲政。子國爲司馬，晉師侵鄭，諸大夫欲從晉。子驪曰：官命未改，會于戚，謀鄭故也。孟獻子曰：請城虎牢，以備鄭。知武子曰：善，節之會。吾子聞崔子之言，

今不來矣。滕、薛、小邾之不至，皆齊故也。寡君之憂，不唯鄭，將復於寡君，而請於齊，得請而告，吾子之功也。若不得請，事將在齊。吾子之請，諸侯之福也。豈惟寡君賴之？

齊侯使諸姜宗婦來送葬，召萊子，萊子不會，故晏弱城東陽以備之。

穆叔聘于宋，通嗣君也。

冬，復會于戚。齊崔武子及滕、薛、小邾之大夫皆會。知武子之言故也。遂城虎牢。鄭人乃成。

楚公子申爲右司馬，多受小國之賂，以備子重。子辛，楚人殺之。故書曰：楚殺其大夫公子申。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of king K'een.  
 2 An army of Ch'ing invaded Sung.  
 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on K'ang-yin, [duke Ch'ing's] wife, the lady K'ang, died.  
 4 In the sixth month, on K'ang-shin, Kw'än, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
 5 An army of Tsin, an army of Sung, and Ning Chih of Wei, made an incursion into Ch'ing.



- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with Sëun Ying of Tsin, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, an officer of Ts'auou, and an officer of Choo, in Ts'eih.
- 7 On Ke-ch'ow, we buried our duchess, Ts'e Këang.
- 8 Shuh-sun P'auou went to Sung.
- 9 In winter, Chung-sun Mëeh had a meeting with Seun Ying of Tsin, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e, Hwa Yuen of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, an officer of Ts'auou, an officer of Choo, an officer of T'äng, an officer of Sëeh, and an officer of Little Choo, in Ts'eih, when they proceeded to wall Hoo-laou.
- 10 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Shin.

Par. 1. This burial, 5 months after death, was sooner than 'the rule' prescribed.

Par. 3. Acc. to Tso, this 'invasion' was merely 'an incursion,' at the command of Ts'oo.

[The Chuen appends here:—The marquis of Ts'e invaded Lao, the people of which sent Ching Yu-tze to bribe Suh Shu-wei [Chief eunuch in Ts'e] with a hundred choice horses and as many oxen. On this the army of Ts'e returned. From this the superior man might know that duke Ling of Ts'e was indeed *lag* (A play on the meaning of the term as a posthumous epithet).]

Par. 8. This was duke Ch'ing's wife *proper*, called the 'wife-mother' (嫡母) of duke Ssang. The Chuen says:—Before this, Muh Këang [Duke Ch'ing's mother] had caused some fine *kê* trees to be chosen, to make for herself a coffin and a way late. Ke Wan-tze now took the coffin to bury Ts'e Këang in. The superior man will pronounce this proceeding contrary to propriety. Propriety admits of nothing unreasonable. A wife should nourish her mother-in-law;—nothing could be more unreasonable than to take from the mother-in-law to supply the wife. The ode (She, III. iii. ode II. 9.) says,

"There is indeed a wise man;—  
I tell him good words,  
And he yields to them the practice of  
docile virtue."

But Ke-sun in this showed himself not wise. And [Ts'e] Këang was the duke's mother. The ode (She, IV. i. Bk. ii. ode IV.), says,

"With spirits and sweet spirits,  
To present to our deceased parents,  
And in supply for all ceremonies—  
Very abundant is the blessing conferred  
upon us."

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—Duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing was ill, and Tze-ze begged him to save

his shoulder upon Tsin, but he said, "For the sake of Ch'ing, the ruler of Ts'oo received an arrow in his eye. It was for me he underwent this, and for no other man. If I revolt from him, I cast away his efforts in our behalf and my own promise;—who in such a case would care for my friendship? It is for you, my officers, to save me from such a course." In autumn, in the 7th month, on Këang-shin, Kwan, earl of Ch'ing, died.

In this last sentence of the Chuen, Këang-shin, the day of the earl's death, is said to have been in the 7th month, and not in the 8th as in the text. And the Chuen must be correct, for Këang-yin of par. 3 being in the 5th month, there cannot have been a Këang-shin day in the 6th. Acc. to Tso's scheme of the calendar, Këang-shin was the 9th day of the 7th month.

There is no mention subsequently of the burial of the earl of Ch'ing; 'because,' acc. to K'au K'ang, 'he had joined the party of Ts'oo, and the other States therefore did not observe the usual measures at his funeral.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—At this time, Tze-hun [of Ch'ing] had charge of the State, Tze-ze was chief minister, and Tze-kwah was minister of War. All the other great officers wished to give in the adhesion of the State to Tsin, but Tze-ze said, "The charge to us officers is not yet changed."

Tsin was now taking advantage of the death of the earl of Ch'ing to attack the State. The other officers wanted to submit to it, but Tze-ze held that the charge of the deceased earl, that they should adhere to Ts'oo, was binding on them, till his successor should give them different instructions, and it was too early for him to have done so. To attack a State when suffering from the death of its ruler was contrary to the rule and practice of those times. The commentators have much to say on this point.



Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'This meeting at Tseih was to consult in reference to Ch'ing. Máng Hsien-tze (Mách) proposed that they should fortify Hoo-laou, to bring a pressure to bear on Ch'ing. Che Woo-tze said, "Good. At the meeting in T'ang (the year before), you [mentioned] some remarks of the minister Ts'uy which you had heard; and now he is not here. Neither have T'ang, Ssch, and Little Choo come;—all in consequence of T'ze's [disaffection], and to the grief of my ruler. I will report the thing to him, and we will ask Ts'ue [to join in the fortification]. If it accede, and we give notice accordingly, the merit will be yours. If it do not accede, our business will lie in Ts'ue. This proposal of yours is for the happiness of all the States. Not our ruler only is indebted to you for it."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Ts'ue made the wives of all his great officers of his own surname come to Loo to attend the funeral. He sent for the viscount of Lue also to come; but he was not present. On this account Gan Joh walled Tung-yang to exert a pressure on Lue.'

Par. 8. Shuh-mn P'ao,—see the Chuen on VIII. xvi. 14. Ts'ue says:—'This friendly mission of Muh-shuh (P'ao) to Sung was to open communications between it and the young marquis.'

Par. 9. Little Choo;—see V. vii. 2. The Chuen says:—'In winter there was a second meeting at Tseih, when Ts'ue Woo-tze of Ts'ue, and great officers of T'ang, Ssch, and Little Choo were all present, in consequence of the words of Che Woo-tze [at the former meeting]. They then proceeded to fortify Hoo-laou, and the people of Ch'ing tendered their submission [to Ts'ue]. Hoo-laou was a city which had belonged to Ch'ing, but was now held by Ts'ue. It was in the pres. dis. of Sze-shway, dept. K'ao-fung. The K'ang-he editors say that the fortifying of this city was 'grasping Ch'ing by the throat, so that it could not look towards the south.'

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'The Kung-tze Shin of Ts'ue was marshal of the right, and by means of the bribes which he received from many of the small States exercised a pressure on Tze-chung and Tze-sin till the people of Ts'ue put him to death. Hence the language of the text, "Ts'ue put to death its great officer, the Kung-tze Shin."

Third year.

三年<sup>一</sup>春，楚公子嬰齊帥師伐吳，  
公如晉。<sup>三</sup>夏四月，壬戌，公及晉侯  
盟于長樗。<sup>五</sup>公至自晉。<sup>四</sup>  
六月，公會單子、晉侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭  
伯、莒子、邾子、齊世子光。己未，同盟  
于雞澤。<sup>六</sup>  
陳侯使袁僑如會。<sup>七</sup>  
戊寅，叔孫豹及諸侯之大夫及陳  
袁僑盟。<sup>八</sup>秋，公至自會。<sup>九</sup>  
冬，晉荀瑩帥師伐許。



左傳曰：三年春，楚子重伐吳，爲簡之師，克鳩茲，至於衡山，使鄧廖帥組甲三百，被練三千，以侵吳。吳人嬰而擊之，獲鄧廖，其能免者，組甲八十，被練三百而已。子重歸，既飲，至三日，吳人伐楚，取駕，駕，良邑也。鄧廖亦楚之良也。君子謂子重於是役也，所獲不如所亡。楚人以是咎子重，子重病之，遂遇心疾而卒。

公如晉，始朝也。

夏，盟于長皋。孟獻子相，公稽首，知武子曰：「天子在，而君辱稽首，寡君懼矣。」孟獻子曰：「以敝邑介在東表，密邇仇讐，寡君將君是望，敢不稽首。」

○祁奚請老，晉侯問嗣焉。稱解狐，其讐也，將立之而卒。又問焉，對曰：「午也可。」於是羊舌職死矣。晉侯曰：「孰可以代之？」對曰：「赤也可。」於是使祁午爲中軍尉。羊舌赤佐之。君子謂祁奚於是能舉善矣。稱其讐，不爲諂，立其子，不爲比，舉其偏，不爲黨。商書曰：「無偏無黨，王道蕩蕩。」其祁奚之謂矣。解狐得舉，祁午得位，伯華得官，建一官而三物成，能舉善也夫。唯善故能舉其類。詩云：「惟其有之，是以似之。」祁奚有焉。

晉爲鄭服故，且欲修吳好，將合諸侯，使士匄告於齊曰：「寡君使匄以歲之不易，不虞之不戒，寡君願與一二兄弟相見，以謀不協，請君臨之。」使匄乞盟。齊侯欲勿許，而難爲不協，乃盟於郕。外六月，公會單頃公及諸侯，己未，同盟于雞澤。晉侯使荀會逆吳子於淮上，吳子不至。

楚子辛爲令尹，侵欲於小國。陳成公使袁僑如會求成，晉侯使和組父告於諸侯。

秋，叔孫豹及諸侯之大夫及陳袁僑盟，陳請服也。

○晉侯之弟揚干，亂行於曲梁，魏絳戮其僕。晉侯怒，謂羊舌赤曰：「合諸侯以爲榮也，揚干爲戮，何辱如之？必殺魏絳，無失也。」對曰：「絳無貳志，事君不辟難，有罪不逃刑，其將來辭，何辱命焉？」言終，魏絳至，授僕人書，將伏劍。士魴張老止之，公讀其書曰：「日君之使，使臣斯司馬，臣聞師衆以順爲武，軍事有死無犯爲敬。君合諸侯，臣敢不」



敬君師不武，執事不敬，罪莫大焉。臣懼其死，以及揚千無所逃罪，不能致訓，至於用鉞，臣之罪重，敢有司從以怒君心，請歸死於司寇。公跣而出，曰：寡人之言，親愛也。吾子之討軍禮也，寡人有弟，弗能教訓，使干大命，寡人之過也。子無重寡人之過，敢以爲請。晉侯以魏絳爲能，以刑佐民矣。反役與之禮食，使佐新軍。張老爲中軍司馬，士富爲侯奄。楚司馬公子何忌侵陳，陳叛故也。許靈公事楚，不會于雞澤。冬，晉知武子帥師伐許。

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, the Kung-tsze Ying-tse of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo.  
 2 The duke went to Tsin.  
 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Jin-seuh, the duke and the marquis of Tsin made a covenant in Chang-ch'oo.  
 4 The duke arrived from Tsin.  
 5 In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Shen, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the viscount of Keu, the viscount of Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e; and on Ke-we they made a covenant together at Ke-taih.  
 6 The marquis of Ch'in sent Yuen K'ëaou to be present at the meeting.  
 7 On Mow-yin, Shuh-sun P'aou, and the great officers of the various princes, made a covenant with Yuen K'ëaou of Ch'in.  
 8 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.  
 9 In winter, Seun Ying of Tsin led a force, and invaded Heu.

Par. 1. We have here the commencement of those hostilities between Ts'oo and Woo, which did more than all the power of the northern States to repress the growth of Ts'oo. Tsin had fostered the jealousy and ambition of Woo, until Ts'oo saw that the most prudent course for itself was to take the initiative in making war.

The Chuen says:—This spring, Tse-chung of Ts'oo invaded Woo with an army selected for the purpose. He subdued K'ew-tse, and proceeded as far as mount Häng. Thence he sent Täng Lëou to make an incursion into the country, with a force of 300 men, wearing buff-coats lacquered as if made of strings, and 3,000, whose coats were covered with silk. The people of Woo intercepted and attacked him. Täng Lëou himself was taken, and of the men whose buff-coats looked as if made of strings only 80 escaped, and of the others only 300. Tse-chung had returned [to Ying]; and three days after he had drunk his arrival [in the ancestral temple], the people of Woo invaded Ts'oo, and took Këu. Këu was a good city, as Täng Lëou was a good officer of Ts'oo. Superior men observed that what Tse-chung gained in this expedition was not equal to what he lost. The people of Ts'oo on this account blamed Tse-chung, who

was so much distressed, that he fell into mental trouble, and died.

Par. 2—4. Tse says that this court-visit was made as being proper on the duke's accession to the State. Of course the child was in the hands of his ministers, and did as they directed him. His guide at this time was Chung-sun Mëeh. As the duke had gone to the capital of Tsin, and the name of the place where the marquis and he covenanted is given, it is supposed by Tse that the latter had courteously left the city, and met his young guest outside. Hence Ying-tsh says that Chang-ch'oo was a place near the wall of the capital of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—At the covenant in Chang-ch'oo, Mäng Hëen-tse directed the duke, who bowed with his head to the ground. Che Woo-tse said, "The son of Heaven is alive; and for your ruler to bow his head to the ground before him makes my ruler afraid." Hëen-tse replied, "Considering how our poor State stands there in the east, in proximity to our enemies, all our ruler's hope is in you;—dare he but bow his head to the ground?"

[The Chuen appends here:—"K'ë He (see the Chuen after VIII. xviii. 3) asked leave to resign his office on account of age. The marquis of



Tsin asked him about his successor, and he recommended Hsiao Hoo, who was his enemy. Hoo, however, died, as he was about to be appointed, and the marquis consulted He again. He replied, "Woo (his own son) may do." About the same time Yang-shih Chih died, and the marquis asked He who should take his place, when he replied, "Ch'ih (Chih's son) will do." Accordingly K'e Woo was appointed tranquillizer of the army of the centre, and Yang-shih Ch'ih's assistant to him.

The superior man will say that K'e He thus showed himself capable of putting forward good men. He recommended his enemy;—evidently no flatterer; he got his own son appointed;—but from no partiality; he advanced his subordinate;—but with no partisanship. One of the Books of Shang (Shoo, V. iv. 14) says,

"Without partiality, and without defection,  
Broad and long is the royal path;"

—words which may be applied to K'e He. Hsiao Hoo, was recommended; K'e Woo got his position; and Pih-hwa (Yang-shih Ch'ih) got his office;—in the filling up of one office three things were accomplished. He was indeed able to put forward good men. Good himself, he could put forward those who were like him. The ode (Shu, II. vi. ode X. 4) says,

"They have the ability,  
And right is in their actions should  
show it;"

so was it with K'e He!"

Par. 5. Ke-tsh was in Tsin,—in the north-east of the pres. dep. of Kwang-ping, Chih-le. The Chuen says:—"In consequence of the submission of Ching, and wishing to cultivate the friendship of Woo, Tsin proposed to call a meeting of the States, and therefore [the marquis] sent Sze Kae to inform Ts'ao, saying, "My ruler has sent me, because of the difficulties of every year, and the want of preparation against evils that may arise, [to say that] he wishes to have an interview with his brethren, to consult about the case of States that are not in harmony with us, and begs your lordship to come to it. He has sent me to beg a covenant with you." The marquis of Ts'ao wanted to refuse, but felt the difficulty of appearing to be among the discordant, and made a covenant [with Kae], beyond the E. In the 6th month, the duke met duke King of Shen and the various princes; and on Ke-wei they made a covenant together at Ke-tsh. The marquis of Tsin sent Seun Hway to meet the viscount of Woo on the Hwa, who, however, did not come [to the meeting]."

Most of the critics condemn this covenant on the ground that it was derogatory to the king to associate his representative, the viscount of Shen, in it. Too, however, and others think the viscount may have been specially commissioned to take part in it, to establish the leadership of Duke Tsao among the States. The heir-son of Ts'ao was a hostage in Tsin (see on I. 2), and was therefore present at the meeting.

Par. 6, 7. Here is another proof that the power of Ts'ao had received a check, and that the States which had adhered to it were now seeking the alliance of Tsin. The Chuen says:—"Ts'ao-shin of Ts'ao, being made chief minister of the State, was exorbitant in his desire [for bribes] from the small States. [In conse-

quence], duke Ching of Ch'in sent Yen K'iao to the meeting [of the States], to seek for reconciliation and peace. The marquis of Tsin made Ho Tsao-foo inform the princes of it. In the autumn, Shuh-sun Pao and the great officers of the [other] States made a covenant with Yen K'iao;—on Ch'in's thus begging to tender its submission." No stress is to be laid on the two *Ke* in p. 7, as Kueh and Kung would do.

[The Chuen appends here:—"Yang-kan, a brother of the marquis of Tsin, having thrown the ranks into confusion at Ke-tsh-ling (near Ke-tsh), Wei K'ang (marshal of the army of the centre) executed his chariot-war. The marquis was angry, and said to Yang-shih Ch'ih, "We assembled the States for our glory, and now this execution has been done on Yang-kan;—the disgrace is extreme. You must put Wei K'ang to death without fail." Ch'ih replied, "K'ang is not a man of double purpose. He will avoid so difficulty in the service of his ruler, and will evade no punishment due to any offence he may commit. He will be here to state his case; why should you send such an order about him?" When he had done, Wei K'ang arrived, gave a written statement to one of the [marquis's] attendants, and was about to fall upon his sword, but was stopped by Su Pang and Chang Laou. The marquis read the statement, which said, "Formerly, being in want of servants, you gave to me this office of marshal. I have heard that in a boat submission to orders is the soldier's duty, and that when the business of the army may require the infliction of death, not to shrink from inflicting it is the officer's reverential duty. Your lordship had assembled the States, and I dared not but discharge my reverential duty. If your lordship's soldiers had failed in their duty, and your officers in theirs, the offence would have been extreme. I was afraid that the death which I should incur would also extend to Yang-kan; I do not dare to escape from the consequences of guilt, for I was unable to give the necessary instructions previously, and proceeded to use the axe. My offence is heavy, and I dare not shrink from accepting the due, so as to enrage your mind. Allow me to return, and die at the hands of the minister of Crime."

The duke ran out barefoot, saying, "I spoke out of my love for my brother; you punished in accordance with military law. I was not able to instruct my brother, which made him violate your great orders;—that was my fault; do not you render it still heavier. Let me presume to request this of you." The marquis [now] considered that Wei K'ang was able by his use of punishments to aid [in the govt. of] the people. When then they returned from the service, he gave him a feast of ceremony, and made him assistant-commander of the new army. Chang Laou was made marshal of the army of the centre, and Sze Fao was made scout-master."

There follows another brief notice:—"The Kung-tze Ho-ke, minister of War of Ts'ao, made an incursion into Ch'in, because of the revolt of that State."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"Duke Ling of Hui adhered to Ts'ao, and was not present at the meeting in Ke-tsh. In winter Che Woo-tze of Tsin led a force, and invaded Hui."



Fourth year.

四年<sup>一</sup>春王三月己酉<sup>二</sup>陳侯午卒<sup>三</sup>夏<sup>四</sup>叔孫豹如晉<sup>五</sup>秋七月戊子<sup>六</sup>夫<sup>七</sup>人<sup>八</sup>如氏薨<sup>九</sup>葬<sup>十</sup>陳成公<sup>十一</sup>八月辛亥<sup>十二</sup>葬我<sup>十三</sup>小君定姒<sup>十四</sup>冬<sup>十五</sup>公如晉<sup>十六</sup>陳人<sup>十七</sup>圍頓<sup>十八</sup>

左傳曰四年春楚師爲陳叛故猶在繁陽韓獻子患之言於朝曰文王帥殷之叛國以事紂惟知時也今我易之難哉三月陳成公卒楚人將伐陳聞喪乃止陳人不聽命臧武仲聞之曰陳不服於楚必亡大國行禮焉而不服在大猶有咎而況小乎夏楚彭名侵陳陳無禮故也穆叔如晉報知武子之聘也晉侯享之金奏肆夏之三不拜工歌文王之三又不拜歌鹿鳴之三三拜韓獻子使行人子員問之曰子以君命辱於敝邑先君之禮藉之以樂以辱吾子吾子舍其大而重拜其細敢問何禮也對曰三夏天子所以享元侯也使臣弗敢與聞文王兩君相見之樂也臣不敢及鹿鳴君所以嘉寡君也敢不拜嘉四牡君所以勞使臣也敢不重拜皇皇者華君教使臣曰必諮於周臣聞之訪問於善爲咨咨親爲詢咨禮爲度咨事爲諏咨難爲謀臣獲五善敢不重拜

秋定姒薨不殯于廟無襯不虞匠慶謂季文子曰子爲正卿而小君之喪不成不終君也君長誰受其咎初季孫爲己樹六楨於蒲圃東門之外匠慶請木季孫曰略匠慶用蒲圃之楨季孫不御君子曰志所謂多行無禮必自及也其是之謂乎

冬公如晉聽政晉侯享公公請屬鄒晉侯不許孟獻子曰以寡君之密邇於仇讐而願固事君無失官命卽無賦於司馬爲執事朝夕之命敝邑敝邑褊小闕而爲罪寡君是以願借助焉晉侯許之



楚人使賴間陳，而使伐之，故陳人圍賴。

⑤無終子嘉父，使孟樂如晉，因魏莊子納虎豹之皮，以請和。諸戎，晉侯曰：「戎狄無親而貪，不如伐之。」魏絳曰：「諸侯新服，陳新來和，將觀於我，我德則睦，否則攜貳，勞師於戎，而楚伐陳，必弗能救，是棄陳也。諸華必叛我，禽獸也，獲戎失華，無乃不可乎？夏訓有之曰：『有窮后羿，公曰：『后羿何如？』對曰：『昔有夏之方衰也，后羿自鉏，遷於窮石，因夏民以代夏政，恃其射也，不修民事，而淫於原獸，棄武羅，伯因，熊髡，龙圉，而用寒浞。寒浞，伯明氏之謫子弟也。伯明后寒棄之，夷羿收之，信而使之，以爲己相，浞行媚於內，而施略於外，愚弄其民，而虞羿于田，樹之詐惡，以取其國家，外內咸服，羿猶不悛，將歸自田，家眾殺而亨之，以食其子，其子不忍食諸，死於窮門，靡奔有鬲氏，浞因羿室，生澆及豷，恃其譏諛，詐僞而不德於民，使澆用師，滅斟灌及斟尋氏，處澆於過，處豷於戈，靡自有鬲氏，收二國之燼，以滅浞，而立少康。少康滅澆於過，后杼滅豷於戈，有窮由是遂亡，失人故也。昔周辛甲之爲犬史也，命百官，官箴王闕，於虞人之箴曰：『芒芒禹迹，畫爲九州，經畝九道，民有寢廟，獸有茂草，各有攸處，德用不擾，在帝夷羿，冒於原獸，亡其國恤，而思其麇牡，武不可重，用不恢於夏家，獸臣司原，敢告僕夫，虞箴如是，可不懲乎？』於是晉侯好田，故魏絳及之。公曰：『然則莫如和戎乎？』對曰：『和戎有五利焉。我狄荐居，貴貨易土，土可賈焉，一也。邊鄙不聳，民狎其野，穡人成功，二也。戎狄事晉，四鄰振動，諸侯咸懷，三也。以德綏戎，師徒不勤，甲兵不頓，四也。鑒于后羿，而用德度，遠至邇安，五也。君其圖之。』公說，使魏絳盟諸戎，修民事，田以時。

⑥冬十月，邾人莒人伐鄆，臧紇救鄆，侵邾，敗於狐貍。國人逆夷者皆髻，魯於是乎始髻。國人誦之曰：『臧之狐裘，敗我於狐貍，我君小子，朱儒是使，朱儒朱儒，使我敗於邾。』

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Woo, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
 2 In summer, Shuh-sun P'aon went to Tsin.  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Mow-tsze, [duke Ch'ing's] wife, the lady Sze, died.  
 4 There was the burial of duke Ch'ing of Ch'in.



- 5 In the eighth month, on Sin-hae, we buried our duchess, Ting Sze.
- 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin.
- 7 A body of men from Ch'in laid siege to the capital of Tun.

PAR. 1. The Chuen says:—"This spring, the army of T'oo, in consequence of the revolt of Ch'in, was still in Fan-yang. Han Hsien-tze was troubled about it, and said in the court (of Tsin), "When king Wan led on the revolted States of Yin to serve Show, he knew the time. It is different now with our course. Alas!" In the 8th month, duke Ch'ing of Ch'in died; and when the people of T'oo, who were then about to invade Ch'in, heard of the event, they stayed their movement. Nevertheless, the people of Ch'in would not hearken to T'oo's commands. When Tsang Woo-chung heard of it, he said, "Ch'in, thus refusing to submit to T'oo, is sure to perish. When a great State behaves with courteous consideration, not to submit to it would be deemed blameworthy in [another] great State; how much more must it be deemed so in a small one!" In summer, P'ang Ming of T'oo made an incursion into Ch'in, because of the want of propriety which Ch'in had manifested." The Kang-he editors are indignant at the remarks which T'oo's persistence in attacking Ch'in elicited from the two statesmen of Tsin and Loo. Now, they think, was the time to have taken the field in force against T'oo.

PAR. 2. Tso-she thinks this visit of Pao to Tsin was in return for that of Soun Ying in the 1st year; but that courtesy of Tsin had been already more than responded to. We do not know what now took Pao to Tsin.

The Chuen says:—"Muh-shuh went to Tsin, in return for the friendly mission of Che Woo-tze. The marquis gave him an entertainment; and when the bells gave the signal, [there were sung] three pieces of the Kae-hia, but he made no bow in acknowledgment. The musicians then sang the first three pieces in the 1st Book of the Greater odes of the kingdom; but neither did he bow in acknowledgment of these. They sang finally the first three pieces in the 1st Book of the Minor odes, in acknowledgment of which he bowed three times. Han Hsien-tze sent the inter-nuncio Tze-yun to him, saying, "You have come by the command of your ruler to our poor State. We have received you with the ceremonies appointed by our former rulers, adding the accompaniment of music. Where the honour was the greatest, you overlooked it; and where it was the least, you acknowledged it:—I presume to ask by what rules of propriety you were guided." The envoy replied, The first three pieces were those proper to an occasion when the son of Heaven is entertaining a chief among the princes; I did not presume to seem as if I heard them. The second three were those proper to the music at an interview between two princes; I did not presume to appear as if I had to do with them. But in the first of the last three, your ruler was complimenting mine;—I could not but presume to acknowledge the compliment. In the second, your ruler was cheering me for the toil of my embassy;—I dared not decline deeply to acknowledge [his kindness]. In the third, your ruler was instructing me, and telling me to be prosecuting my inquiries among the good. I

have heard that to inquire about goodness is [the proper] questioning; to inquire about relative duties is [the proper] seeking for information; to inquire about propriety is [the proper] deliberation; to inquire about governmental affairs is [the proper] consultation; to inquire about calamities is [the proper] devising;—thus I obtained five excellent instructions, and I dared not but deeply to acknowledge [the favour]."

PAR. 3, 3. Here Kung-yang makes the surname of the lady to have been 姬 and not 姒.

It is plain from the Chuen that she was the mother of duke Seang. The death of duke Ch'ing's wife—T'ao K'ang—appears in the second year. The Sze could only have been a concubine; yet she appears here as if she had been his wife, and was buried as such. The Kang-he editors cannot help calling attention to this impropriety, and they suppose that the eunuchs were made just to call attention to it! The whole thing is the more remarkable, as it appears from the Chuen that it was not thought necessary at first to bury Ting Sze with any distinguished ceremonies at all. It says:—"In autumn, Ting Sze died, and [it was proposed] that her coffin should not be carried into the ancestral temple on occasion of her interment; that there should be no [double] coffin; and that the subsequent ceremony of lamentation should be omitted. The artificer K'ing said to Ke Wan-tze, "You are our chief minister, and in making the funeral rites of the duchess thus incomplete, you are not doing your duty to our ruler. When he is grown up, who will receive the blame?"

"Before this, Ke-sun had planted for himself six k'ia trees in the Poo orchard outside the east gate. King asked him for some trees [to make the coffin], and when he gave a half assent, the other used the k'ia in that orchard, without Ke-sun's forbidding him. The superior man will say, "Might not what we find in an [old] book, that he who is guilty of many breaches of propriety will find his conduct recall upon himself, be spoken of Ke-sun?" The funeral must have been hurried on.

PAR. 4. The State of Ch'in had revolted from T'oo, and was now on the side of Tsin. Loo in consequence, as one of the northern party, now sent an officer to be present at the burial of the marquis.

PAR. 5. The Chuen says:—"The duke now went to Tsin, to receive its orders (as to the services to be rendered to the leading State). The marquis of Tsin entertained him, and the duke requested that Tsang might be attached to Loo. The marquis not agreeing to this, Mang Hsien-tze said, "Our ruler in Loo is in proximity to your adversaries, and wishes to serve your lordship firmly, without failing in any of the requirements of your officers. Tsang contributes no levies to your minister of War. Your officers are continually laying their commands on our poor State, which being of small dimensions is liable to fail in discharging them, and may be



charged with some offence. Our ruler therefore wished to borrow the assistance [of Ts'ing]. On this the marquise assented to the application."

Par. 7. Tsin, — see V. xxi. 5. It was one of the many small States acknowledging the supremacy of Ts'ao. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'ao made Tsin watch for opportunities in Ch'in, and attack it or make inroads into it. In consequence, the people of Ch'in laid siege to its principal city."

[The Chuen gives here a long narrative about Tsin and the Jung. 'Kia-foo, viscount of Woo-chung (a tribe of the Hill Jung) sent Máng Loh to Tsin, and through Wei K'wang-tze (Wei K'ang) presented a number of tiger and leopard skins, begging that Tsin would agree to be in harmony with the various tribes of the Jung. The marquise said, "The Jung and Tsin know nothing of affection or friendship, and are full of greed. The best plan is to attack them." Wei K'ang said, "The States have only recently declared their submission to Tsin, and Ch'in has recently sought our friendship. They will all be watching our course. If that be one of kindly goodness, they will maintain their friendship with us; if it be not, they will fall off and separate from us. If we make a toilsome expedition against the Jung, and Ts'ao [in the mean time] invade Ch'in, we shall not be able to relieve that State;—we shall be throwing Ch'in away. The States also will be sure to revolt from us;—shall we not be acting an impolitic course, if we lose the States, though we gain the Jung? And in the Book of Instructions of Hsia (Shuo, III. iii. 2) mention is made of "E, prince of K'ang." The marquise said, "What about the prince E?" He replied, "Formerly, when the princes of Hsia were in a decaying State, prince E removed from Sou to K'ang-shih, and took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of] the people to supersede the line of Hsia. Relying [afterwards] on his archery, he neglected the business of the people, and abandoned himself to the pursuit of the beasts of the plains. He put away from him Woo Lo, Pih Yin, Hsüng K'wan, and Máng Yu, and employed Tsin of Han. This Tsin was a slanderous scion of the House of Pih-ming, prince of Han, who cast him out. E, [prince of K'ang], received him, trusted him, and made him his chief minister. Tsin then fell to flatterer all inside the palace, and gave bribes to all outside it. He cajoled the people, and encouraged E in his fondness for hunting. He piled more and more his deceit and wickedness to take from E his kingdom, until inside and outside the palace all were ready to acknowledge him. Still E made no change in his ways; and as he was [on one occasion] on his return from the field, his own servants killed him, boiled him, and gave his flesh to his sons to eat. They could not bear to eat it, and all died in the gate of K'ang. Mei then fled to the State of Yü-kih. Tsin took to himself E's wife, and by her had K'hou and He. Relying on his slanderous villanies and deceit, he displayed virtue in governing the people, and made K'hou with an army extinguish the States of Chin-kwan and Chin-sin. He then placed K'hou in Ko (過) and He in Ko (戈). [In the meantime], Mei

went from Yü-kih, and collected the remnant of the people of these two States, with whom he extinguished Tsin, and raised Shao-k'ang to

the throne. Shao-k'ang extinguished K'hou in Ko, and [his son], the sovereign Ch'ou, extinguished He in Ko. The princes of K'ang thus perished because they had lost the people. Formerly, in the times of our own Chow, when Shü K'ieh was grand historiographer, he ordered each of the officers to write some lines reproving the king's defects. In the lines of the forester it was said,

"Wide and long Yu travelled about,  
When the pine regions he laid out,  
And through them led the nine-fold route.  
The people then safe homes possessed;  
Beasts ranged the grassy plains with rest.  
For man and beast sweet rest was found,  
And virtue reigned the empire round.  
Then took E E the emperor's place,  
His sole pursuit the wild beasts' chase.  
The people's care he quite forgot.  
Of does and stags alone he thought.  
Wars and such pastimes kings should flee;  
Soon passed the power of Hsia from E.  
A forester, these lines I pen,  
And offer to my king's good men."

Such were the lines of the forester;—is there not matter of admonition in them?" At this time the marquise of Tsin was fond of hunting, and therefore Wei K'ang took the opportunity to touch on the subject. The marquise then said, "Well then, will it not be our best plan to be on good terms with the Jung?" K'ang replied, "To be on good terms with the Jung has five advantages. The Jung and Tsin are continually changing their residence, and are fond of exchanging land for goods. Their lands can be purchased;—this is the first advantage. Our borders will not be kept in apprehension. The people can labour on their fields, and the husbandmen complete their tolls;—this is the second. When the Jung and Tsin serve Tsin, our neighbours all round will be terrified, and the States will be awed and cherish our friendship;—this is the third. Tranquillizing the Jung by our goodness, our armies will not be tolled, and weapons will not be broken;—this is the fourth. Taking warning from the sovereign E, and using only measures of virtue, the remote will come to us, and the near will be at rest;—this is the fifth." The marquise was pleased, and sent Wei K'ang to make a covenant with all the Jung. He also attended to the business of the people, and hunted [only] at the proper seasons."

There is another narrative regarding Loo and Choo:—"In winter, in the 10th month, a body of men from Choo and another from K'ou invaded Ts'ing. Ts'ing-sun Heih succoured Ts'ing, and made an incursion into Choo, when he was defeated at Hoo-t'ue. The people of the State went to meet the dead [who were being brought back], and all had their hair tied up with sack-cloth. It was now that this style commenced in Loo. The people sang these lines on the occasion:—

"The fox-fur robe of Ts'ing,  
Caused our loss at Hoo-t'ue.  
Our ruler a child;  
Our general a dwarf.  
O dwarf, O dwarf,  
You caused our defeat in Choo!"



Fifth year.

五年<sup>二章</sup>春公至自晉。夏鄭伯使公子發

來聘。叔孫豹鄆世子巫如晉。

仲孫蔑衛孫林父會吳于善道。

秋大雩。楚殺其大夫公子壬夫。

公會晉侯宋公陳侯衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒

子邾子滕子薛伯齊世子光吳人鄆人

于戚。公至自會。冬戍陳。

楚公子貞帥師伐陳。公會晉侯宋公

衛侯鄭伯曹伯齊世子光救陳。十有

二月公至自救陳。辛未季孫行父卒。

左傳曰五年春公至自晉。

王使王叔陳生愬戎於晉晉人執之士魴如京師言王叔之貳於戎也。

夏鄭子國來聘通嗣君也。

穆叔觀鄆犬子於晉以成屬鄆書曰叔孫豹鄆犬子巫如晉言

比諸魯大夫也吳子使壽越如晉辭不會于雞澤之故且請聽

諸侯之好晉人將爲之合諸侯使魯衛先會吳且告會期故孟

獻子孫文子會吳于善道。

秋大雩旱也。

楚人討陳叛故曰由令尹子辛實侵欲焉乃殺之書曰楚殺其

大夫公子壬夫貪也君子謂楚共王於是不刑詩曰周道挺挺

我心扁扁講事不令集人來定



己則無信，而殺人以逞，不亦難乎？夏書曰：成允成功。九月丙午，盟于戚。會吳，且命成陳也。穆叔以屬鄧爲不利，使鄧大夫聘命于會。楚子囊爲令尹，范宣子曰：我喪陳矣。楚人討貳，而立子囊，必改行，而疾討陳。陳近於楚，民朝夕急，能無往乎？有陳，非吾事也。無之而後可。冬，諸侯戍陳。子囊伐陳，十一月甲午，會於城棣，以救之。季文子卒，大夫入斂，公在位。辛卯，家器爲葬備，無衣帛之妾，無食粟之馬，無藏金玉，無重器。備君子是以知季文子之忠於公室也。相三君矣，而無私積，可不謂忠乎？

- V. 1 In his fifth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin.
- 2 In summer, the earl of Ch'ing sent the Kung-tsze Fah to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 3 Shuh-sun P'aou and Woo, heir-son of Ts'ang, went to Tsin.
- 4 Chung-sun M'eh and Sun Lin-foo of Wei had a meeting with Woo at Shen-taou.
- 5 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Jin-foo.
- 7 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ch'ing, the earl of Ts'au, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earl of S'eh, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, an officer of Woo, and an officer of Ts'ang, in Ts'eih.
- 8 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 9 In winter, we went to guard Ch'in.
- 10 The Kung-tsze Ch'ing of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'in.
- 11 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in relieving Ch'in.
- 12 In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from the relief of Ch'in.
- 13 On Sin-we, Ke-sun H'ang-foo died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends here:—'The king sent Wang-shuh Ch'in-sung to accuse the Jung to Tsin. The people of Tsin seized and held him prisoner, while Sze Fang went to the capital, to tell how Wang-shuh was playing double with the Jung.']

Par. 2. Tao-shu says:—'This mission of Taze-kwoh of Ch'ing was to open communication between Loo and the new earl of Ch'ing.' The new earl of Ch'ing had succeeded to that State in the duke's 2d year; he might have sent a mission to Loo before this, but through Ch'ing's long adherence to Ts'oo, its intercourse with the northern States had become irregular. Fah was son of duke Muh, and was styled Taze-kwoh. He was the father of the famous Taze-sh'aa (子產).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Muh-shuh (P'aou) procured an interview with [the marquis of] Tsin for the eldest son of [the viscount of] Ts'ang, in order to complete the attaching of Tsang [to Loo]. The style of the text, joining Shuh-sun P'aou and Woo of Tsang together, [without a conjunction between their names], exhibits the latter as a great officer of Loo.'

Par. 4. Shun-taou was in Woo. Kung and Kuh make the name 善稻. It appears to have been in the prez, Sze-chow (泗州), dep. Fung-yang, Ngan-hway. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Woo sent Show-yach to Tsin, to explain the reason of his not attending the meeting at Ke-tah, and to ask for another opportunity of joining the alliance of the other



States. The people of Tsai proposed on his account to assemble the States, and made Loo and Wei have a meeting with Woo beforehand, and convey to it the time of the [general] meeting. On this account Mung Hsien-tze and Sun Wan-tze had a meeting with Woo at Shen-taon. The names of Chung-sun Mieh and Sun Lin-foo are joined together like those of Shuh-sun Pao and the prince of Tsang in the previous par., because they went to Woo by orders of Tsai,—indeed, as its officers.

Par. 5. See on II. v. 7. Tso adds here that the sacrifice was offered because of a prevailing drought.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'oo were inquiring into the cause of the revolt of Ch'in, and it was said, 'It was in consequence of exorbitant demands upon it of our chief minister Tze-sin,' and on this they put him to death. The words of the entry show that it was his carelessness [which brought his fate on Jin-foo]. The superior man will say that king Kung of Ts'oo here failed in his use of punishment. The ode (a lost ode) says:—

"The great way is level and straight;  
My mind is exact and discriminating.  
In deliberating on things which are  
not good,  
We should collect the [wise] men to  
determine them."

He himself did not keep faith, and he put others to death to gratify his resentment;—was it not hard to have to do with him? One of the Books of Hsü (Shoo, II. II. 14) says, "When one's good faith is established, he can accomplish his undertakings."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, on Ping-woo, there was a covenant at Ts'ieh, the business being—the presence of Woo at the meeting, and giving charge [to the States] about the guarding of Ch'in. Muh-shuh, considering that to have Tsang attached to Loo was not advantageous, made a great officer of Tsang receive the charge [from Tsai] at the meeting. This last sentence would seem to be added to

explain the presence of a representative of Tsang at the meeting. As attached to Loo, that State could not be separately represented at such a time; but Muh-shuh thus publicly renounced the superiority which Loo had a short time obtained over it.

Par. 9. Not Loo alone sent forces to guard the territory of Ch'in; but the other States had also received orders from Tsai at Ts'ieh to do the same. There must have been a gathering of troops from several of them.

Par. 10, 11. Between 曹伯 and 齊的 text of Kung and Kuli adds 莒子, 邾子,

勝子, 薛伯. The Chuen says:—"Tze-ung became chief minister of Ts'oo, on which Fan Seuen-tze said, 'We shall lose Ch'in. The people of Ts'oo, having found the cause of its disaffection and made Tze-ung minister, are sure to change their ways with it. And they are rapid in their measures to punish. Ch'in is near to Ts'oo;—is it possible that the people, distressed morning and night, should not go to it? It is not ours to hold command of Ch'in. Let us let it go, as our best plan.' In winter, the States commenced to guard the territory of Ch'in, and Tze-ung invaded it. In the 11th month, on Kiah-woo, [Tsai and its allies, all] met at Shing-to to relieve it."

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—"When Ke Wan-tze died, the great officers went to his coffin, and the marquis was present in his proper place. The steward had arranged the furniture of the house in preparation for the burial. There was not a concubine who wore silk, nor a horse which ate grain. There were no stores of money and gems, no valuable articles accumulated. The superior man hereby knows that Ke Wan-tze was loyal to the ducal House. He acted as chief minister to three dukes, and yet he had accumulated nothing for himself;—is he not to be pronounced loyal?"

Wan-tze was succeeded by his son Sob (宿), known as Ke Woo-tze (季武子).

Sixth year.

六年春王三月壬午杞伯姑容卒。夏宋華弱來奔。秋葬杞桓公。滕子來朝。莒人滅鄆。冬叔孫豹如邾。季孫宿如晉。十有二月齊侯滅萊。



左傳曰六年春杞桓公卒始赴以名同盟故也  
宋華弱與樂轡少相狎長相優又相謗也子蕩怒以  
弓枯華弱於朝平公見之曰司武而枯於朝難以勝  
矣遂逐之夏宋華弱來奔司城子罕曰同罪異罰非  
刑也專戮於朝罪孰大焉亦逐子蕩子蕩射子罕之  
門曰幾日而不我從子罕善之如初  
秋滕成公來朝始朝公也  
莒人滅鄆鄆恃略也  
冬穆叔如邾聘且修平  
晉人以鄆故來討曰何故亡鄆季武子如晉見且聽  
命  
十一月齊侯滅萊萊恃謀也於鄭子國之來聘也四  
月晏弱城東陽而遂圍萊甲寅堙之環城傳於堞及  
杞桓公卒之月乙未王蒯帥師及正與子棠人軍齊  
師齊師大敗之丁未入萊萊共公俘柔奔棠正與子  
王湫奔莒莒人殺之四月陳無宇獻萊宗器於襄宮  
晏弱圍棠十一月丙辰而滅之遷萊於郕高厚崔杼  
定其田

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Jin-woo, Koo-yung, earl of Ke, died.  
2 In summer, Hwa Joh of Sung came a fugitive to Loo.  
3 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hwan of Ke.  
4 The viscount of T'ang came to Loo on a court-visit.  
5 The people of Keu extinguished Ts'ang.  
6 In winter, Shuh-sun P'ao went to Choo.  
7 Ke-sun Suh went to Ts'in.  
8 In the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e extinguished Lae.

Par. 1. Tao-shu says:—When duke Hwan of Ke died this spring, the announcement of his death was made with his name for the 1st time [on occasion of the death of a prince of Ke], the reason being that he and our dukes had covenanted together. This canon is applicable in the case of the only previous notice which we have of the death of a prince of Ke, where no name is given;—see V. xxiii. 4. Generally, however, throughout the classic, it will not apply. E.g., in I. viii. 4, we have the name of the marquis of Ts'ao in the record of his death, though Duke Yin had never covenanted with him. Again, in VIII. xiv. 7, we have the death of an earl of Ts'in without his name, tho' in ii. 10 there is the record of a covenant made by Loo with Ts'in.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—Hwa Joh of Sung (a grandson of Hwa T'aoan, in the Chuen an VII. xii. 5) and Yoh Pe, were great companions when young, and when grown up they made

sport together, and went on to revile one another. [Once], Tze-tang (Yoh Pe), in a passion with the other, twisted his bow [-string] about his neck in the court. Duke Ping saw the thing, and said, "It would be strange if a minister of War, who is dealt with thus in the court, were equal to his office." He then drove Joh out of the State; and in summer he came, a fugitive, to Loo. Tze-han, minister of Works, said, "To inflict different penalties on parties guilty of the same offence is improper punishment. What offence could be greater than [for Pe] to take it on himself [so] to disgrace [Joh] in the court?" [Accordingly he proposed] also to drive out Tze-tang, who shot an arrow at his door, saying, "In a few days, shall you not be following me?" Tze-han then became friendly with him as before.

Par. 3. Loo had not before this sent an officer to attend the burial of a prince of Ke. The State was small and at a distance. But



duke Hwan had married a daughter of Loo, and See—Ting-ze,—duke Seang's mother, had been from Ke. These circumstances drew the States together more than had been the case before.

Par. 4. Tso says that this visit of duke Ching of Tsang was the first on the part of Tsang since duke Seang's accession.

Par. 5. This calamity came upon Tsang, according to Tso-shu, 'through its trusting in bribes,'—bribes which it had paid to Loo for its protection. Nothing could be plainer than the statement here that Tsang was extinguished by Keu. Mention, however, is made, in the 4th year of duke Ch'ao, of Loo's taking Tsang, as if it had not been extinguished now. The language there can only be equivalent to 'Loo took from Keu what had formerly been Tsang.' Kung-yang, however, suggests another view of the 'extinguished' in the text;—that Keu now superseded the See line in Tsang by the son of a daughter of Tsang married to one of its scions. There is no necessity for this view, and no evidence of it.

Par. 6. Tso-shu says:—'In winter, Muh-shuh went to Choo, with friendly inquiries, and to cultivate peace;—after the battle of Foo-t'ae, in the end of last year.'

Par. 7. Suh was the son of H'ang-foo, and had succeeded to his father as chief minister of Loo. It would seem that it was necessary for him to get the sanction of the leading State to his appointment. The Chuen says:—'An offi-

cer of Tsai came to Loo to inquire about [the loss of] Tsang, and to reprove us for it, saying, "Why have you lost Tsang?" On this, Ke Woo-tze went to Tsai to have an interview [with the marquis], and to hear his commands.'

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'In the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'ao extinguished Loo, through its reliance on the bribes [which it had offered to Ts'ao]; (see the Chuen after ii. 2). In the 4th month of the last year, when Tze-kwoh of Ch'ing came on his friendly mission to Loo (see v. 2), Ngan Joh fortified Tung-yang, and proceeded to lay siege to the capital of Loo. On K'eah-jin, he raised a mound round the wall, which was [gradually] brought close to the parapet. In the month [of this year] when duke Hwan of Ke died, on Yih-we, Wang Ts'ao (see the Chuen on VIII. xviii. 3), Ching Yu-tze (see the Chuen after ii. 2), and the people of Tsang attacked the army of Ts'ao, which inflicted on them a great defeat, and entered Loo on Ting-we. Fow-jow, duke Kung of Loo, fled to Tsang. Ching Yu-tze and Wang Ts'ao fled to Keu, where they were put to death. In the 4th month, Ch'iu Woo-yu presented the most precious spoils of Loo in the temple of [duke] Seang. Ngan Joh laid siege to Tsang, and on Ping-shin, in the 11th month, he extinguished it. Loo was removed to E. Kanu How and T'ay Ch'oo superintended the laying out of its lands [anew].'

Seventh year.

侯	于	宋	師	戊	冬	秋	小	夏	七
丙	鄆	公	圍	及	十	季	邾	四	年
戌	鄭	陳	陳	孫	月	孫	子	月	春
卒	伯	侯	十	林	衛	宿	來	三	邾
于	髡	侯	有	父	侯	如	朝	卜	子
鄆	頑	曹	二	盟	使	衛		郊	來
	如	伯	月	楚	孫		城	不	朝
	會	莒	公	公	林	八	費	從	
	未	子	會	子	父	月		乃	
	見	邾	晉	貞	來	螽		免	
	諸	子	侯	帥	聘			牲	
					壬				



左傳曰：七年春，鄆子來朝，始朝公也。夏四月，三卜郊，不從，乃免牲。孟獻子曰：吾乃今而後知有卜筮，夫郊祀后稷，以祈農事也，是故啟蟄而郊，郊而後耕。今既耕而卜郊，宜其不從也。

小邾穆公來朝，亦始朝公也。

南遺爲費宰，叔仲昭伯爲隧正，欲善季氏，而求媚于南遺，謂遺請城費，吾多與而役，故季氏城費。

秋季，武子如衛，報子叔之聘，且辭緩報，非貳也。

⑤冬十月，晉韓獻子告老，公族穆子有廢疾，將立之，辭曰：詩曰：豈不夙夜，謂行多露。又曰：弗躬弗親，庶民弗信。無忌不才，讓其可乎？請立起也。與田蘇游，而曰：好仁，詩曰：靖共爾位，好是正直，神之聽之，介爾景福。恤民爲德，正直爲正，正曲爲直，參和爲仁，如是則神聽之，介福降之，立之，不亦可乎？庚戌，使宣子朝，遂老。晉侯謂韓無忌仁，使掌公族大夫。

衛孫文子來聘，且拜武子之言，而尋孫桓子之盟。公登亦登，叔孫穆子相，趨進曰：諸侯之會，寡君未嘗後衛君。今吾子不後寡君，寡君未知所過，吾子其少安。孫子無辭，亦無悛容。穆叔曰：孫子必亡，爲臣而君過而不悛，亡之本也。詩曰：退食自公，委蛇委蛇，謂從者也，衡而委蛇，必折。

楚子囊圍陳，會于鄆以救之。

鄭僑公之爲犬子也，於成之十六年，與子罕適晉，不禮焉。又與子豐適楚，亦不禮焉。及其元年，朝於晉，子豐欲愬諸晉而廢之，子罕止之。及將會于鄆，子驪相，又不禮焉。侍者諫，不聽。又諫殺之。及鄆，子驪使賊夜弑僑公，而以瘞疾赴於諸侯。簡公生五年，奉而立之。

陳人患楚，慶虎、慶寅謂楚人曰：吾使公子黃往而執之，楚人從之。二慶使告陳侯於會曰：楚人執公子黃矣。君



歸。侯。圖。有。廟。稷。忍。臣。來。若  
逃。陳。二。懼。宗。社。不。羣。不

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, the viscount of T'an came to Loo on a court-visit.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a third time about the border sacrifice. The divination was adverse, and the victim was let go.  
 3 The viscount of Little Choo came to Loo on a court-visit.  
 4 We walled Pe.  
 5 In autumn, Ke-sun Suh went to Wei.  
 6 In the eighth month, there were locusts.  
 7 In winter, in the tenth month, the marquis of Wei sent Sun Lin-foo to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries; and on Jin-sëuh [the duke] made a covenant with him.  
 8 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force and besieged [the capital of] Ch'in.  
 9 In the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, and the viscounts of Ken and Choo, in Wei.  
 10 K'wän-hwan earl of Ch'ing [set out] to go to the meeting; but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Ping-seuh, he died at Ts'aou.  
 11 The marquis of Ch'in stole away [from the meeting] to Ch'in.

Par. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 2-5. There, however, the divination had been tried 4 times, while here the tortoise-shell was only consulted a 3d time; and it is understood that to divine thrice was in accordance with rule. But on this occasion, as we learn from the Chuen, the 3d divination was made after the equinox, when it was no longer proper to offer the border sacrifice. The Chuen says:—On this occasion, Mäng Hsien-tse said, "From this time forth I know the virtue of the tortoise-shell and the milfoil. At this service we sacrifice to How-tschih, praying for a blessing on our husbandry. Hence the border sacrifice is offered at the season of K'e-chih (the emergence of insects from their burrows; see on II. v. 7), and afterwards the people do their ploughing. Now the ploughing is done, and still we divined about the border sacrifice. It was right the divinations should be adverse."

Par. 3. Like p. 1. See on p. 4 of last year.

Par. 4. Pe was the city belonging to the Ke or Ke-sun clan;—its name remains in the district so called, dep. of E-chow. The old city was 20 li north-west from the pres. dia. city. Pe was granted originally by duke He to Ke Yew, the founder of the Ke clan;—see the Chuen on V. i. 2. The Chuen says:—Nan E was commandant of Pe, and Shih-chung Ch'ou-pih was superintendent of workmen. Wishing to be on good terms with Ke [Woo-tse] and to flatter Nan E, he proposed to him to ask that

Pe might be fortified, saying that he would allot a great number of workmen for the undertaking. On this the Head of the Ke clan fortified Pe."

This event deserved record, as illustrating the gradual increase of the power of perhaps the most influential family in Loo.

Par. 5. Tao-she says this visit to Wei was in return for that of Tze-shuh or Kung-sun P'ao in the duke's 1st year, to explain the delay that had taken place, and assure Wei that it was from no disaffection. Maon thinks it unreasonable to suppose that we have here the response to a visit seven years before; what really occasioned it, however, he cannot tell.

Par. 6. See II. v. 8; *et al.*

[The Chuen appends here:—In winter, in the 10th month, Han Hsien-tse announced his [wish to retire from duty on account of] age. [His son], Muh-tse (Han Woo-ke; see the Chuen after VIII. xviii. 3), the Head of one of the branches of the ducal kindred, had an incurable disease; and when it was proposed to appoint him his father's successor, he declined [the office] saying, "The ode says (She, I. ii. ode VI. 1):—

"Might I not have been there in the early morning?

I said, "There is too much dew on the path,"

And another says (She, II. iv. ode VII. 4):—

"Doing nothing personally and by himself,  
The people have no confidence in him."



I have not the ability [for the place]; may I not decline it in favour of another? I would ask that K'e (his younger brother) may be appointed. He associated much with T'een Soo, and may be pronounced a lover of virtue. The ode says (She, II. vi. ode III. v.):—

'Quietly fulfil the duties of your office,  
Loving the correct and upright.  
So shall the Spirits hearken to you,  
And increase your brilliant happiness.'

A compassionate attendance to the business of the people is goodness. The rectification of one's self is real rectitude. The straightening of others crookedness is real correctness. These three things in harmony constitute virtue. To him who has such virtue, the Spirits will listen, and they will send down on him bright happiness. Would it not be well to appoint such an one?

'On K'ang-seuh, [Han Hsen-tse] made [his son], Shuen-tse appear in court before the marquis, and then retired from office himself. The marquis, considering [also] that Han Woo-ko was possessed of high virtue, appointed him director of the Heads of all the branches of the ducal kindred.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'Sun Wan-tse came on a friendly mission; to acknowledge also the [satisfactory] language of Woo-tse (on his mission to Wei in autumn); and to renew the covenant of Sun Hwan-tse (in the third year of duke Ching; see VIII. iii. 13). When the duke was ascending the steps, he ascended them along with him, on which Shuh-san Muh-tze (P'ao), who was directing the ceremonies, hurried forward, and said, "At meetings of the States, our ruler has never followed after yours; and now you do not follow after our ruler;—he does not know wherein he has erred. Be pleased, Sir, to be a little more leisurely." Sun-tse made no reply, and did not change his deportment. Muh-shuh said, "Sun-tse is sure to perish. For a minister to play the part of a ruler, to do wrong and not change one's conduct, are the first steps to ruin. The ode says (She, I. ii. ode VII.):

'They have retired to their meals from the court;  
Easy are they and self-possessed.'

It speaks of officers acting naturally as they ought to do; but he who assumes such an appearance of ease in a crisis and unreasonable course is sure to be broken."

Par. 8, 9. For 鄭 K'uh-k'ang has 降. The place was in Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—'Tse-nang of T'oo having laid siege to the capital of Ch'ing, there was the meeting at Wei to succour it.' The meeting came to nothing, as we shall see, and thenceforth there was an end of any adherence to the northern States on the part of Ch'ing.

Par. 10. For 髡頑 Kung and K'uh have 髡原; and for 郕 they have 樓. T'ao-nu was in Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—'When duke He of Ch'ing was [only his father's] eldest son, in the 10th year of duke Ch'ing he went with Tse-han to Tsin, and behaved improperly. He did the same in T'oo, to which he had gone with Tse-fung. In his first year, when he went to the court of Tsin, Tse-fung wished to accuse him to the marquess, and get him displaced, but Tse-han stopped the attempt. When he was proceeding to the meeting at Wei, Tse-ao was with him as director; and to him also he behaved with impropriety. His attendants remonstrated, but he did not listen to them. They repeated their remonstrance, and he put them to death. When they got to T'ao-nu, Tse-ao employed some ruffians to kill the duke, and sent word to the States that he had died of fever. [His son], duke K'ao, though but 5 years old, was raised to be earl.'

Chou K'wang and some other critics deny the account of the earl's murder which is given in the Chuen (and also by Kung and K'uh), and suppose from the language of the text, that he died a natural death. There can be no doubt, however, that the truth is to be found in the Chuen.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ch'ing were troubled by [the action of] T'oo; and [while the marquess was absent at Wei], K'ing Woo and K'ing Yin proposed to the commander of T'oo's army that they should send the Kung-tse Hwang to it, to be held as a prisoner. This was agreed to and acted on; and the two K'ing then sent to the marquess at the meeting, saying, "The people of T'oo have seized and hold your brother Hwang. If you do not at once come back, your ministers cannot bear to see the impending fate of our altars and ancestral temple. We fear there will be two plans [for the future in debate]." On this the marquess stole away back.'

### Eighth year.

八年春，王正月，公如晉。夏，葬鄭僖公。鄭人侵蔡，獲蔡公子燮。季孫宿會晉侯、鄭伯、齊人、宋人、衛人、邾人于邢丘。公至自晉。



六年 莒人伐我東鄙。秋九月，大雩。冬，楚公子貞帥師伐鄭。晉侯使士匄來聘。

左傳曰：八年春，公如晉朝，且聽朝聘之數。

○鄭羣公子以僖公之死也，謀子驪，子驪先之。夏四月，庚辰，辟殺子狐、子熙、子侯、子丁、孫擊、孫惡，出奔衛。

庚寅，鄭子國子耳侵蔡，獲蔡司馬公子燮。鄭人皆喜，唯子產不順，曰：「小國無文德而有武功，禍莫大焉。」楚人來討，能勿從乎？從之。晉師必至，晉楚伐鄭，自今鄭國不四五年，弗得寧矣。子國怒之曰：「爾何知國有大命而有正卿？」童子言焉，將爲戮矣。

五月甲辰，會于邢丘，以命朝聘之數，使諸侯之大夫聽命。李孫宿、齊高厚、宋向戌、衛甯殖、邾大夫會之。鄭伯獻捷於會，故親聽命。大夫不書，尊晉侯也。

莒人伐我東鄙，以疆鄆田。

秋九月，大雩，旱也。

冬，楚子囊伐鄭，討其侵蔡也。子驪，子國子耳，欲從楚。子孔、子蟪、子展，欲待晉。子驪曰：「周詩有之曰：『俟河之清，人壽幾何？』兆云：『詢多職競，作羅謀之多。』族民之多違，事滋無成，民急矣。姑從楚以紓吾民。晉師至，吾又從之，敬共幣帛，以待來者，小國之道也。」犧牲玉帛，待於二竟，以待彊者而庇民焉。寇不爲害，民不罷病，不亦可乎？子展曰：「小所以事大，信也。小國無信，兵亂日至，亡無日矣。五會之信，今將背之，雖楚救我，將安用之？親我無成，鄙我是欲，不可從也。不如待晉。晉君方明，四軍無闕，八卿和睦，必不棄鄭。楚師遼遠，糧食將盡，必將速歸。何患焉？舍之間之，杖莫如信，完守以老楚，杖信以待晉，不亦可乎？」子驪曰：「詩云：『謀夫孔多，是用不集。』發言盈庭，誰敢執其咎，如匪行邁謀，是用不得於道。』請從楚，驂也受其咎，乃及楚平，使王子伯駘告於晉曰：『君命敝邑，』



修而車賦，儼而師徒，以討亂略。蔡人不從，敝邑之人不敢寧處，悉索敝賦，以討於蔡。獲司馬燮，獻于邢丘。今楚來討曰：汝何故稱兵於蔡？焚我郊保，進陵我城郭，敝邑之衆，夫婦男女，不遑啟處，以相救也。蕭焉傾覆，無所控告，民死亡者，非其父兄，卽其子弟，夫人愁痛，不知所庇，民知窮困而受盟於楚，孤也與其二三臣，不能禁止，不敢不告。知武子使行人子員對之曰：君有楚命，亦不使一介行李告於寡君，而卽安於楚，君之所欲也，誰敢違君？寡君將帥諸侯以見於城下，唯君圖之。

晉范宣子來聘，且拜公之辱，告將用師於鄭。公享之，宣子賦，標有梅，季武子曰：誰敢哉？今譬於草木，寡君在君，君之臭味也，歡以承命，何時之有？武子賦：角弓。賓將出，武子賦：彤弓。宣子曰：城濮之役，我先君文公獻功於衡雍，受彤弓於襄王，以爲子孫藏，曰：先君守官之嗣也，敢不承命。君子以爲知禮。

- VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Tsin.
- 2 In summer, there was the burial of duke He of Ch'ing.
- 3 A body of men from Ch'ing made an incursion into Ts'ae, and captured duke [Chwang's] son, S'eh.
- 4 Ke-sun Suh had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the earl of Ch'ing, an officer of Ts'e, an officer of Wei, and an officer of Choo, in Hing-k'ew.
- 5 The duke arrived from Tsin.
- 6 A body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders.
- 7 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 8 In winter, the Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and invaded Ch'ing.
- 9 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Kae to Loo-on a mission of friendly inquiries.

Par. 1. The duke was at the meeting of Wei the month before this, and now went on to Tsin, without first returning to Loo. He went to Tsin, says Tso-she, 'on a court-visit, and to hear how often such visits, and visits of friendly inquiry, should be paid.' From the Chuen after X. iii. 1, we learn that, when dukes Wan and S'ang of Tsin led the States, the rule was that the other princes should appear in the court of Tsin once in 5 years, and send a friendly mission once in 3 years. This rule had ceased to be observed, and duke Tsau was now encouraged by his strength and success to regulate anew the relations between his own and other States.

Par. 2. The K'ang-he editors observe that the classic, having given above the death of the

earl of Ch'ing as it had been announced to Loo,—a natural death, and not a murder,—was now bound to give his burial. I suppose the burial is recorded, because it took place, and was attended by an officer of Loo.

[The Chuen adds here:—'The sons of previous earls of Ch'ing, in consequence of the death of duke He, were planning to take off Tze-ssu, when he anticipated their movement. On K'ang-shin, in the 4th month, this summer, on some charge of guilt, he put to death Tze-hoo, Tze-he, Tze-hou, and Tze-tung. Sun Keli and Sun Goh (sons of Tze-hoo) fled to Wei'.]

Par. 3. Here and afterwards K'uh-l'ung has, for 變濕 which he interchanges with 溼



The Chuen says:—“On Käng-yin, Taze-kwoh and Taze-urh made an incursion into Ts’ao, and captured its minister of War, duke [Chwang’s] son Ssieh. The people of Ch’ing were all glad, with the single exception of Taze-ch’an, who said, “There can be no greater misfortune to a small State than to have success in war while there is no virtue in its civil administration. When the people of Ts’ao come to punish us [for this exploit], we must yield to their demands. Yielding to Ts’ao, the army of Ts’in is sure to come upon us. Both Ts’in and Ts’ao will attack Ch’ing, which, within 4 or 5 years, will have no quiet.” Taze-kwoh (his father) was angry, and said to him, “What do you know? The expedition was a great commission of the State, and conducted by its chief minister. If a boy like you talk about it so, you will get into disgrace.”

Par. 4. Hing-k’wé was in Ts’in, —70 *li* to the south-east of the city of Ho-nuy, dep. Hwaeh-k’ing, Ho-nan. The Chuen says:—“In the 5th month, on Keah-shin, [the marquis of Ts’in] held a meeting at Hing-k’wé; to give out his rules about the times for appearing at his court, and for friendly missions, when he made the great officers attend to receive his orders. [Our] Ke-sun Suh, Kaou How of Ts’ao, Hsäng Seah of Sung, Ning Chih of Wei, and a great officer of Choo, were present. The earl of Ch’ing presented the spoils [of Ts’ao] at the meeting, and so received the charge of Ts’in in person. The names of the great officers are not given, in deference to the marquis of Ts’in.” The Chuen on the 1st par. says that the duke went to Ts’in to receive the instructions of that court about the relations between the States and it. He was not present, however, at Hing-k’wé; and the earl of Ch’ing was present only through his own forwardness, and wish to pay court to Ts’in. The marquis of Ts’in seems to have felt that, if he assembled the princes in person at Hing-k’wé, the proceedings would approximate too closely to a usurpation of kingly functions. Tze-sho’s canon about the different 人 has little value.

Par. 5. Tze says this invasion had reference to the defining the borders of the lands of Ts’ang. We can easily suppose that Leo had encroached, or was now endeavouring to encroach, on the west of what had been the territory of Ts’ang, supplying Kou with a *canal belli*.

Par. 6. See on v. 5.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—“In winter, Taze-nang, of Ts’ao invaded Ch’ing, to punish it for its raid on Ts’ao. Taze-see, Taze-kwoh, and Taze-urh wished to follow Ts’ao. Taze-k’ung, Taze-k’ao, and Taze-chen, wished to [hold out, and] wait for Ts’in. Taze-see said, “There is an ode (a lost ode) of Chow which says,

“If you wait till the Ho becomes clear,  
The life of man is too short [for such a thing].”

There are the decisions of the tortoise-shell, and various opinions of our counsellors; this is like making a net with conflicting views. The great families have many different plans, and the people are much divided. It is more and more difficult to conduct our affairs successfully. The people are in distress; let us for the time give way to Ts’ao, to relieve our people. When the army of Ts’in arrives, we can also follow it.

To wait till the river with reverent offerings of silks is the way for a small State. With cattle, geese, and silks, on our two borders, we can wait the approach of the stronger Power, and thus protect the people. The enemy will then do us no harm, and the people will not be distressed:—is not this a course that can be followed?”

Taze-chen said, “It is by good faith that a small State can serve a great one. If the small one do not observe good faith, war and disorder will be constantly coming on it, and the day of its ruin will not be distant. We are bound to faith [with Ts’in] by five meetings, and if we violate it, though Ts’ao may help us, or what use will it be? With [Ts’in] that would be friend us you do not seek peace; with [Ts’ao] that would make our State a border of its own you wish to [treat]:—this plan is not to be followed. We had better wait for Ts’in. Its ruler is intelligent; its four armies are all complete; its eight commanders are all harmonious:—it will not abandon Ch’ing. The army of Ts’ao has come from far; its provisions will soon be exhausted; it must shortly retire:—why be troubled about it? According to what I have heard, no support is like good faith. Let us firmly hold out, to tire Ts’ao, and let us lean on good faith, awaiting Ts’in:—is not this the course that should be followed? Taze-see replied, “The ode (She, II. v. ode I. 3) says,

“The counsellors are very many,  
And so nothing is accomplished.  
The words spoken fill the court,  
But who will take the responsibility of decision?  
We are as if we consulted [about a journey], without taking a step in advance,  
And therefore did not get on on the road.”

Please let us follow Ts’ao, and I will take the responsibility.” Accordingly they made peace with Ts’ao, and sent the king’s son, Pih-ping to inform [the marquis of] Ts’in, saying, “Your lordship commanded our State to have its chariots in repair and its soldiers in readiness to punish the disorderly and remiss. The people of Ts’ao were disobedient, and our people did not dare to abide quietly [looking on]. We called out all our levies to punish Ts’ao, took captive Ssieh its minister of war, and presented him to your lordship at Hing-k’wé. And now Ts’ao has come to punish us, asking why we commenced hostilities with Ts’ao. It has burned all the stations on our borders; it has come insultingly up to our walls and suburbs. The multitudes of our people, husbands and wives, men and women, had no houses left in which to save one another. They have been destroyed with an utter overthrow, with no one to appeal to. If the fathers and elder brothers have not perished, the sons and younger brothers have done so. All were full of sorrow and distress, and there was none to protect them. Under the pressure of their destitution, they accepted a covenant with Ts’ao, which I and my ministers were not able to prevent. I dare not but now inform you of it.” Che Woo-tze made the inter-nuncios Taze-yun reply to Pih-ping, “Your ruler received such a message from Ts’ao, and at the same time did not send a single messenger to inform our ruler, but instantly sought for rest under Ts’ao:—it was your ruler’s wish to



do so; who would dare to oppose him? But our ruler will lead on the States and see him beneath his walls. Let your ruler take measures accordingly."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"Fan Senen-tze (Sze Kae) came to Loo, on a friendly mission, and also to acknowledge the duke's visit [to Tain, in spring], and to give notice about taking the field against Ch'ing. The duke feasted him, on which occasion he sang the P'san yé-mei (She, I. II. ode IX.), and Ke Woo-tze (Ke-sun Suh) rejoined, "Who will dare [not to obey your orders]? If you compare your ruler to a plum-tree, ours is to him as its fragrance, [a portion of the same plant]. Joyfully we re-

ceive your orders, and will obey them without regard to time." With this he sang the K'oh kung (She II. vii. ode IX.). When the guest was about to leave [the hall], Woo-tze [also] sang the Tung kung (She, II. iii. ode I.). Senen-tze said, "After the battle of Shing-pu, our former ruler, duke Wan, presented [the trophies of] his success in H'ang-yung (see the Chuen on V. xxviii. 8), and received the red bow from king Ssang, to be preserved by his descendants. I have inherited the office held by my ancestor under that previous ruler, and dare not but receive your instructions?" The superior man considers that Senen-tze was acquainted with propriety."

*Ninth year.*

九年<sup>二</sup>春，宋災。  
夏<sup>三</sup>季，孫宿如晉。  
五月<sup>三</sup>，辛酉，夫人姜氏薨。  
秋<sup>四</sup>，八月，癸未，葬我小君穆姜。  
冬<sup>五</sup>，公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、齊世子光，伐鄭。  
十<sup>六</sup>有二月，己亥，同盟于戲。  
楚子伐鄭。

左傳曰：九年春，宋災，樂喜爲司城以爲政，使伯氏司里，火所未至，徹小屋，塗大屋，陳舂揭，具纆缶，備水器，量輕重，蓄水潦，積土塗巡丈城，繕守備，表火道，使華臣具正徒，令隧正納郊保，奔火所，使華閱討右官，官庇其司，向戌討左，亦如之，使樂過庇刑器，亦如之，使皇鄆命校正出馬，工正出車，備甲兵，庇武守，使西鉏吾庇府守，令司宮巷伯儼宮，二師令四鄉正敬享，祝宗用馬於四墻，祝盤庚於西門之外，晉侯問於士嗣，曰：吾聞之，宋災，於是乎知有天道，何故？對曰：古之火



正或食於心，或食於味，以出內火，是故味爲獨火，心爲大火，陶唐氏之火正關伯居商丘，祀大火，而火紀時焉。相土因之，故商主大火，商人閱其禍敗之實，必始於火，是以日知其有天道也。公曰：可必乎？對曰：在道，國亂無象，不可知也。

夏季武子如晉，報宣子之聘也。

穆姜薨于東宮，始往而筮之，遇艮之八。史曰：是謂艮之隨，隨其出也。君必速出。姜曰：亡是於周易曰：隨元亨利貞，無咎。元，體之長也；亨，嘉之會也；利，義之和也；貞，事之幹也。體仁足以長人，嘉德足以合禮，利物足以和義，貞固足以幹事，然故不可誣也。是以雖隨無咎。今我婦人而與於亂，固在下位而有仁，不可謂貞，不靖國家，不可謂亨，作而害身，不可謂利，棄位而姦，不可謂貞，有四德者，隨而無咎，我皆無之，豈隨也哉！我則取惡，能無咎乎？必死於此，弗得出矣。

秦景公使士雅乞師於楚，將以伐晉。楚子許之。子囊曰：不可。當今吾不能與晉爭，晉君類能而使之，舉不失選，官不易方，其卿讓於善，其大夫不失守，其士競於教，其庶人力於農穡，商工阜隸，不知遷業，韓厥老矣，知罃稟焉以爲政，范匄少於中行，偃而主之，使佐中軍，韓起少於欒黶，而欒黶主之，使佐上軍，魏絳多功，以趙武爲賢而爲之佐，君明臣忠，上讓下競，當是時也，晉不可敵，事之而後可。君其圖之。王曰：吾既許之矣，雖不及晉，必將出師。秋，楚子師於武城，以爲秦援。秦人侵晉，晉饑，弗能報也。

冬十月，諸侯伐鄭。庚午，季武子齊崔杼、宋皇郈、從荀偃、士匄、門子馯、門、衛北宮括、曹人邾人、從荀偃、韓起、門子師之、梁、滕人、薛人、從欒黶、士魴、門子北門杞人、郕人、從趙武、魏絳、斬行、栗甲戌，師于汜，令於諸侯曰：脩器械，盛餼糧，歸老幼，居疾于虎牢，肆眚，圍鄭。鄭人恐，乃行成。中行獻子曰：遂圍之，以待楚人之救也，而與之戰，不然，無成。知武子曰：許之盟而還師，以敝楚人，吾三分四軍，與諸侯之銳，以逆來者，於我未病，楚不能矣，猶愈於戰，暴



骨以逞，不可以爭，大勞未艾，君子勞心，小人勞力，先王之制也。諸侯皆不欲戰，乃許鄭成。十一月己亥，同盟于戲。鄭服也。將盟，鄭六卿公子騂、公子發、公子嘉、公孫輒、公孫臺、公孫舍之及其大夫門子皆從鄭伯。晉士莊子爲載書曰：自今日既盟之後，鄭國而不唯晉命是聽，而或有異志者，有如此盟。公子騂趨進曰：天禍鄭國，使介居二大國之間，大國不加德音，而亂以要之，使其鬼神不獲歆其禋祀，其民人不獲享其土利，夫婦辛苦墊隘，無所底告。自今日既盟之後，鄭國而不唯有禮與彊，可以庇民者是從，而敢有異志者，亦如之。荀偃曰：改載書，公孫舍之曰：昭大神，要言焉，若可改也。大國亦可叛也。知武子謂獻子曰：我實不德，而要人以盟，豈禮也哉？非禮，何以主盟？姑盟而退，修德息師而來，終必獲鄭，何必今日？我之不德，民將棄我，豈唯鄭？若能休和，遠人將至，何恃於鄭？乃盟而還。晉人不得志於鄭，以諸侯復伐之。十二月癸亥，門其二門，閏月戊寅，濟于陰阪，侵鄭，次於陰口而還。子孔曰：晉師可擊也，師老而勞，且有歸志，必大克之。子展曰：不可。

⑤公送晉侯，晉侯以公宴於河上，問公年。季武子對曰：會於沙隨之歲，寡君以生，晉侯曰：十二年矣，是謂一終一星終也。國君十五而生子，冠而生子，禮也。君可以冠矣。大夫盍爲冠具。武子對曰：君冠，必以裸享之禮行之，以金石之樂節之，以先君之祧處之。今寡君在行，未可具也。請及兄弟之國而假備焉。晉侯曰：諾。公還及衛，冠於成公之廟，假鐘磬焉，禮也。

楚子伐鄭，子驪將及楚平。子孔子蟠曰：與大國盟，口血未乾，而背之，可乎？子驪曰：吾盟固云，唯彊是從，今楚師至，晉不我救，則楚彊矣。盟誓之言，豈敢背之？且要盟無質，神弗臨也。所臨唯信，信者，言之瑞也。善之主也，是故臨之，明神不譖要盟，背之可也。乃及楚平。公子罷戎入盟，同盟於中分。楚莊夫人卒，王未能定鄭而歸。⑥晉侯歸，謀所以息民，魏絳請施舍，輸積聚以貸，自公以下，苟有積者盡出之，國無滯積，亦無困人，公無禁利，亦無貪民，所以幣更賓，以特牲器用，不作車服從給，行之期年，國乃有節，三駕而楚不能與爭。



- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, there was a fire in Sung.  
 2 In summer, Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin.  
 3 In the fifth month, on Sin-yëw, duke [Sëuen's] wife, Këang, died.  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Kwei-we, we buried our duchess Muh Këang.  
 5 In winter, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'au, the viscounts of Këu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, the viscount of Little Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in invading Ch'ing. In the twelfth month, on Ke-hae, these princes made a covenant together in He.  
 6 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Kung-yang has here 火 instead of 災, and we may doubt whether the canon of Tso-she, that 災 denotes a calamity produced by Heaven is applicable to this passage. The Chuen makes it clear that the event thus briefly chronicled was a fire which desolated the capital of Sung. This is another instance of the record in the Ch'ün T'zu of the prodigies and calamities that occurred in Sung. Acc. to Kung and Kuh, such events in other States ought not to be mentioned in the Classic, but they make an exception in the case of Sung, as being entitled to preëminence among the other States, because its princes were the representatives of the line of Shang; or because Confucius was descended from a family of Sung! But calamities in other States are sometimes chronicled in the text;—e.g. X. xviii. 2. Too is, no doubt, correct in saying we have this record here, because an announcement of the event was sent from Sung to Loo.

The Chuen says:—In the duke's 9th year, in spring, there was a fire in Sung. Yoh He (Tso-han) was then minister of Works, and made in consequence [the following] regulations [for such an event]. He appointed the officer Pih to take charge of the streets where the fire had not reached. He was to remove small houses, and plaster over large ones. He was to set forth baskets and barrows for carrying earth; provide well-ropes and buckets; prepare water jars; have things arranged according to their weight; dam the water up in places where it was collected; have earth and mud stored up; go round the walls and measure off the places where watch and ward should be kept; and signalize the line of the fire. He appointed Hwa Shün to have the public workmen in readiness, and to order the commandants outside the city to march their men from the borders and various stations to the place of the fire. He appointed Hwa Yuch to arrange that the officers of the right should be prepared for all they might be called on to do, and Liang Sëuh to arrange similarly for the officers of the left. He appointed Yoh Ch'uen in the same way to prepare the various instruments of punishment. He appointed Hwang Yan to give orders to the master of the horse to bring out horses, and the

chariot-master to bring out chariots, and to be prepared with buff-coats and weapons, in readiness for military guard. He appointed Se T'oo-woo to look after the records kept in the different repositories. He ordered the superintendent and officers of the harem to maintain a careful watch in the palace. The masters of the right and left were to order the headmen of the 4 village-districts reverently to offer sacrifices. The great officer of religion was to sacrifice horses on the walls, and sacrifice to Pwan-kang outside the western gate.

The marquis of Tsin asked Sze Joh what was the reason of a saying which he had heard, that from the fire of Sung it could be known there was a providence. "The ancient director of fire," replied Joh, "was sacrificed to either when the heart or the beak of the Bird culminated at sun-set, to regulate the kindling or the extinguishing of the people's fires. Hence the beak is the star Shün-hu, and the heart is Ta-ho. Now the director of fire under T'ao-t'ang (Yao) was Oh-pih, who dwelt in Shang-k'ew, and sacrificed to Ta-ho, by fire regulating the seasons. Sëang-too came after him, and hence Shang paid special regard to the star Ta-ho. The people of Shang, in calculating their disasters and calamities, discovered that they were sure to begin with fire, and hence came the saying about thereby knowing there was a providence." "Can the thing be certainly [known beforehand]?" asked the marquis, to which Joh replied, "It depends on the ruler's course. When the disorders of a State have not evident indications, it cannot be known [beforehand]."

Par. 2. Tso says this visit of Ke Woo-tze to Tsin was in return for that of Fan Sëuen-tze to Loo in the end of last year.

Par. 3. This lady was the grandmother of duke Sëang. Her intrigue with K'ëan-joo, and her threats to duke Ch'ing, have appeared in different narratives of the Chuen. It would appear that she had been put under some restraint, and confined in the palace appropriate to the elder son and heir-apparent of the State. The Chuen says:—Muh Këang died in the eastern palace. When she first went into it, she consulted the pillow, and got the second line of the diagram Kin (艮). The diviner said, "This is what remains when Kin becomes



Suy (隨, 隨). Suy is the symbol of getting out; your ladyship will soon get out from this." She replied, "No. Of this diagram it is said in the *Chew Yih*, 'Suy indicates being great, penetrating, beneficial, firmly correct, without blame.' Now that greatness is the lofty distinction of the person; that penetration is the assemblage of excellences; that beneficialness is the harmony of all righteousness; that firm correctness is the stem of all affairs. The person who is entirely virtuous is sufficient to take the presidency of others; admirable virtue is sufficient to secure an agreement with all propriety. Beneficialness to things is sufficient to effect a harmony of all righteousness. Firm correctness is sufficient to manage all affairs. But these things must not be in semblance merely. It is only thus that Suy could bring the assurance of blamelessness. Now I, a woman, and associated with disorder, am here in the place of inferior rank. Chargeable moreover with a want of virtue, greatness cannot be predicated of me. Not having contributed to the quiet of the State, penetration cannot be predicated of me. Having brought harm to myself by my doings, beneficialness cannot be predicated of me. Having left my proper place for a bad intrigue, firm correctness cannot be predicated of me. To one who has those four virtues the diagram Suy belongs;—what have I to do with it, to whom none of them belongs? Having chosen evil, how can I be without blame? I shall die here; I shall never get out of this."

[The Chuen appends here:—] Duke King of Ts'in sent Sze K'ien to beg the assistance of an army from Ts'oo, intending to invade Tsin. The viscount granted it, but Tsao-nang objected, saying, "We cannot now maintain a struggle with Tsin. Its ruler employs officers according to their ability, and his appointments do justice to his choice. Every office is filled according to the regular rules. His ministers give way to others who are more able than themselves; his great officers discharge their duties; his scholars rigorously obey their instructions; his common people attend diligently to their husbandry; his merchants, mechanics, and inferior employes know nothing of changing their hereditary employments. Han K'ueh having retired in consequence of age, Che Ying asks for his instructions in conducting the government. Fan Kue was younger than Chung-hang Yen, but Yen had him advanced and made assistant-commander of the army of the centre. Han K'ue was younger than I-wan Yin, but Yin and Sze Fang had him advanced, and made assistant commander of the 1st army. Wei K'ang had performed many services, but considering Chao Woo superior to himself, he became assistant under him. With the ruler thus intelligent and his servants thus loyal, his high officers thus ready to yield their places, and the inferior officers thus vigorous, at this time Tsin cannot be resisted. Our proper course is to serve it; let your Majesty well consider the case." The king said, "I have granted the request of Ts'in. Though we are not a match for Tsin, we must send an army forth." In autumn, the viscount of Ts'oo took post with an army at Woo-shing. In order to afford support to Tsin. A body of men from Tsin made an incursion into Ts'in, which was suffering from famine, and could not retaliate.]

Par. 4. Here, as elsewhere, Kung-yang has 移 for 移. The Duchess was buried sooner than the rule required.

Par. 5. He was in Ch'ing. It was the same place which, in the Chuen on VIII. xvii. 2, is called He-rung (戲童).—In the preface of Fan-shu (汜水), dep. K'ao-fung. Acc. to Tso there was no Ke-hao day in the 12th month, and we should read 十有一 instead of 十有二. The Chuen says:—"In winter, on the 10th month, the States invaded Ch'ing. On K'ang-woo, Ke Woo-tze, Ts'ay Ch'oo of Ts'e, and Hwang Yan of Sung, followed Sze Ying and San Kuo, and attacked the Chuen gate. Pih-kung Kwok of Wei, an officer of Ts'ou, and an officer of Choo followed Seun Yen and Han K'ue, and attacked [the gate] San-che-l'ang. Officers of T'ang and Sze followed I-wan Yin and Sze Fang, and attacked the north gate. Officers of Ke and E followed Chao Woo and Wei K'ang, and cut down the chestnut trees along the roads. On K'ao-shuh, the armies collected in Fan, and orders were given to the States, saying, "Look to your weapons that they be ready for service; prepare dried and other provisions; send home the old and the young; place your sick in Hoo-laou; forgive those who have committed small faults;—we are going to lay siege to the capital of Ch'ing." On this the people of Ch'ing became afraid, and wished to make peace. Chung-hang Hsien-tze (Seun Yen) said, "Let us hold the city in siege, and wait the arrival of the succours from Ts'oo, and then fight a battle with them. If we do not do so, we shall have accomplished nothing." Che Woo-tze, however, said, "Let us grant Ch'ing a covenant, and then withdraw our armies, in order to wear out the people of Ts'oo. We shall divide our 4 armies into 3, and [with one of them and] the ardent troops of the States, meet the comers;—this will not be distressing to us, while Ts'oo will not be able to endure it. This is still better than fighting. A struggle is not to be maintained by whitening the plains with bones to gratify [our pride]. There is no end to such great labour. It is a rule of the former kings that superior men should labour with their minds, and smaller men labour with their strength."

"None of the States wished to fight; so they granted peace; and in the 11th month, on Ke-hao, they made a covenant together in He,—on the submission of Ch'ing. When they were about to covenant, the six ministers of Ch'ing, —the Kung-tzes, Fei (Tsao-ze), Fah (Tsao-k'ueh), and K'ou (Tsao-k'ung), and the Kung-suns, Cheh (Tsao-uh), Chi'ue (Tsao-k'ou), and Shai-che (Tsao-chen), with the great officers and younger members of the ministerial clans, all attended the earl of Ch'ing. Sze Chwang-tze made the words of the covenant to this effect, "After the covenant of to-day, if the State of Ch'ing hear any commands but those of Tsin, and incline to any other, may there happen to it according to what is [imprecated] in this covenant!" The Kung-tze Fei rushed forward at this, and said, "Heaven has dealt unfavourably with the State of Ch'ing, and given it its place midway between two great States, which do



not bestow on it the marks of favour which could be appreciated, but demand its adherence by violence. Thus its Spirits cannot enjoy the sacrifices which should be presented to them, and its people cannot enjoy the advantages of its soil. Its husbands and wives are oppressed and straitened, full of misery, having none to appeal to. After this covenant of to-day, if the State of Ch'ing follow any other but that which extends propriety to it and strength to protect its people, but dares to waver in its adherence, may there happen to it according to [the imprecations in] this covenant!" Seun Yen said, "Change [the conditions of] this covenant." Kung-sun Shay-che said, "These are solemn words in which we have appealed to the great Spirits. If we may change them, we may also revolt from your great State." Che Woo-tze said to Hsien-tze "We indeed have not virtue, and it is not proper to force men to covenant with us. Without propriety, how can we pre-empt over covenants? Let us agree for the present to this covenant, and withdraw. When we come again, after having cultivated our virtue, and rested our armies, we shall in the end win Ch'ing. Why must we determine to do so to-day? If we are without virtue, other people will cast us off, and not Ch'ing only; if we can rest and be harmonious, they will come to us from a distance. Why need we rely upon Ch'ing?" Accordingly they covenanted (as related above), and the forces of Tsin withdrew.

The people of Tsin had thus not got their will with Ch'ing, and they again invaded it with the armies of the States. In the 12th month, on Kwei-hsi, they attacked the [same] three gates, and persevered for five days at each (閏月

ought to be 門五日). Then on Mow-yin, they crossed [the Wei] at Yin-fan, and overran the country. After halting at Yin-k'ow, they withdrew. Tze-k'ung proposed to attack the army of Tsin, saying that it was old and exhausted, and the soldiers were all bent on returning home, so that a great victory could be gained over it. Tze-chen, however, refused to sanction such a movement.

[The Chuen here relates the capping of duke Seang:—The duke accompanied the marquises of Tsin (back from Ch'ing), and when they were at the Ho and he was with the marquises at a feast, the latter asked how old he was. Ke Woo-tze replied, "He was born in the year of the meeting at Shu-say (see VIII. xvi. 8)." He is twelve then," said the marquises. "That is a full decade of years, the period of a revolution of Jupiter. The ruler of a State may have a son when he is fifteen. It is the rule that he should be capped before he begets a son. Your ruler may now be capped. Why should you not get everything necessary for the ceremony ready?" Woo-tze replied, "The capping of our ruler must be done with the ceremonies of libation and offerings; its different stages must be defined by the music of the bell and the musical stone; it must take place in the temple of his first ancestor. Our ruler is now travelling, and those things cannot be provided. Let us get to a brother State, and borrow what is necessary to prepare for the ceremony." The marquises assented; so, when the duke had got as far as Wei on his return, he was capped in the temple of duke Ch'ing. They borrowed the bell and

musical stone of it for the purpose;—as was proper."

This capping of duke Seang out of Loos was a strange proceeding, and was probably done in the wantonness of the marquises of Tsin, amusing himself with the child. Maou supposes that it is kept out of the text, to conceal the disgrace of it.]

Par. 6. Here T'oo is down again upon Ch'ing, because of its making the covenant with Tsin. The Chuen says:—"The viscount of T'oo invaded Ch'ing, and Tze-ang proposed to make peace with him. Tze-k'ung and Tze-k'iao said, "We have just made a covenant with the [other] great State, and, while the blood of it is not dry on our mouths, may we break it?" Tze-ang and Tze-chen replied, "At that covenant we said that we would follow the strongest. Here now is the army of T'oo arrived, and Tsin does not come to save us, so that T'oo is the strongest;—we are not presuming to break the words of the covenant and oath. Moreover, at a forced covenant where there is no sincerity, the Spirits are not present. They are present only where there is good faith. Good faith is the gem of speech, the essential point of all goodness; and therefore the Spirits draw near to it. They in their intelligence do not require adherence to a forced covenant;—it may be broken." Accordingly they made peace with T'oo. The Kung-tze Pa-jung entered the city to make a covenant, which was done in [the quarter] Chung-fun. [In the meantime], the widow of [king] Chwang of T'oo died, and [king] Kung returned [to Ying], without having been able to settle [the affairs of] Ch'ing."

[The Chuen appends here a notice of the measures of internal reform in Tsin:—"When the marquises of Tsin returned to his capital, he consulted how he could give rest and prosperity to the people. Wei Kiang begged that he would confer favours on them and grant remissions. On this all the accumulated stores of the State were given out in benefits. From the marquises downwards, all who had such stores brought them forth, till none were left unappropriated, and there was no one exposed to the endurance of want. The marquises granted access to every source of advantage, and the people did not covet more than their proper share. In religious services they used offerings of silks instead of victims; guests were entertained with [the flesh of] a single animal; new articles of furniture and use were not made; only such chariots and robes were kept as sufficed for use. When this style had been practised for twelve months, a right method and order prevailed throughout the State. Then three expeditions were undertaken, and T'oo was not able to contend [any more] with Tsin."



## Tenth year.

一章十年春，公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、  
二章滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、齊世子光，會吳于柤。  
三章夏五月甲午，遂滅偃陽。公至自會。  
四章楚公子貞、鄭公孫輒帥師伐宋。晉師伐秦。  
五章秋，莒人伐我東鄙。  
六章公會晉侯、宋公、衛侯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、齊世子  
七章光、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子，伐鄭。  
八章冬，盜殺鄭公子騂、公子發、公孫輒。  
九章戊鄭虎牢。楚公子貞帥師救鄭。  
十章公至自伐鄭。  
十一章

左傳曰：十年春，會于柤。會吳子壽夢也。三月癸丑，齊高厚相犬子光以先會諸侯於鍾離，不敬。士莊子曰：高子相犬子以會諸侯，將社稷是衛而皆不敬，棄社稷也。其將不免乎？夏四月戊午，會于柤。  
晉荀偃士刍請伐偃陽，而封宋向戌焉。荀偃曰：城小而固，勝之不武。弗勝爲笑，固請丙寅圍之。弗克，孟氏之臣秦董父，輦重如役，偃陽人啟門，諸侯之士門焉。縣門發，邾人紇挾之，以出門者。狄虺彌建大車之輪，而



蒙之以甲，以爲櫓，左執之，右拔戟以成一隊。孟獻子曰：「詩所謂有力如虎者也。」主人縣布，董父登之，及堞而絕之。隊則又縣之，蘇而復上者三。主人辭焉，乃退，帶其斷以徇於軍。三日，諸侯之師久於偏陽。荀偃士句請於荀營曰：「水潦將降，懼不能歸，請班師。」知伯怒，投之以机，出於其間曰：「汝成二事，而後告余。」余恐亂命，以不攻違。汝既勸君而與諸侯，牽帥老夫以至於此，既無武守，而又欲易余罪，曰：「是實班師。」不然，克矣。余羸老也，可重任乎？七日不克，必爾乎取之。」五月，庚寅，荀偃士句帥卒攻偏陽，親受矢石。甲午，滅之。書曰：「遂滅偏陽。」言自會也。以與向戌，向戌辭曰：「君若猶辱鎮撫宋國，而以偏陽光啟寡君，羣臣安矣。其何貺如之？」若專賜臣，是臣與諸侯以自封也。其何罪大焉？敢以死請。」乃予宋公。宋公享晉侯於楚丘，請以桑林。荀營辭。荀偃士句曰：「諸侯宋魯於是觀禮，魯有禘樂，賓祭用之。宋以桑林享君，不亦可乎？」舞師題以旌夏。晉侯懼而退，入於房，去旌。卒享而還，及著雍疾，卜桑林見荀偃士句欲奔，請禱焉。荀營不可，曰：「我辭禮矣，彼則以之。」猶有鬼神於彼，加之晉侯有間，以偏陽子歸，獻於武宮，謂之夷俘，偏陽姓也。使周內史選其族嗣，納諸霍人，禮也。師歸，孟獻子以秦董父爲右，生秦丕茲，事仲尼。

六月，楚子囊鄭子耳伐宋，師於訾毋庚午，圍宋，門於桐門。晉荀營伐秦，報其侵也。

⑤衛侯救宋師於襲牛。鄭子展曰：「必伐衛，不然，是不與楚也，得罪於晉。」又得罪於楚，國將若之何？子驥曰：「國病矣。子展曰：『得罪於二大國，必亡。』病不猶愈於亡乎？諸大夫皆以爲然。故鄭皇耳帥師侵衛，楚令也。孫文子卜追之，獻兆於定姜。姜氏問繇，曰：『兆如山陵，有夫出征，而喪其雄。』姜氏曰：『征者喪雄，禦寇之利也。』大夫圖之，衛人追之，孫駒獲鄭皇耳於犬丘。」

⑥秋七月，楚子囊鄭子耳伐我西鄙，還，圍蕭。八月，丙寅，克之。九月，子耳侵宋北鄙。孟獻子曰：「鄭其有災乎？」師競。



已甚。周猶不堪競。况鄭乎？有災，其執政之三士乎。

莒人間諸侯之有事也，故伐我東鄙。

諸侯伐鄭，齊崔杼使大子光先至於師，故長於滕。己酉，師於牛首。

初，子驪與尉止有爭，將禦諸侯之師，而圖其車。尉止獲，又與之爭。子驪抑尉止曰：爾車，非禮也。遂弗使獻。初，子驪爲田洫，司氏堵氏侯氏子師氏皆喪田焉。故五族聚羣不逞之人，因公子之徒，以作亂。於是子驪當國，子國爲司馬，子耳爲司空，子孔爲司徒。冬十月戊辰，尉止、司臣、侯晉、堵汝父、子師僕、帥賊以入，晨攻執政於西宮之朝，殺子驪、子國、子耳。劫鄭伯以如北宮。子孔知之，故不死。書曰：盜言無大夫焉。子西聞盜，不俟而出，尸而追盜，盜入於北宮，乃歸授甲。臣妾多逃，器用多喪。子產聞盜爲門者，庀羣司，閉府庫，慎閉藏，完守備，成列而後出兵。車十七乘，尸而攻盜於北宮。子驥帥國人助之，殺尉止。子師僕盜衆盡死。侯晉奔晉，堵汝父、司臣、尉止、司齊奔宋。子孔當國，爲載書以位序，聽政辟。大夫諸司門子弗順，將誅之。子產止之，請爲之焚書。子孔不可，曰：爲書以定國，衆怒而焚之，是衆爲政也。國不亦難乎？子產曰：衆怒難犯，專欲難成，合二難以安國，危之道也。不如焚書以安衆。子產所欲，衆亦得安，不亦可乎？專欲無成，犯衆與禍，子必從之。乃焚書於倉門之外，衆而後定。

諸侯之師，城虎牢而戍之。晉師城梧及制，士魴魏絳戍之。書曰：戍鄭虎牢，非鄭地也。言將歸焉。鄭及晉平，楚子囊救鄭。十一月，諸侯之師還鄭而南，至於陽陵。楚師不退，知武子欲退，曰：今我逃楚，楚必驕，驕則可與戰矣。樂闢曰：逃楚，晉之耻也。合諸侯以益恥，不如死。我將獨進，師遂進。己亥，與楚師夾潁而軍。子驥曰：諸侯既有成行，必不戰矣。從之將退，不從亦退。退，楚必圍我，猶將退也。不如從楚，亦以退之。宵涉潁，與楚人盟。樂闢欲伐鄭師，苟營不可，曰：我實不能禦楚，又不能庇鄭，鄭何罪？不如致怨焉。而還，今伐其師，楚必救之，戰而不克，爲諸侯笑，克不可命，不如還也。丁未，諸侯之師還，侵鄭北鄙而歸。楚人亦還。



○王叔陳生與伯與爭政。王右伯與。王叔陳生怒而出奔。及河。王復之。殺史狡以說焉。不入。遂處之晉。侯使士臼平王室。王叔與伯與訟焉。王叔之宰與伯與之大夫瑕禽坐獄於王庭。士臼聽之。王叔之宰曰：「鞏門閭賣之人而皆陵其上，其難爲上矣。」瑕禽曰：「昔平王東遷，吾七姓從王，牲用備具，王賴之而賜之駢旄之盟，曰：『世世無失職。』若鞏門閭賣其能來東底乎？且王何賴焉？今自王叔之相也，政以賄成，而刑放於寵，官之師旅不勝其富，吾能無鞏門閭賣乎？唯大國圖之，下而無直，則何謂正矣？」范宣子曰：「天子所右，寡君亦右之。」所左，亦左之。使王叔氏與伯與合要。王叔氏不能舉其契，王叔奔晉，不書，不告也。單靖公爲卿士，以相王室。

- X. 1 In his tenth year, in spring, the duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, the viscount of Little Choo, and Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, in a meeting with Woo at Cha.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Këah-woo, [Tsin] went on [from the above meeting] to extinguish Peih-yang.
- 3 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 4 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo, and the Kung-sun Cheh of Ch'ing, led a force, and invaded Sung.
- 5 An army of Tsin invaded Ts'in.
- 6 In autumn, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders.
- 7 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscount of T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 8 In winter, some ruffians killed the Kung-tszes Fei and Fah, and the Kung-sun Cheh, of Ch'ing.
- 9 We [sent troops] to guard Hoo-laou.
- 10 The Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force to relieve Ch'ing.
- 11 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.

Par. 1. Too says Cha was in the territory of Ts'oo, and the K'ang-ho editors identify it with the pres. Këa-k'ow (加口), in the dia. of Yih, dep. of Yen-chow. The one or the other must be wrong. The territory of Ts'oo would thus have extended as far north as Loo. We may accept the statement of Too, and leave the question as to any more exact identification. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to call forth the hostility of Woo to more active measures against Ts'oo, so that that State should be

obliged to relax its efforts to hold Ch'ing. The phrase 'a meeting with Woo (會吳)' without specifying the viscount himself or his representative on the occasion, has occasioned the critics a good deal of difficulty. The same style has occurred before, in VIII. xv. 10 and IX. v. 4, and we meet with it again, in xiv. 1. The most likely account that can be given of it is the remark, probably of Soo Ch'eh, that only the name of the State is given because [to get the help of]



that State was the object of the meeting (特書會吳以吳爲會故也).

The Chuen says:—The meeting at Chia was a meeting with Shou-ming, viscount of Woo. In the 3d month, an Kwei-ch'ow, K'ao How of T'ie came with his marquis's eldest son Kwang, and had a previous meeting with the prince in Chung-lo (see VIII. xv. 10), when they behaved disrespectfully. See Chwang-tze (See Joh) said, "K'ao-tze, coming in attendance on his prince to a meeting of the States, ought to have in mind the protection of T'ie's altars, and yet they both of them behave disrespectfully. They will not, I apprehend, escape an evil end." In summer, in the 4th month, an Mou-woo, there was the meeting at Chia.

Par. 2. Peih-yang was a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Yun (云).

It was under the jurisdiction of T'oo. Tain now led on the forces of the States from the meeting at Chia to attack it. Its principal town is said to have been 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  to the south of the dia. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—Seun Yen and See Kae of Tain asked leave to attack Peih-yang, and that it should be conferred on Hsiao Seuh of Sung. Seun Ying said, "The city is small but strong. If you take it, it will be no great achievement; if you do not take it, you will be laughed at." They persisted in their request; and on Ping-yin they laid siege to it, but could not overcome it.

T'ain Kin-foo, the steward of the M'ang family, drew after him a large waggon to the service. The people of Peih-yang having opened one of their gates, the soldiers of the States attacked it, [and had passed within]. Just then, the portcullis gate was let down, when Hsiao of T'oo raised it up, and let out the stormers who had entered. Teih Sze-mo carried the wheel of a large carriage, which he covered with hides and used as a buckler. Holding this in his left hand, and carrying a spear in his right, he took the place of a body of 100 men. M'ang Hsien-tze said, "To him we may apply the words of the ode (She, I li. ode XIII. 2), 'Strong as a tiger.' The bearded hung strips of cloth over the wall, by one of which Kin-foo climbed up to the parapet, when they cut it. Down he fell, when they hung out another; and when he had revived, he seized it and mounted again. Thrice he performed this feat, and on the bearded declining to give him another opportunity he retired, taking with him the three cut pieces, which he showed all through the army for three days.

The forces of the States were long detained at Peih-yang; and Seun Yen and See Kae went with a request to Seun Ying, saying, "The rains will soon fall and the pools gather, when we are afraid we shall not be able to return. We ask you to withdraw the troops." Chiu Pih (Seun Ying) became angry, and threw at them the stool on which he was leaning, which passed between the two. "You had determined," said he, "on two things, and then came and informed me of them. I was afraid of confusing your plans, and did not oppose you. You have imposed toll on our ruler; you have called out [the forces of] the States; you have dragged an old man like myself here. And now you have no prowess to show, but want to throw the

blame on me, saying, that I ordered the retreat of the troops, and but for that you would have subdued the place. Can I, thus old and feeble, sustain such a heavy responsibility? If in 7 days you have not taken it, I shall take yourselves instead of it." On this, in the 5th month, on Kang-yu, Seun Yen and See Kae, led on their men to the attack of the city, themselves encountering [the shower] of arrows and stones. On Kueh-woo they extinguished it.

"The language of the text,—*"They went on to extinguish Peih-yang,"* shows that they proceeded to attack it from the meeting [at Chia]. [The marquis of Tain] would then have given Peih-yang to Hsiao Seuh, but he declined it, saying, "If your lordship will still condescend to guard and comfort the State of Sung, and by the gift of Peih-yang distinguish my ruler and increase his territory, all his ministers will be at ease;—what gift can be equal to this? If you insist on conferring it on me alone, then I shall have called out the States to procure a shelter for myself,—then which there could not be a greater crime. Though I die, I must entreat you not to do so." Peih-yang accordingly was given to the duke of Sung.

The duke entertained the marquis of Tain in T'oo-k'ew, and asked leave to use, [on the occasion, the music of] Sang-lin (the music which had been used by the sovereigns of Shang). Seun Ying declined it, but Seun Yen and See Kae said, "Among the States, it is [only] in Sung and Loo that we can see the ceremonies [of the kings]. Loo has the music of the grand triennial sacrifice, and uses it when entertaining guests and at sacrifices; is it not allowable that Sung should entertain our ruler with the Sang-lin?" The master of the pantomimes began indicating to them their places with the great flag, when the marquis became afraid, and withdrew to another apartment. When the flag was removed, he returned and finished the entertainment. On his way back [from Sung], he fell ill at Choo-yung. They consulted the tortoise-shell [about his sickness], and [the Spirit of] Sang-lin appeared. Seun Yen and See Kae wanted to hurry [back to Sung], and to pray to it. Seun Ying, however, refused to allow them, and said, "I declined the ceremony. It was they who used it. If there indeed be this Spirit, let him visit the offence on them." The marquis got better, and took the viscount of Peih-yang back with him to Tain, and presented him to the temple of [duke] Woo, calling him an E captive. [The lords of] Peih-yang had the surname of Yun. [The marquis] made the historiographer of the Interior in Chow select one from the family of the [old] House to continue [its sacrifices], whom he placed in Hoh as its commandant;—which was proper.

"When our army returned, M'ang Hsien-tze employed T'ain Kin-foo as the spearman on the right of his chariot. He had a son, T'ain Pe-tze, who was a disciple of Chung-no."

As Tao-she here mentions Confucius, it may be added that it was the sage's father, Shih-liang Hui, who performed the feat of strength with the portcullis of Peih-yang.

Par. 4. Sung had been rewarded for its allegiance to Tain with Peih-yang, and now it has to pay the price to T'oo. The Chuen says:—In the 6th month, T'ao-nang of T'oo and T'ao-urh of Ch'ing invaded Sung, taking



post [first] at Tse-moo. On K'ang-woo they laid siege to the capital, and attacked the T'ang gate.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—Sun Ying of Tsin invaded Tsin, to retaliate its incursion. The incursion of Tsin is related in the Chuen after p. 3 of last year. Tsin was then unable to retaliate in consequence of a famine, but its vengeance had not slumbered long. At this time Tsin was in league with T'oo, and the alliance between the States was drawn closer through the wife of King Kung being a sister of Duke King of Tsin.

[The Chuen gives here a narrative, which is the sequel of that on p. 4:—The marquis of Wei went to succor Sung, and encamped with his forces at S'ang-n'ow. T'ze-chen of Ch'ing said, "We must invade Wei. If we do not do so, we shall not be doing our part for T'oo. We have offended against Tsin, and if we also offend against T'oo, what will be the consequence to our State?" T'ze-ze said, "It will distress the State," but T'ze-chen replied, "If we offend against both the great States, we shall perish. We may be distressed, but is that not better than perishing?" The other great officers all agreed with him, and Hwang-urb accordingly led a force and made an incursion into Wei,—[having received] orders from T'oo.

Sun Wan-tze (Li-fu) consulted the fortune-shell about pursuing the enemy, and presented the indication he had obtained to Ting K'ang (the mother of the marquis of Wei), who asked what the corresponding oracle was. "It is this," said Wan-tze, "The indication being like a hill, a party go forth on an expedition, and lose their leader." The lady observed, "The invaders lose their leader—this is favorable for those who resist them. Do you take measures accordingly." The people of Wei then pursued the enemy, and Sun K'ue captured Hwang Urb at K'uen-k'ew.

[There follows the account of an invasion of Lo by T'oo, which ought to be given in the text. Too observes that, as it involved no disgrace to Lo, he must account for the silence about it.—In autumn, in the 7th month, T'ze-nang of T'oo and T'ze-urb of Ch'ing invaded our western borders. On their return they laid siege to Simou (a city of Sung), and reduced it in the 8th month, on Ping-yin. In the 9th month, T'ze-urb of Ch'ing made an incursion on the northern border of Sung. Mang Hien-tze said, "Calamity must be going to befall Ch'ing." The aggressions of its armies are excessive. Even Chow could not endure such violent efforts, and how much less Ch'ing! The calamity is likely to befall the three ministers who conduct its government!"]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—The people of K'ai taking advantage of the States being occupied, invaded our eastern borders. Wang K'ih-kwan observes that this movement shows strikingly the daring of K'ai, as its viscount had taken part in nearly all the covenants ordered by Duke Tsin of Tsin. It shows how incomplete the harmony was which the leading State sought to establish among the others which acknowledged its supremacy.

Par. 7. This was the first of the three expeditions of Tsin mentioned in the Chuen at the end of last year, by which that State wore out T'oo, and established its supremacy, for a

time, over Ch'ing. The Chuen says:—The States invaded Ch'ing. T'uy Ch'oo of T'ao came with Kwang, the eldest son of the marquis, to the army early, and the prince therefore took precedence of T'ang. On Ke-y'ew, the whole army took post at N'ew-show. The proper place of the heir-son of T'ao was after all the princes, as in p. 1. If he had received, indeed, the appointment of the king as his father's successor, and were administering for him the gov't. of the State, he would have been entitled to rank as an earl, according to the rules of Chow. But he had not received such appointment, as we infer from the Chuen on the 19th year. The precedence now given to him was probably brought about as T'ze-she says; but as we shall find that he continued to retain it, it is an instance of how the marquis of Tsin took it upon him to override the standing statutes of the kingdom.

Par. 8. We have here the fulfilment of the prognostication in the Chuen after p. 5. For 駢 Kung and Kuh have 斐. We have in this par. the first occurrence of 盜 in the text, which I have translated "ruffians." Too Yu observes that, as the paragraph commences with that term, the rank of the murdered could not be mentioned in it. They were all ministers or great officers, and if their death had been by order or management of the State, the text would have been 鄭殺 or 鄭人殺其大夫.

云云. If the murderers had been great officers, their names and rank, and those of their victims as well, would have been given. But being what they were in this case, their names were not admissible in the text, and consequently we have the persons murdered without any intimation of their rank. No stigma is fixed upon them by the omission, as Kuh-ling thought, and as Ch'ing K. Hoo Ngan-k'woh, and many other critics have contended. The men may have deserved their fate, but no evidence of that can be drawn from the style of the text.

The Chuen says:—Before this, T'ze-ze (the Kung-tze Fei) had a quarrel with Wei Che, and when he was about to take the field against the army of the States, he reduced the number of the chariots [which Che wanted to contribute to the expedition]. He had another quarrel with Che about the captives whom he had taken, and kept him down, saying his chariots had been beyond the number prescribed by rule, and would not allow him to present his spoils [before the marquis].

Before this also, T'ze-ze, in laying out the ditches through the fields, had occasioned the loss of fields to the Sze, Too, How and T'ze-ze families; and these four, along with Wei Che, collected a number of dissatisfied individuals, and proceeded, with the adherents of the sons of the ruling House (killed in the 8th year by T'ze-ze; see the Chuen after viii. 2) to raise an insurrection. At this time the gov't. was in the hands of T'ze-ze; T'ze-k'woh (the Kung-tze Fah) was minister of War; T'ze-urb (the Kung-sun Cheh) was minister of Works; and T'ze-k'ung was minister of Instruction. In winter in the 10th month, on Mow-shih, Wei Che, Sze Chin, How Tsin, Too Joo-foo, and T'ze-ze Puh, led a band of ruffians into the



palace, and early in the morning attacked the chief minister at the audience in the western palace. They killed Tze-wei, Tze-kwoh, and Tze-urh, and carried off the eunuchs to the northern palace. Tze-k'ung had known of their design, and so escaped death. The word 'ruffians' in the text indicates that none of them were great officers.

Tze-wei, the son of Tze-wei, bearing of the ruffians, left his house without taking any precautions, went to [his father's] corpse, and pursued them. When they had entered the northern palace, however, he returned, and began giving out their arms [to his followers]. Most of the servants and concubines had fled, and most of the articles of furniture and use were lost.

Tze-ch'ian (the son of Tze-kwoh), hearing of the ruffians, set a guard at his gate, got all his officers in readiness, shut up his storerooms, carefully secured his depositaries, formed his men in ranks, and then went forth with 17 chariots of war. Having gone to [his father's] corpse, he proceeded to attack the ruffians, in the northern palace. Tze-k'ung (the Kung-sun Chao) led the people to his assistance, when they killed Wei Che and Tze-wei Puh. The majority of their followers perished, but Hoo Tsin fled to Tsin, and Tso Joo-fu, Sze Shin, Wei Pien, and Sze T'ao fled to Sung.

Tze-k'ung (the Kung-tse Kō) then took charge of the State, and made a covenant requiring that all in the various degrees of rank should receive the rules enacted by himself. The great officers, ministers, and younger members of the great families refusing obedience to this, he wished to take them off; but Tze-ch'ian stopped him, and begged that for their sakes he would burn the covenant. He objected to do so, saying, "I wrote what I did for the settlement of the State. If I burn it because they all are dissatisfied, then the government is in their hands;—will it not be difficult to administer the affairs of the State?" Tze-ch'ian replied, "It is difficult to go against the anger of them all; and it is difficult to secure the exclusive authority to yourself. If you insist on both these difficulties in order to quiet the State, it is the very way to endanger it. It is better to burn the writing, and so quiet all their minds. You will get what you wish, and they also will feel at ease;—will not this be well? By insisting on your exclusive authority, you will find it difficult to succeed; by going against the wishes of all, you will excite valour;—you must follow my advice." On this Tze-k'ung burned the writing of the covenant outside the Tsang gate, after which the minds of all the others became composed.

Par. 9. Hoo-laou,—see II. 5. The text would lead us to think that the keeping guard over Hoo-laou was the action of Loo, and of Loo alone; whereas Tsin had taken possession of that city, fortified it and now held it with the troops of its confederate States, as a strategical point against Ch'ing and T'oo. Loo sent troops to guard it; and this alone the text mentions, but other States did the same. Originally it belonged to Ch'ing, but was not Ch'ing's now. Yet the text says—'Hoo-laou of Ch'ing.' Tso Yu and others see in this the style of Confucius writing retrospectively, expressing himself according to his knowledge of the purpose

of Tsin to restore the place to Ch'ing, when that State should really have broken with T'oo. Hoo Ngan-kwoh, again, has his followers in maintaining that Confucius here assigned it to Ch'ing to mark his disapproval of Tsin's ever taking it. The probability is that neither the one view nor the other is correct. The place properly belonged to Ch'ing; it was held against it by the confederates for a time; it was immediately restored to it;—what more natural than to mention it as 'Hoo-laou of Ch'ing,' without any intention either 'to praise or to blame.' The Chuen says:—'The armies of the States fortified [afresh] Hoo-laou, and guarded the country about. The army of Tsin fortified Woo and Che; and Sze Fang and Wei Kōng guarded them. The text speaks of Hoo-laou of Ch'ing, though it was not [now] Ch'ing's, indicating that it was to be restored to it. Ch'ing [now] made peace with Tsin.'

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—'Tze-nang of T'oo came to succour Ch'ing. In the 11th month, the armies of the States made a circuit round Ch'ing, and proceeded south to Yang-ling. Still the army of T'oo did not retire, [seeing which] Che Woo-tse proposed that the confederates should withdraw, saying, "If we now make our escape from T'oo, it will become arrogant, and can be fought with when in that mood. Luan Yin said, "To evade T'oo will be a disgrace to Tsin. Our having assembled the States will increase the disgrace. We had better die. I will advance alone." On this the [whole] army advanced, and on Ke-hae it and the army of T'oo were opposed to each other with [only] the Ying between them. Tso Kōan [of Ch'ing] said, "The [armies of the] States are prepared to march, and are sure not to fight. If we follow Tsin, they will retire; if we do not follow it, they will retire. T'oo is sure to besiege our city when they retire; but they will still do so. We had better follow T'oo, and get its army to retire also." That night he crossed through the Ying, and made a covenant with T'oo. Luan Yin wished to attack the army of Ch'ing, but Sze Yung said, "No. We cannot keep back T'oo, neither can we protect Ch'ing. Of what offence is Ch'ing guilty? Our best plan is to leave a grudge against it, and withdraw. If we now attack its army, T'oo will come to its help. If we fight, and do not conquer, the States will laugh at us. Victory cannot be commanded. We had better withdraw." Accordingly, on Ting-wu the armies of the States withdrew, made an incursion into the northern borders of Ch'ing, and returned. The forces of T'oo also withdrew.

Par. 11. [The Chuen gives here a narrative about troubles at court:—] Wang-shuh Ch'ing-ling and Pih Yu had a quarrel about the govt. The king favoured Pih Yu, when the other fled from the capital in a rage. The king recalled him when he had got to the Ho, and put the historiographer Kōan to death to please him. He would not enter [the capital], however, and was allowed to remain [near the Ho]. The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Kue to pacify the royal House, when Wang-shuh and Pih Yu maintained each his cause. The steward of Wang-shuh, and Hsia Kiu, the great officer of Pih Yu, pleaded in the court of the king, while Sze Kue listened to them. Wang-shuh's steward said, "When people who live in hovels, with wicker



doors fitted to holes in the wall, insult their superiors, it is hard to be a man of superior rank." Hwa K'in said, "When king Ping removed here to the east, there were seven families of us, who followed him, and on whom he was dependent for the victims which he used. He made a covenant with them over [the flesh of] a red bull, saying that from generation to generation they should hold their offices. If we had been people of such hovels, how could they have come to the east? and how could the king have been dependent on them? Now since Wang-shuh became chief minister, the govt. has been carried on by means of bribes, and punishments have been in the hands of his favourites.

His officers have become enormously rich, and it is not to be wondered at if we are reduced to such hovels. Let your great State consider the case. If the low cannot obtain right, where is what we call justice?" Fan Senen-tse said, "Whom the son of Heaven favours, my ruler also favours; whom he disapproves, my ruler also disapproves." He then made Wang-shuh and Pih Yu prepare a summary of their case; but Wang-shuh could bring forward no evidence, and fled to Tsin. There is no record of this in the text, because no announcement of it was made to Loo. Duke Tsing of Shen then became high minister, to act as director for the royal House.']

*Eleventh year.*

十<sup>一</sup>有一年春王正月作三軍。夏四月四卜  
 郊不從乃不郊。鄭公孫舍之帥師侵宋。  
 公會晉侯宋公衛侯曹伯齊世子光莒子邾  
 子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子伐鄭。  
 秋七月己未同盟于亳城北。  
 公至自伐鄭。楚子鄭伯伐宋。  
 公會晉侯宋公衛侯曹伯齊世子光莒子邾  
 子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子伐鄭。會于蕭魚。  
 公至自會。楚人執鄭行人良霄。  
 冬秦人伐晉。



左傳曰：十一年春，季武子將作三軍，告叔孫穆子曰：「請爲三軍，各征其軍。」穆子曰：「政將及子，子必不能。」武子固請之。穆子曰：「然則盟諸？」乃盟諸僂闕，詛諸五父之衢。正月，作三軍，三分公室，而各有其一。三子各毀其乘。季氏使其乘之人，以其役邑入者，無征，不入者，倍征。孟氏使半爲臣，若子若弟。叔孫氏使盡爲臣，不然，不舍。

鄭人患晉楚之故，諸大夫曰：「不從晉，國幾亡。」楚弱於晉，晉不吾疾也。晉疾，楚將辟之，何爲而使晉師致死於我？楚弗敢敵，而後可固與也。子展曰：「與宋爲惡，諸侯必至。吾從之。」盟。楚師至，吾又從之，則晉怒甚矣。晉能驅來，楚將不能，吾乃固與晉。大夫說之，使疆場之司惡於宋。宋向戌侵鄭，大獲子展曰：「師而伐宋可矣。若我伐宋，諸侯之伐我必疾。吾乃聽命焉。」且告於楚。楚師至，吾又與之盟，而重賂晉師，乃免矣。夏，鄭子展侵宋。

四月，諸侯伐鄭。己亥，齊大子光、宋向戌先至於鄭門。其莫晉荀營至於西郊。東侵舊許，衛孫林父侵其北鄙。六月，諸侯會於北林，師於向。右還，次於墳。圍鄭，觀兵於南門，西濟於濟隧。

鄭人懼，乃行成。秋七月，同盟於亳。范宣子曰：「不慎，必失諸侯。諸侯道微而無成，能無貳乎？」乃盟。載書曰：「凡我同盟，毋蒞年，毋遽利，毋保茲，毋留慝，救災患，恤禍亂，同好惡，獎王室，或聞茲命，司慎司盟，名山名川，羣神羣祀，先王先公，七姓十二國之祖，明神殛之，俾失其民，隊命亡氏，陪其國家。」

楚子囊乞旅於秦。秦右大夫詹帥師從楚子，將以伐鄭。鄭伯逆之。丙子，伐宋。

九月，諸侯悉師以復伐鄭。諸侯之師，觀兵於鄭東門。鄭人使王子伯駢行成。甲戌，晉趙武入盟。鄭伯冬十月丁亥，鄭子展出盟。晉侯十二月戊寅，會於蕭魚。庚辰，赦鄭囚，皆禮而歸之。納斥侯，禁侵掠。晉侯使叔肸告於諸侯。公使臧孫紇對曰：「凡我同盟，小國有罪，大國致討，苟有以藉手，鮮不赦宥。寡君聞命矣。鄭人賂晉侯，以師懼，師觸師，觸廣車，執車淳十五乘，甲兵備凡兵車百乘，歌鐘二肆，及其鐃磬，女樂二八。晉侯以樂之半，賜魏絳曰：『子教寡人和諸戎狄，以正諸華。八年之中，九合諸侯，如樂之和，無所不諧，請與子樂之。』」辭曰：「夫和戎狄，國之福也。」



八年之中，九合諸侯，諸侯無憾，君之靈也。二三子之勞也，臣何力之有焉。抑臣願君安其樂，而思其終也。詩曰：樂旨君子，殿天子之邦。樂旨君子，福祿攸同。便蕃左右，亦是帥從。夫樂以安德，義以處之，禮以行之，信以守之，仁以厲之，而後可以殿邦國，同福祿。來遠人所謂樂也。書曰：居安思危，思則有備，有備無患，敢以此規。公曰：子之教，敢不承命。抑微子，寡人無以待戎，不能濟河。夫賞國之典也，臧在盟府，不可廢也。子其受之。魏絳於是乎始有金石之樂禮也。

鄭人使良霄，大宰石癸如楚，告將服於晉。曰：孤以社稷之故，不能懷君，君若能以玉帛綏晉，不然，則武震以攝威之，孤之願也。楚人執之。書曰：行人言使人也。

秦庶長鮑，庶長武，帥師伐晉，以救鄭。鮑先入晉地，士魴御之。少秦師而弗設備。壬午，武濟自輔氏，與鮑交伐晉師。己丑，秦晉戰於櫟，晉師敗績，易秦故也。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, we formed three armies.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fourth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and the sacrifice was not offered.
- 3 The Kung-sun Shay-che of Ch'ing led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 4 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'ao, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ke-we, [the above princes] made a covenant together on the north of Poh-shing.
- 6 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ch'ing.
- 7 The viscount of Ts'oo and the earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung.
- 8 The duke joined the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earl of Ts'ao, Kwang, heir-son of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in invading Ch'ing. There was a meeting in S'aoon-yu.
- 9 The duke arrived from the meeting.
- 10 The people of Ts'oo seized and held L'ang S'aoon, the messenger of Ch'ing.
- 11 In winter, a body of men from Ts'in invaded Tsin.



## Par. 1. 作 must be taken here as in VIII.

l. 4, indicating an arrangement either altogether new, or modifying in a most important manner existing arrangements on the subject to which it refers. The Chuen says:—"This spring, Ke Woo-tze wished to form 3 armies, and told Shuh-sun Muh-tze (P'ao) of his purpose, saying, "Let us make three armies, and each of us collect the revenue for the support of his army." Muh-tze replied, "When the demands [of Tsin] come upon you, [according to this increased establishment], you will not be able [to meet them]." Woo-tze, however, persisted in his request, till Muh-tze said, "Well, let us make a covenant." They covenanted accordingly at the gate of [duke] He's temple, the imprecatory sentences being repeated in the street of Woo-foo." In the 1st month they proceeded to the formation of the 3 armies, [the three clans] dividing the ducal prerogative [as it were] into three, and each of them taking one part to itself. The three chiefs broke up their own [establishments of] chariots. The Ke appointed that those who brought their followers and the amount of the military contribution of their families to him, should pay nothing more [to the State], and those who did not so enter his ranks should pay a double contribution. The Mang employed one half the sons and younger brothers in his service. The Shuh-sun employed all the sons and younger brothers. [They had said that], unless they acted thus, they would not alter the old arrangements."

It is to be wished that Tse-sha's narrative were more perspicuous and explicit;—see also the narrative under X. v. 1, when the new army, or that of the centre, was obliged to be discontinued. The arrangement for 3 armies which was now adopted was an important one, and marked an era in the history of Loo. It was originally a great State, and could furnish the 3 armies, which were assigned by the statutes of Chow to a great State;—see the Chow Le, Bk. XXVIII. par. 3. But its power had gradually decayed; and as Tsin rose to preëminence as the leading State of the kingdom, Loo sank to the class of the second-rate States (次國), which furnished only two armies. The change from 3 to 2 seems to have taken place under Wan or Senan. In this way Loo escaped some of the exactions of Tsin, whose demands for military assistance were proportioned to the force which the States could furnish, and hence, in the Chuen, Shuh-sun Muh-tze objects to the formation of 3 armies on the ground that they would then be unable to meet the requirements of Tsin. But up to this time, the armies of Loo, whether 3 or 2, had always belonged to the marquises, having been called forth by them as occasion required, and been commanded by their ministers according to their appointment. A great change now took place. The Heads of the three families, —the descendants of duke Hwan, now not only claimed the command of the armies, but they claimed the armies as their own. Taking advantage of the youth of duke Shang, their act was all but a parting of the State among themselves. They would henceforth be not only its ministers, but its lords, and the direct descendants of the duke of Chow would be puppets in their hands. I must repeat the wish that we had fuller details of the formation of the three armies, and of the pro-

ceedings of the three chiefs. Too says that they added one army—that of the centre, to the two already existing; but that is a very imperfect description of their act. The chariots which they broke up would be those belonging to themselves, for which they would now have no separate occasion, and which would go therefore to the formation of the third army. The text relates the event, as if it had proceeded from the duke, or by his authority.

Par. 2. See on V. xxxi. 3.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ch'ing were troubled about [their relations with] Tsin and T'oo, and all the great officers said, "Through our not following Tsin, the State is nearly ruined. T'oo is weaker than Tsin, but Tsin shows no eagerness in our behalf. If Tsin were sager in our behalf, T'oo would avoid it. What shall we do to make the army of Tsin ready to encounter death for us? In that case T'oo will not venture to oppose it, and we can firmly adhere to it." Tse-chen said, "Let us commence hostilities against Sung; the States are sure to come [to its help], when we will submit to them, and make a covenant. The army of T'oo will then come, and we shall do the same with it. This will make Tsin very angry. If it can then come quickly and resolutely [into the field], T'oo will not be able to do anything against it, and we shall firmly adhere to Tsin." The others were pleased with this proposal, and they made the officers of the borders commence a quarrel with Sung, H'ang Seuh of which retaliated with an incursion into Ch'ing, in which he took great spoil. Tse-chen said, "We may now invade Sung with an army. If we attack Sung, the States are sure to attack us immediately. We will then hearken to their commands, and at the same time send notice to T'oo. When its forces come, we shall further make a covenant with it; and by heavy bribes to the army of Tsin, we shall escape [the vengeance of them both]." Accordingly, in summer, Tse-chen (Shay-che) made an incursion into Sung."

Tse-chen had formerly advocated the adherences of Ch'ing in good faith to Tsin, while Tse-ze had been for adhering now to Tsin and now to T'oo, according to the pressure of the time. Tse-ze was now dead; and the commentators find great fault with Tse-chen for the crooked course which he took to bring about the accomplishment of his own policy.

Par. 4. This is the second of Tsin's great expeditions with the States of the north to break the power of T'oo. The Chuen says:—"In the fourth month, the States invaded Ch'ing. On Ke-hao, Kwang, eldest son of [the marquis of] T'oo, and H'ang Seuh of Sung, came first to its capital, and attacked the east gate. In the evening of that day, Seun Yung of Tsin arrived in the western suburbs, from which he made an incursion to the old [capital of] H'ao (see on VIII. xv. 11). Sun Lin-foo of Wei made an incursion on the northern borders of the State. In the 9th month, the States assembled at Pih-hu, and encamped in H'ang. Thence they took a circuit, and halted at So, after which they invested the capital, and made a [grand] display of their forces outside the south gate, and on this went crossed over the Tse-say."



Par. 5. Instead of 羣 Kung and Kuh have 京. Poh-shing was in Ch'ing, and, acc. to the K'ang-he editors, must have been in the pres. district of Yen-ssu, dep. Ho-nan. This is very doubtful. Too and nearly all the critics explain the 同 with reference to the presence of Ch'ing, and its joining in the covenant. No previous instance where the term has occurred exactly corresponds to this; and perhaps Tan Tsao is right in thinking that Ch'ing was not present. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ch'ing [now] became afraid, and sought terms of accommodation. In autumn, in the 7th month, they made a covenant together in Poh. Fan Sseun-tze said, "If we be not careful, we shall lose the States. Wearied as they have been by marching, and not [really] accomplishing anything, can they be but disaffected?" Accordingly, when they covenanted, the words were:—"All we who covenant together agree not to board up the produce of good years, not to shut one another out from advantages [that we possess], not to protect traitors, not to shelter criminals. We agree to aid one another in disasters and calamities, to have compassion on one another in seasons of misfortune and disorder, to cherish the same likings and dislikes, to support and encourage the royal House. Should any prince break these engagements, may He who watches over men's sincerity and He who watches over covenants, [the Spirits of] the famous hills and [of] the famous streams, the kings and dukes our predecessors, the whole host of Spirits, and all who are sacrificed to, the ancestors of our 13 (7.13) States with their 7 surnames:—may all these intelligent Spirits destroy him, so that he shall lose his people, his appointment pass from him, his family perish, and his State be utterly overthrown!"

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Tze-nang of T'oo had asked the assistance of troops from Tsin; and Chen, Tsin's great officer of the right, led a force to follow the viscount of T'oo, intending to invade Ch'ing. [In the meantime], the earl of Ch'ing met [the army of T'oo], [made his submission], and on Ping-tze invaded Sung [along with it]."

Par. 8. This is the third and last of the great expeditions of Tsin against T'oo. Sseou-yu was a place in Ch'ing, to the south of its capital, in the pres. Hen Chow (許州). The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, the States, with all their armies, again invaded Ch'ing. They showed their forces outside the east gate of the city, on which the people of Ch'ing made the king's son, Pih-p'ing, offer their submission. On Keah-sen, Chao Woo of Tsin entered the city, and made a covenant with the earl; and in winter, in the 10th month, on Ting-hao, Tze-chen came out, and made a covenant with the marquis of Tsin. In the 12th month, on Mow-yin, there was a meeting in Sseou-yu. On Kang-shin, [the marquis of Tsin] released his Ch'ing prisoners, treated them all courteously, and sent them back. He [also] called in his scouting parties, and forbade raids and pillaging. [At the same time], he sent Shih-hei to inform the [other] princes of these proceedings. The duke made Tsang-san Hei return the following reply, "All we who have covenanted to-

gether [are here], because your great State found it necessary to punish a small one which had offended. Having obtained sufficient ground for your present course, you are ready to exercise forgiveness. My ruler has received your commands."

"The people of Ch'ing presented to the marquis of Tsin the music-masters, Kwel, Ch'uh, and Keuen; fifteen, each, of wide chariots and guard-chariots with the buff-coats and weapons for them complete, and other war-chariots amounting altogether to a hundred; two sets of musical bells, with the large bells and musical stones belonging to them; and sixteen female musicians. The marquis gave one half [of these two last gifts] to Wei K'ang, saying, "It was you who taught me to harmonize the Jung and the Teih, so as secure the adherence of the great States (see the long Chuen at the end of the 4th year). In the space of 8 years, I have nine times assembled the States, and a harmony has prevailed among them like that of music. I beg to share the pleasure of these things with you." Wei K'ang declined the gifts, saying, "The harmonizing of the Jung and Teih was the happy destiny of the State. The assembling of the States nine times within the space of eight years, and the princes all virtuously adhering, is to be ascribed to your lordship's powerful influence, and the labours of your various servants. What did I contribute to those results? What your servant wishes is that your lordship may enjoy your present pleasure and think about the future. The ode (She, II. vii. ode VIII. 4) says,

'To be delighted in are those princes,  
The guardians of the country of the Son  
of Heaven!  
To be delighted in are those princes;  
Around them all blessings collect.  
Discriminating and able are their  
attendants,  
Who also have followed them hither!'

Now music helps the repose in virtue; righteousness is seen in the manner of occupying one's position; the rules of propriety are seen in one's practice; good faith maintains consistency; and benevolence makes one powerful in influencing others. When a prince has these qualities, then indeed he may be the guardian of the country, share in all blessings and emoluments, and attract people from a distance—this is called music indeed. The Shoo says (probably V. xv. 10 is intended), "In a position of security, think of peril." If you think thus, you will make preparation against the danger, and with the preparation there will be no calamity. I venture to offer you these admonitions." The marquis said, "Dare I but receive your commands in these instructions? But for you, however, I should not have known how to treat the Jung; I should not have been able to cross the Ho. To reward is a statute of the State, preserved in the repository of covenants; it may not be disused. Do you receive those things." It was thus that Wei K'ang first had bells and musical stones;—and it was right he should thus receive them."

Par. 9. The canon laid down for entries like this is that, when the duke has been absent on more than one affair, the last shall be stated in the record of his return. - It is so here. The



duke left Loo to take part in the invasion of Ch'ing, which ended in the meeting at Ssao-yu; and it is said he arrived 'from the meeting.' In par. 6, however, it is said that he arrived 'from the invasion of Ch'ing,' though the event immediately preceding his return was the meeting and covenant at Poh. The commentators find 'praise and blame' in these variations of the style, but we may well believe that the historians made these entries, as the characters occurred to them, without regard to any different character of the transactions in which the duke had been engaged.

Par. 10. For 霄 Kuh-lêng has 宵. The Chuen says:—'The people of Ch'ing had sent Lêng Ssao, and the grand-superintendent Sheh Ch'oh, to Te'oo, to give notice of their intended submission to Te'in in the words, [as from the ear], "Out of regard to my altars, I

am not able to cherish your lordship [as my superior]. If your lordship with gentleness and alms will come to a good understanding with Te'in, or if by a display of prowess you will overawe it, this would be what I desire.' The people of Te'oo united and held the two officers. The text speaks of "the messenger," intimating that [Lêng Ssao] was an ambassador.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'Two dignitaries of Te'in, Paou and Woo, led a force and invaded Tain, in order to succour Ch'ing. Paou first entered the territory of Tain, and was met by See Fang, who slighted the forces of Te'in, and did not make preparation against them. On Jin-woo, who crossed [the Ho] from Foo-shi, and, joining Paou, went on with him into Tain. On Ka-chow the armies of the two States fought at Leih, when that of Tain received a great defeat;—in consequence of making light of Te'in.'

Twelfth year.

十有二年春，王三月，莒人伐我東鄙，圍台。季孫宿帥師救台，遂入郕。夏，晉侯使士魴來聘。秋九月，吳子乘卒。冬，楚公子貞帥師侵宋。公如晉。

左傳曰：十二年春，莒人伐我東鄙，圍台。季武子救台，遂入郕，取其鐘以爲公盤。夏，晉士魴來聘，且拜師。秋，吳子壽夢卒，臨於周廟，禮也。凡諸侯之喪，異姓臨於外，同姓於宗廟，同宗於祖廟，同族於禰廟，是故魯爲諸姬臨於周廟，爲邢、凡、蔣、茅、胙、祭臨於周公之廟。冬，楚子囊秦庶長無地伐宋，師於揚梁，以報晉之取鄭也。

○靈王求后於齊，齊侯問對於晏桓子。桓子對曰：「先王之禮辭有之。」天子求后於諸侯，諸侯對曰：「夫婦所生若而人，妾婦之子若而人，無女而有姊妹及姑姊妹，則曰先守某公之遺女若而人。」齊侯許昏，王使陰里結之。

公如晉，朝且拜士魴之辱禮也。

○秦嬴歸於楚，楚司馬子庚聘於秦，爲夫人寧禮也。



- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to T'ae.
- 2 Ke-sun Suh led a force and relieved T'ae, after which he went on to enter Yun.
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent Sze Fang to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, Shing, viscount of Woo, died.
- 5 In winter, the Kung-tsze Ching of Ts'oo led a force, and made an incursion into Sung.
- 6 The duke went to Tsin.

PAR. 1, 2. T'ao was a city belonging to Loo, —in the pres. dia. of Pe, dep. E-chow. Kuhläng has 郛. Yun is the same place mentioned in VI. xii. 8, as then walled by duke Wan. In his time it belonged to Loo, but had subsequently been taken by Keu. Though Ke-sun Suh now entered it, it does not appear to have remained in the possession of Loo.

The Chuen says:—‘This year, in spring, a body of men from Keu invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to T'ae. Ke Woo-tse then relieved T'ae, and went on to enter Yun, from which he took its bell to form a deep dish for the duke.’ 遂 is used as heretofore, to denote the going on from the accomplishment of one thing to another not originally contemplated. Kung and Kuh, however, remark that it was not competent for any one to do this but the ruler of the State himself, and hence the 遂 is here condemnatory of Ke-sun Suh;—but see on III. xix. 3.

PAR. 3. Tso says that the object of Fang in this mission was to convey the acknowledgments of the marquis of Tsin for the military services performed by Loo the previous year.

PAR. 4. This viscount of Woo is better known by the name of Show-mung, which we find in the 1st Chuen on the 10th year. How he should have the two names of Show-mung and Shing is not easily explained. Fub K'ien (服虔) of the Han dynasty supposed that the double name of this and the other lords of Woo is merely an attempt to spell, or give the sound of, the native term, so that in reality 壽夢 and 乘 are but one and the same name.

The Chuen says:—‘In autumn, Show-mung, viscount of Woo, died. The duke went to the Chow temple (that of king Wan) to wail for him;—which was according to rule. On occasion of the decease of any prince, if he were of a different surname from the duke, he was wailed for outside on the city wall. If he were of the

same surname, the wailing took place in the ancestral (i.e. the Chow) temple; if he were descended from the same individual who bore that surname, in the temple of that [common] ancestor; if he were of some common branch family from that ancestor, in the paternal temple. Thus the princes of Loo mourned for the Kees generally in the Chow temple; but for the lords of Hing, Fan, T'iang, Maou, Tsoo, and Chae, in the temple of the duke of Chow.’ Here for the 1st time the Ch'un T'ai'w records the death of a lord of Woo. But there is no record of the burial; not that an officer of Loo may not have been present at it, but because, as in the case of the lords of Ts'oo, the usurped title of king must have been introduced.

PAR. 5. The Chuen says:—‘In winter, Tso-nang of Ts'oo, and Woo-te, one of the dignitaries of Tsin, invaded Sung, and took post with their forces at Yang-läng;—in retaliation for Tsin's taking Ch'ing [from Ts'oo].’

[The Chuen here turns aside to a marriage negotiation on the part of the king:—‘King Ling sought a queen from Ts'ao. The marquis asked Gan Hwan-tse how he should reply, and that officer answered, “In the language of ceremony, issued by the former kings, we find that when the king applies for a queen to the prince of any State, the prince replies, “Of daughters by my proper wife, I have so many; and of daughters by concubines I have so many.” If he have no daughter of his own, but has sisters and aunts, he says, “Of so and so, who preceded me in this flax, there are so many daughters.” The marquis of Ts'ao agreed to the proposed marriage, and the king sent Yin Le to settle the engagement.’]

PAR. 6. Tso says, ‘The duke went to Tsin, to appear at its court, and to express his acknowledgments for the visit of Sze Fang.’ Fang's visit was that in p. 3.

[The Chuen here relates an incident, of which it is difficult to see the drift.—‘A daughter of the House of Tsin had been married to [the viscount of] Ts'oo. [This year], Tse-kang (a son of king Chwang, named Woo) minister of War to Ts'oo, paid a friendly visit to Tsin, to inquire after her mother in the viscountess's behalf. This was according to rule.’]



Thirteenth year.

十有三<sup>二</sup>年春公至自晉。夏取郛<sup>二</sup>。秋九月庚辰楚子審卒<sup>四</sup>。冬城防。

左傳曰：十三年春，公至自晉。孟獻子書勞於廟，禮也。

夏，郛亂，分爲三師，救郛，遂取之。凡書取，言易也。用大師焉，曰滅，弗地曰入。

荀營士魴卒，晉侯蒐於綿上以治兵，使士匄將中軍，辭曰：伯游長，昔臣習於知伯，是以佐之，非能賢也。請從伯游。荀偃將中軍，士匄佐之，使韓起將上軍，辭以趙武。又使欒黶辭曰：臣不如韓起。韓起願上趙武，君其聽之。使趙武將上軍，韓起佐之。欒黶將下軍，魏絳佐之。新軍無帥，晉侯難其人，使其什吏率其卒乘官屬以從於下軍，禮也。晉國之民是以大和，諸侯遂睦。君子曰：讓禮之主也。范宣子讓其下皆讓，欒黶爲汰，弗敢違也。晉國以平，數世賴之。刑善也夫！一人刑善，百姓休和，可不務乎？書曰：一人有慶，兆民賴之。其寧惟永，其是之謂乎？周之興也，其詩曰：儀刑文王，萬邦作孚。言刑善也。及其衰也，其詩曰：大夫不均，我從事獨賢。言不讓也。世之治也，君子尙能而讓其下，小人農力以事其上，是以上下有禮而讒慝黜遠，由不爭也。謂之懿德。及其亂也，君子稱其功以加小人，小人伐其技以馮君子，是以上下無禮，亂虐並生，由爭善也。謂之昏德。國家之敝，恒必由之。

楚子疾告大夫曰：不穀不德，少主社稷，生十年而喪先君，未及習師保之教訓，而應受多福，是以不德而亡師於鄢，以辱社稷。爲大夫憂，其弘多矣。若以大夫之靈，獲保首領，以沒於地，唯是春秋窳窳之事，所以從先君於禰廟者，請爲靈若厲。大夫擇焉，莫對。及五命，乃許。秋，楚共王卒，子囊謀諡。大夫曰：君有命矣。子囊曰：君命以共，若之何毀之？赫赫楚國，而君臨之，撫有蠻夷，奄征南海，以屬諸夏，而知其過，可不謂共乎？請諡之共。大夫從之。

○吳侵楚，養由基奔命。子庚以師繼之。養叔曰：吳乘我喪，謂我不能師也，必易我而不戒。



子爲三覆以待我，我請誘之。子庚從之，戰於庸浦，大敗吳師，獲公子黨。君子以吳爲不弔，詩曰：不弔昊天，亂靡有定。冬，城防。書事時也。於是將早城，臧武仲請俟畢農事，禮也。鄭良霄，大宰石與，猶在楚。石與言於子囊曰：先王卜征五年，而歲習其祥，祥習則行，不習則增修德而改卜。今楚實不競，行人何罪？止鄭一卿，以除其偏，使睦而疾楚，以固於晉，焉用之？使歸而廢其使，怨其君，以疾其大夫，而相牽引也，不猶愈乎？楚人歸之。

- XIII. 1 In his thirteenth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
 2 In summer, we took She.  
 3 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Käng-shin, Shin, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
 4 In winter, we walled Fang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"When the duke arrived from Tsin, Mäng Hsien-tse caused a record of his successful services to be made in the ancestral temple;—which was according to rule." See the Chuen on II. II. 9 about the force of

至 in such paragraphs as this. Too Yu goes at length into the matter here:—"Under the 2d year of duke Hwan, the Chuen says, 'The duke arrived from Tang, and announced his doing so in the temple.' Whenever the duke set out on a journey, he announced it in the ancestral temple. On his return, he drank in celebration of that in the temple; and when he put down the cup, he had his service recorded in the tablets;—this was the rule. In the 16th year of Hwan, it says, 'The duke came from the invasion of Ch'ing, and observed the ceremony of drinking on his arrival in the temple.' It appears then (from those two passages and the present), that if any one of the three ceremonies,—the announcement in the temple, the drinking to celebrate the arrival, and the record in the tablets,—was observed, the notice of arrival was made; but if they were all neglected, there was no such notice."

Par. 2. For 郛 Kung-yang has 詩 She was a small State, near Loo,—in the present Tse-ning (濟寧) Chow, dep. Yen-chow. It was now incorporated with Loo. The Chuen says:—"In summer, She was dismembered into three by invaders [which prevailed]. A force from Loo succoured She, and took the opportunity to take it." Too observes on this, that, while the Chuen speaks of "a force from Loo," the text does not use that term, intimating that the troops employed did not really amount to a 師, or 2,500 men. Too she subjoins his canons regarding the force of several terms:—"Taking (取)" is used, when the thing was done with ease; "extinguishing (滅)," when it required

a large force; "entering (入)," when the territory was not retained." There is difficulty found, however, in the application of these canons; and some critics, as Lëw Ch'ang, call them in question altogether.

[The Chuen appends here a narrative about the affairs of Tsin:—"Seun Ying and Sze Fang died, and the marquis of Tsin assembled his troops in Mëen-shang that he might order and regulate them. He appointed Sze Kue to the command of the army of the centre, but Kae declined, saying, 'Pih-yëw (Seun Yen) is my senior. Formerly from my acquaintance with, and knowledge of, Che Pih, I was assistant-commander under him; but I cannot [be regarded as] superior [to Yen]. I beg you to follow [my advice, and appoint] Pih-yëw.'" Seun Yen was then made commander of the army of the centre, and Sze Kae was assistant-commander under him. [The marquis] appointed Han K'e to the command of the 1st army; but he wished to decline in favour of Chao Woo. The marquis, however, offered the command to Lwan Yen, who also declined it, saying, 'I am not equal to Han K'e, and as he wishes Chao Woo to be above him, your lordship should hearken to him.'" Chao Woo was then made commander of the 1st army, with Han K'e as assistant-commander. Lwan Yen was continued as commander of the 3d army, and Wei K'ang was made assistant-commander of it. Neither commander nor assistant-commander was appointed to the new army; but the marquis, finding it difficult to meet with proper men, ordered the officers of tens to lead their footmen and chariot-men, and all the other officers, to follow the 3d army,—which was right. On this, a great harmony prevailed among the people of Tsin, and the States cultivated their friendly relations with it.

"The superior man will say, 'Modesty is an essential point in the propiety.' Fan Seuen-tse (Kae) having declined the command [offered to him], those below him did the same, and



even Lwan Yen, naturally forward, did not dare to act differently. The State of Ts'in was thus made tranquil, and the effect extended through several generations—such was the force of a good example! Is not this a thing to be earnestly sought,—the good example of one man, securing the quiet and harmony of the people? The language of the Shoo (V. xxvii. 13) is applicable to this:—“When the one man is good, all the people look to him as their dependences, and the repose of such a State will be perpetual. Of the rise and prosperity of Chow, the ode (She, III. i. ode I. 7) says:—

“Take your pattern from king Wên,  
And the myriad regions will repose confidence  
in you.”

showing a pattern of excellence. But in the decline of Chow, the ode (She, II. vi. ode I. 2) says:—

“The great officers are unfair;  
I am made to serve; I alone am deemed worthy;”

showing how [at that time] they would not yield to one another. In an age of good government, men in high stations prefer ability, and give place to those who are below them; and the lesser people labour vigorously at their husbandry to serve their superiors. In this way all the rules of propriety are observed both by high and low, and disorders and evil men fall into disrepute and disappear. Such a state of things arises from their not quarrelling about superiority;—it is what we call a state of admirable virtue. But in an age of disorder, men in high stations proclaim their merit in order to impose their will on those who are below them, and the lesser people boast of their arts to encroach on their superiors. In this way the rules of propriety are observed by neither high nor low, and disorders and oppressions grow up together. Such a state of things arises from contentions about superiority;—it is what we call a state where virtue is all-obscured. The ruin of a State is sure to result from it.”

Par. 2. This was king Kung (共王). He was succeeded by his son Ch'uan, known as king K'ang (康王昭). The Chuen says:—“The viscount of Ts'oo was ill, and addressed his great officers, saying, “I, the unworthy, was called when young to preside over the altars. At the age of ten, I lost my father, and the dignity of the State fell to my lot before I had been trained by the instructions of the tutor and guardian. Thus it was that I lost my army at Yen (see VIII. xvi. 6), to the very great disgrace of our altars, and the very great sorrow of you. If by your influence I am able to preserve my head, and die a natural death, for the business of sacrifice and internment, whereby I shall take the place after my predecessors in the temple proper to me, I beg you will call me by such an epithet as Ling (靈) or Le (厲), according as you shall choose.” They gave him no reply, till he had charged them five times, when they consented.

“In the autumn, he—king Kung—died, and Tse-nang was consulting about the posthumous epithet for him, when the great officers said, “We have his own charge about it.” Tse-nang said, “His charge was marked by imable

reverence. Why should we use any other epithet but that which is expressive of that quality? He came to the charge of this glorious State of Ts'oo; he tranquillized, and got the dominion of the Man and the Si; his expeditions went rapidly forth along the sea of the south; and he subjected the great States. And yet he knew his errors;—may he not be pronounced humbly reverent (穆)? Let us call him by the epithet of Kung.” The great officers agreed.”

[The Chuen appends here:—Woo made a raid upon Ts'oo. Yang Yê-ho hurried away with a charge [to resist the enemy], followed by Tse-kang with a [larger] force. Yang Shih said, “Woo is taking advantage of the death of our king, thinking we shall not be able to take the field. They are sure to slight us, and not use proper caution. Do you place three ambushments, and wait for the result of my measures, giving me leave to decoy them.” Tse-kang having agreed to this, a battle was fought at Yung-poo, when the troops of Woo received a great defeat, and the Kung-tze Tang was taken. The superior man will say, “Woo was ungrateful;”—[as] the ode (She, II. iv. ode VII. 6) says,

“Great Heaven has no compassion,  
And there is no end to the disorders.”

Par. 4. Fang.—see I. ix. 6. The city was granted, probably about this time, to the Tsangsun family. The Chuen says:—“This text shows the seasonableness of the proceeding [from the state of other business]. They had wished to wall the city earlier, but Tsang Woo-ching begged to wait till the labours of husbandry were finished;—which was right.”

[The Chuen here takes up the narrative under xi. 10:—Liang Shou of Ch'ing, and the grand-superintendent Shih Ch'oh, were still in Ts'oo. Shih Ch'oh said to Tse-nang, “The ancient kings divined about their progresses for five years, year by year seeking for a favourable response. When they found that repeated so many times, then they set out. If such a response was not repeated, they cultivated their virtue with increased assiduity, and divined again. Now Ts'oo cannot maintain its struggle with Ts'in; but what is the offence of [Ch'ing's] messenger? You here detain one of its high ministers, relieving its court of the pressure [of its ministers on one another], making the others more harmonious and adhere firmly to Ts'in, with a hatred of Ts'oo;—what is the use of such a measure? If you send him back, and thus frustrate the object of his mission, he will resent the conduct of his ruler, and be at enmity with the great officers, so that they will begin to draw different ways;—would not this be a better course?” On this the people of Ts'oo sent them both back.]



Fourteenth year.

一十有四年春王正月季孫宿叔老會晉士  
二句齊人宋人衛人鄭公孫蠆曹人莒人邾  
三人滕人薛人杞人小邾人會吳于向  
四二月乙未朔日有食之  
五夏四月叔孫豹會晉荀偃齊人宋人衛北  
六宮括鄭公孫蠆曹人莒人邾人滕人薛人  
七杞人小邾人伐秦己未衛侯出奔齊  
八莒人侵我東鄙秋楚公子貞帥師伐吳  
九冬季孫宿會晉士句宋華閱衛孫林父鄭  
十公孫蠆莒人邾人于戚

左傳曰十四年春吳告敗於晉會于向爲吳謀楚故也范宣子數吳之不德也以退吳人執莒公子務婁以其通楚使也將執戎子駒支范宣子親數諸朝曰來姜戎氏昔秦人迫逐乃祖吾離於瓜州乃祖吾離被苦蓋蒙荆棘以來歸我先君我先君惠公有不腆之田與女剖分而食之今諸侯之事我寡君不如昔者蓋言語漏洩則職汝之由詰朝之事爾無與焉與將執女對曰昔秦人負恃其衆貪於土地逐我諸戎惠公蠲其大德謂我諸戎是四嶽之裔冑也毋是煎



棄。賜我南鄙之田。狐狸所居，豺狼所嗥。我諸戎除翦其荆棘，驅其狐狸豺狼，以爲先君不侵不叛之臣。至於今不貳。昔文公與秦伐鄭，秦人竊與鄭盟，而舍戍焉。於是乎有殺之師。晉禦其上，戎亢其下。秦師不復，我諸戎實然。譬如捕鹿，晉人角之，諸戎掎之，與晉踣之。戎何以不免？自是以來，晉之百役，與我諸戎相繼於時，以從執政，猶殺志也。豈敢離邊？今官之師旅，無乃實有所闕，以攜諸侯，而罪我諸戎？我諸戎飲食衣服，不與華同，贊幣不通，言語不達，何惡之能爲？不與於會，亦無害焉。賦青蠅而退，宣子辭焉，使卽事於會，成禮悌也。於是子叔齊子爲季武子介，以會，自是晉人輕魯幣，而益敬其使。

⑤吳子諸樊既除喪，將立季札。季札辭曰：「曹宣公之卒也，諸侯與曹人不義，曹君將立子臧，子臧去之，遂弗爲也。以成曹君。君子曰：『能守節，君義嗣也。』誰敢奸君？有國，非吾節也。札雖不才，願附於子臧，以無失節。」固立之，棄其室而耕，乃舍之。

夏，諸侯之大夫從晉侯伐秦，以報櫟之役也。晉侯待於竟，使六卿帥諸侯之師以進。及涇，不濟。叔向見叔孫穆子，穆子賦匏有苦葉，叔向退而具舟。魯人莒人先濟。鄭子蟠見衛北宮懿子曰：「與人而不固，取惡莫甚焉。」若社稷何？懿子說二子見諸侯之師而勸之濟。濟涇而次，秦人毒涇上流，師人多死。鄭司馬子蟠帥鄭師以進，師皆從之。至于械林，不獲成焉。荀偃令曰：「雞鳴而駕，塞井夷竈，唯余馬首是瞻。」欒黶曰：「晉國之命，未是有也。」余馬首欲東，乃歸。上軍從之。左史謂魏莊子曰：「不待中行伯乎？」莊子曰：「夫子命從帥，欒伯吾帥也。吾將從之。」從帥所以待夫子也。伯游曰：「吾令實過，悔之何及？」多遺秦餼，乃命大還。晉人謂之遷延之役。欒黶曰：「此役也，報櫟之敗也，役又無功，晉之恥也。吾有二位於戎路，敢不恥乎？」與士鞅馳秦師，死焉。士鞅反，欒黶謂士鞅曰：「余弟不欲往，而子召之，余弟死，而子來，是而子殺余之弟也。」弗逐。余亦將殺之。士鞅奔秦，於是齊崔杼、宋華閱、仲江會伐秦，不書，情也。向之會亦如之。衛北宮括不書於向，書於伐秦，攝也。秦伯問於士鞅曰：「晉大夫其誰先亡？」對曰：「其欒氏。」



乎。秦伯曰：以其汰乎？對曰：然。樂驪汰虐已甚，猶可以免，其在盈乎？秦伯曰：何故？對曰：武子之德在民，如周人之思召公焉，愛其甘棠，況其子乎？樂驪死，盈之善未能及人，武子所施沒矣，而驪之怨實章，將於是乎在？秦伯以爲知言，爲之請於晉而復之。

衛獻公戒孫文子、甯惠子食，皆服而朝。日旰不召，而射鴻於圃。二子從之，不釋皮冠而與之言。二子怒，孫文子如戚，孫蒯入使，公飲之酒，使犬師歌巧言之卒章。犬師辭，師曹請爲之。初，公有嬖妾，使師曹誨之琴，師曹鞭之，公怒，鞭師曹三百，故師曹欲歌之以怒孫子，以報公。公使歌之，遂誦之。蒯懼，告文子。文子曰：君忌我矣，弗先必死，并帑於戚，而入見。蘧伯玉曰：君之暴虐，子所知也。大懼社稷之傾覆，將若之何？對曰：君制其國，臣敢奸之，雖奸之，庸知愈乎？遂行，從近關出。公使子蟜、子伯、子皮與孫子盟於丘宮。孫子皆殺之。四月己未，子展奔齊。公如鄆，使子行於孫子。孫子又殺之。公出奔齊。孫氏追之，敗公徒於阿澤。鄆人執之。初，尹公佗學射於庾公，差學射於公孫丁。二子追公，公孫丁御。公子魚曰：射爲晉師，不射爲戮。射爲禮乎？射兩輶而還。尹公佗曰：子爲師，我則遠矣。乃反之。公孫丁授公轡而射之，貫臂。子鮮從公，及竟，公使祝宗告亡，且告無罪。定姜曰：無神何告？若有，不可誣也。有罪，若何告？無舍大臣而與小臣謀，一罪也。先君有冢卿，以爲師保而蔑之，二罪也。余以巾櫛事先君，而暴妾使余，三罪也。告亡而已，無告無罪。公使厚成叔弔於衛，曰：寡君使瘠，聞君不撫社稷，而越在他竟，若之何不弔？以同盟之故，使瘠敢私於執事，曰：有君不弔，有臣不敏，君不赦宥，臣亦不帥職，增淫發洩，其若之何？衛人使犬叔儀對曰：羣臣不佞，得罪於寡君，寡君不以卽刑，而悼棄之，以爲君憂，君不忘先君之好，辱弔羣臣，又重恤之，敢拜君命之辱。重拜大覲，厚孫歸復命。語臧武仲曰：衛君其必歸乎？有大叔儀以守，有母弟鱣以出，或撫其內，或營其外，能無歸乎？齊人以剌寄衛侯及其復也，以剌糧歸。右宰穀從而逃歸。衛人將殺之，辭曰：余不說初矣。余狐裘而羔袖，乃赦之。衛人立公孫剌。孫林父甯殖相之，以聽命於諸侯。衛侯在剌，臧紇如齊。



唁衛侯。衛侯與之言，虐退而告其人曰：「衛侯其不得入矣。其言，糞土也。亡而不變，何以復國？」子展、子鮮聞之，見臧紇與之言，道臧孫說，謂其人曰：「衛君必入。夫二子者，或輓之，或推之，欲無入，得乎？」

⑤師歸自伐秦，晉侯舍新軍禮也。成國不過半天子之軍，周爲六軍，諸侯之大者三軍可也。於是知朔生盈而死，盈生六年而武子卒，薨，裴亦幼，皆未可立也。新軍無帥，故舍之。

⑥師曠侍於晉侯。晉侯曰：「衛人出其君，不亦甚乎？」對曰：「或者其君實甚。長君將賞善而刑淫，養民如子，蓋之如天，容之如地。民奉其君，愛之如父母，仰之如日月，敬之如神明，畏之如雷霆，其可出乎？夫君，神之主而民之望也。若困民之主，曷神之祀？百姓絕望，社稷無主，將安用之？弗去何爲？天生民而立之君，使司牧之，勿使失性，有君而爲之貳，使師保之，勿使過度，是故天子有公，諸侯有卿，卿置側室，大夫有貳宗，士有朋友，庶人工商，皁隸牧圉，皆有親暱，以相輔佐也。善則賞之，過則匡之，患則救之，失則革之。自王以下，各有父兄子弟，以補察其政。史爲書，瞽爲詩，工誦箴諫，大夫規誨，士傳言，庶人謗，商旅於市，百工獻藝。故夏書曰：『道人以木鐸徇於路，官師相規，工執藝事以諫。』正月孟春，於是乎有之，諫失常也。天之愛民甚矣，豈其使一人肆於民上，以從其淫，而棄天地之性，必不然矣。」

秋，楚子爲庸浦之役，故子囊師於棠以伐吳。吳不出而還，子囊殿，以吳爲不能而弗儆。吳人自臯舟之隘，要而擊之，楚人不能相救。吳人敗之，獲楚公子宜穀。

⑦王使劉定公賜齊侯命，曰：「昔伯舅犬公，右我先王，股肱周室，師保萬民，世昨犬師，以表東海。王室之不壞，繫伯舅是賴。今余命汝環茲率舅氏之典，纂乃祖考，無忝乃舊，敬之哉！無廢朕命。」

晉侯問衛故於中行獻子，對曰：「不如因而定之。衛有君矣，伐之未可以得志，而勸諸侯。史佚有言曰：『因重而撫之，仲虺有言曰：『亡者侮之，亂者取之，推亡固存，國之道也。』君其定衛以待時乎？冬，會于戚，謀定衛也。范宣子假。」



也。民歸也。忠不衛將忘忠。子必言卒。還<sup>⑤</sup>人而羽  
所于詩民謂社死。增君謂城。將自楚始弗施  
望。周曰之忠。櫻不其薨。子郢。子死。伐子貳。歸於  
忠萬行望乎。可忘名。不囊君庚。遺吳囊。齊齊

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ke-sun Suh, and Shuh Laou, along with Sze Kae of Tsin, officers of Ts'e, Sung, and Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, Choo, T'ang, Sseh, Ke, and Little Choo, had a meeting with Woo in Hëang.
- 2 In the second month, on Yih-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Shuh-sun P'aou joined Seun Yen of Tsin, officers of Ts'e and Sung, Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, Ch'oo, T'ang, Sseh, Ke, and Little Choo, in invading Ts'in.
- 4 On Ke-we, the marquis of Wei left his State, and fled to Ts'e.
- 5 A body of men from Keu made a raid upon our eastern borders.
- 6 In autumn, the Kung-tze Ching of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo.
- 7 In winter, Ke-sun Suh had a meeting with Sze Kae of Tsin, Hwa Yueh of Sung, Sun Lin-foo of Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ae of Ch'ing, and officers of Keu and Choo, in Ts'eih.

Par. 1. The defeat of Woo by Ts'oo is related in the *Chun* appended to par. 8 of last year. Tao-she supposes that this meeting at Hëang (the Hëang in dis. of Hwa-yuen; see on I.ii.2) was held in consequence of an application from Woo to Tsin for help; but, as Woo Ch'ing has remarked, the text, where representatives of Tsin and the other States all go to meet Woo, would rather indicate that the meeting was called by Tsin for its own purposes, to make use of Woo, instead of giving help to it.

Here and below, Kung-yang has 禮 for 禮. At this meeting we have two officers, both ministers, present on the part of Loo:—Ke-sun Suh and Shuh Laou (a son of Kung-sun Ying-tse, and grandson of Shuh-heli, mentioned VII. xvii. 7). There were always two officers sent by the States to these meetings, a principal and an assistant (一正一介), but the second was inferior in rank, and only the principal took part in conference. Loo departed from the ordinary rule in this case probably to flatter Tsin, and Tsin accepted the adulation by admitting two envoys to the meeting.

The *Chun* says:—“This spring, Woo announced to Tsin the defeat [which it had sustained from Ts'oo], and a meeting was held at Hëang, to consult about measures against

Ts'oo, in the interest of Woo. Fan Senen-tse, however, pointed out Woo's act of misconduct, and sent away its representative. He [also] caused the Kung-tze Woo-low of Keu to be seized, because of Keu's interchanging communications with Ts'oo. He wished [further] to seize Ken-che, viscount of the Jung, and accused him, himself, in the court [which had been established in Hëang], saying, “Come, you chief of the Këang Jung! Formerly, the people of Tsin drove Woo-ke, one of your ancestors, to Kwa-chow, when he came, clothed with rushes and forcing his way through briars and thorns, and threw himself on our ruler duke Hway, who cut off from Tsin some poor lands, and gave them to you to afford you a subsistence. The States do not now yield to our ruler the service which they formerly did, because of reports leaking [out from Tsin].—all through you. You must not be present at the business of to-morrow morning; if you are, I will cause you to be seized.” The viscount replied, “Formerly, the people of Tsin, relying on their multitudes, and covetous of territory, drove out us Jung. Then [your] duke Hway displayed his great kindness; and considering that we Jung were the descendants of the [chief of the] four mountains (see the *Shou*, I.11), and were not to be entirely cut off and abandoned,



he gave us the lands on his southern border. The territory was one where jackals dwelt and wolves howled, but we Jung extirpated the briars and thorns from it, drove away the jackals and wolves, and considered ourselves his subjects, who should not make inroads on his State, nor rebel. Nor to the present day have we swerved from our allegiance. Formerly, when duke Wan and Ts'in invaded Ch'ing (see V. xxxv.), the people of Ts'in stealthily made a covenant with Ch'ing, and left some troops as a guard in its territory, which led to the battle of Hsiao (V. xxxiii. 3). There Ts'in met the enemy in front, and we Jung withstood him in the rear. That the army of Ts'in did not return to their State was owing to our services. As in the pursuit of a stag, the people of Ts'in took Ts'in by the horns, and we took it by the feet, and along with Ts'in, we laid it prostrate on the ground;—might we not expect to escape [such a charge as you bring against us]? From that time to the present, in all the expeditions of Ts'in we Jung have taken part, one after another, as they occurred, following its leaders, without ever daring to keep ourselves apart from them. And now when the troops of your officers have indeed committed some errors which are separating the States from you, you try to throw the blame on us. Our drink, our food, our clothes are all different from those of the Flowery States; we do not interchange silks or other articles of introduction with their courts; their language and ours do not admit of intercourse between us and them:—what evil is it possible for us to have done? Not to be present at the meeting will not be a grief to me." He then sang the Ts'ing-ying (She, II. vii. ode VI.), and withdrew. Seuen-tze acknowledged his error, made the viscount be present at the business of the meeting, and proved himself "the gentle and harmonious superior" [of that ode].

At this time Tze-shuh Ts'v-tze (Shuh Loou) was the assistant of Ke Woo-tze and attended the meeting. From this time Ts'in made the contributions of Loo lighter, and gave more respect to its messengers.

The above Chuen is interesting, as showing how the chiefs of the various ruler tribes might be present at the meetings of the States, though there be no record of such a thing in the text.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Woo:—Choo-fan, viscount of Woo, when the mourning [for his father] was [so far] completed (see the death of the former viscount, xii. 4), wished to raise his younger brother Chah to be lord of the State; but Chah declined the dignity, saying, "When duke Seuen of Ts'au died (see VIII. xiii. 4, 6), the States and the people of Ts'au, disapproving of the new ruler, wished to raise Tze-tsang in Seuen's room. Tze-tsang, however, left Ts'au, and would not be [lord of it], thus establishing the position of the [actual] ruler. Superior men say of him that he could maintain in purity his position. You are the rightful heir; who will dare to be false to you? I cannot possess the State in my position. Devoid as I am of ability, I wish rather to follow the example of Tze-tsang, so as not to lose my purity." When the thing was still pressed upon him, he abandoned his house, and took to ploughing, on which his brother let him alone.]

Par. 3. This eclipse took place on the 8th of January, B.C. 568.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"In summer, the great officers of the States followed the marquis of Ts'in to invade Ts'in, in return for the affair at Leih (see on xi. 11). The marquis waited on the borders of the State, and sent his six ministers forward with the forces of the State. When the armies reached the King, they [were unwilling] to cross it; but Shuh-hsiao (Yang-shih Hsiao, the Shuh-hsiao of the Chuen on xi. 8) having seen Shuh-sun Mah-tze (P'ao), the latter sang the P'ao yew k'oo yeh (She, I. iii. ode IX.), on which Shuh-hsiao withdrew and prepared boats for crossing the stream. The men of Loo and K'ou were the first to cross. Tze-k'iao of Ch'ing, seeing Pih-kung E-tze of Wei, said to him, "If we take a side and do not adhere firmly to it, we shall bring on ourselves the greatest evils. What will be the consequences to our altars?" The other was pleased, and they united in advising the forces of the States to cross the King. This was done and the army then halted, but the people of Ts'in had put poison into the stream higher up, in consequence of which many of the soldiers died. Tze K'iao, minister of War of Ch'ing, led its forces forward, and was followed by those of the other States to T'ih-lin.

[When they were there], they still did not succeed in bringing Ts'in to terms, and Senn Yen issued an order that at cock-crow they should yoke their chariots, fill up the wells, level their furnaces, and look only at his horses' heads, [and follow him]." Lwan Yen said, "Such an order as this was never given out by the State of Ts'in. My horses' heads wish to go to the east;" and with this he turned back, followed by the third army. The historiographer of the Left said to Wei Chwang-tze (Wei K'iang), "Will you not wait for Chung-hang Pih (Senn Yen)?" but Chwang-tze said, "He ordered us to follow our leaders. Lwan Pih is my leader; I will follow him, and in this way wait for the general." [On learning this], Pih-yew (Senn Yen) said, "I committed an error, and repentance for it will not now avail. We shall leave many prisoners in the hands of Ts'in." On this he commanded a great retreat; and the people of Ts'in called the whole affair "The campaign of changes and delays."

Lwan K'ien said, "This service was to repay the affair of Leih, and it proves itself to be a failure;—to the disgrace of Ts'in. And there are two of us [he was a brother of Lwan Yen] in the expedition;—can I but feel the disgrace?" He then dashed with Sze Yang against the army of Ts'in and was killed, Sze Yang [escaping and] returning. Lwan Yen said to Sze Kae, "My brother did not wish to go forward, and your son invited him to do so. My brother died, while your son has returned. He is answerable for my brother's death, and if you do not drive him away, I will kill him." On this Sze Yang fled to Ts'in.

Ts'ing Choo of Tse, and Hwa Tsch and Chung K'ang of Sung, were engaged in this expedition, but their names do not appear in the text, because they were rump. For the same reason they are not mentioned in the account of the meeting at Hsiao. Pih-kung Kwoh of Wei does not appear at that meeting, but he is men-



tioned here, because he was here more attentive to his duty.

The earl of Ts'in asked Sze Yung which of the great officers of Ts'in would first go to ruin, and was answered, "Probably the Lwan." "Because of their excessive arrogance?" asked the earl. "Yes," was the reply. "The arrogance and violence of Lwan Yen are extreme, but still he may escape an evil end. The thing will happen to Ying." "Why so?" pursued the earl. Yang answered, "The good offices of Woo-tze (Yen's father) to the people [have made them think of them] as the people of Chow thought of the duke of Shao. If they loved the sweet pear tree [of the duke] (see the *Sho*, I. ii. ode v.), how much more must the people now regard the son [of Woo-tze]! When Lwan Yen dies, and the goodness of Ying does not extend to the people, the favours of Woo-tze will be forgotten, and the wrongs done by Yen will be clearly seen, and then the doom will come." The earl was impressed with the wisdom of his remarks, appealed in his behalf to Ts'in, and got him restored to that State. With this 'Expedition of changes and delays' the strife between Ts'in and Ts'in came to a long intermission. The two States were about equally matched. The resources of Ts'in were more fully developed, but they did not exceed those of its neighbour to such a degree as to enable it to maintain a permanent superiority over Ts'in.

Maou lays down canons about the names of some officers which are in the text, just the contrary of those laid down by Tao;—showing how uncertain all such criticism is.

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 衍, the marquis's

name, after 衛侯. The Chuen says:—'Duke Hsien of Wei had given an invitation to Sun Wan-tze (Sun Lin-foo) and Ning Hwuy-tze (Ning Chih) to eat with him, and the two officers dressed themselves, and went to court accordingly. The duke, however, had sent them to [subsequent] summons [to the feast], even when the day was getting late, but was shooting wild geese in the park. Thither they followed him, when he spoke to them, without taking off his skin cap. They were offended, and Wan-tze repaid to [his city of] Ts'ieh, from which he sent [his son] Sun Kwai to the court. The duke called for spirits to drink with Kwai, and ordered the chief musician to sing the last stanza of the K'ao-yen (*Sho*, II. v. ode IV.). That officer declined to do so, and his subordinate Ts'ao asked leave to sing it. Before this, the duke had employed this Ts'ao to teach a favourite concubine the lute, and he had whipped the lady, which so enraged the duke that he had given the musician 800 blows. It was in consequence of this that Ts'ao wished to sing the stanza, that he might thereby enrage Sun-tze, and obtain his own revenge upon the duke. The duke ordered him to sing the words, and farther to intimate his meaning in them. Kwai was afraid, and told the whole thing to his father, who said, "The duke suspects me. If I do not take the initiative, I shall die." On this he brought his son also to Ts'ieh, and went [to the capital] to see K'uei Pih-yuh, and said to him, "You are well aware of the cruel oppressions of our ruler; I am very much afraid lest our altars be overthrown—what is to be done?" Pih-yuh replied, "The ruler's authority is supreme; who

will dare to oppose him? And though we should oppose him, do we know that we should find a better?" And after this interview he left the State by the nearest gate on the borders.

The duke then sent Tze-k'ao, Tze-pih, and Tze-p'ie to make a covenant in K'uei-kung with Sun-tze, who put them all to death. In the 4th month, on Ke-we, Tze-chen fled to Tze; and the duke went to K'uen, from which he sent Tze-hang to Sun-tze, who put him also to death. The duke then left the State, and fled towards Tze, pursued by the Sun, who defeated his followers at the marsh of O. The people of K'uen also took some of their prisoners. Yin-kung T'o and Yu-kung Ch'ao continued the pursuit of the duke. T'o had learned archery from Ch'ao, whose own instructor in the art had been the Kung-sun Ting. Ting was now driving the duke's chariot, and Tze-yu (Yu-kung Ch'ao) said, "If I shoot, I do violence to my instructor; and if I do not shoot, I shall be killed;—had I not better shoot in ceremony only?" Accordingly he shot twice, [merely] hitting the yoke over the horses' necks, and returned. [By and by] Yin-kung T'o said, "He was your master, but I am further removed from him," and thereon he turned again in pursuit. The Kung-sun Ting gave the reins to the duke, and sent an arrow through the upper part of T'o's arm.

Tze-chen followed the duke, who sent the director of prayers back from the borders of the State to announce his flight [in the ancestral temple], and to announce that he was free from guilt. [His father's proper wife,] Ting K'ang said [on this], "If there be no spirits, what is the use of such an announcement? If there be, they are not to be imposed upon;—guilty as he is, how can he announce that he is free from guilt? He neglected the great officers, and took counsel with his small officers;—that was one sort of guilt. He treated with contempt the chief ministers of his father, who had been appointed tutor and guardian to him; that was a second. He was oppressive, as to a concubine, to me, who with towel and comb had served his father; that was a third. He might announce his flight; but nothing more; how could he announce that he was free from guilt?"

The marquis [of Loo] sent Hw Ch'ing-shuh on a visit of condolence to Wei, who said, "My ruler has sent me (Tseih was Ch'ing-shuh's name), having heard that your ruler was no longer watching over your altars, but had crossed your borders into another State. In such circumstances, how could he but send his condolences? Considering how he had covenanted with your ruler, he has sent me privately to you, the officers of Wei, to say, 'Your ruler showed no sympathy, and his ministers were not earnest and intelligent. He did not forgive [their offences], and they did not perform their duties. His excesses were increased, and they gave vent to their resentments. What is to be done in such a case?' The people of Wei appointed T'ao-shuh K to reply to him, who said, "We officers, in our want of ability, offended our ruler. He did not proceed to punish us, but in grief has left the State, causing sorrow to your ruler. Mindful of the friendship between the former princess of Wei and Loo, your ruler has condescended to send his condolences to us, and to show us his great pity. We venture to acknowledge the condescension of his message;



we thank him deeply for his great gift." When Hw-sun returned, and reported the execution of his mission, he said to Tsang Woo-chung, "The ruler of Wei will yet return, I apprehend, to his State. There is Tse-shuh & to keep guard in it; there is his own brother Chien (Tse-sien), who has left it with him. With the former watching over his interests in the State, and the latter to build him up out of it, is it possible he should not be restored?"

"The people of Tse assigned Lao to the marquise as his residence, and when he returned to Wei, he took with him the provisions that were in it. Kih, commandant of the right, had followed the marquise on his flight, but afterwards stole away from him, and returned to Wei, where the people wished to put him to death. He pleaded, however, that he had not gone away at first with a good will, and that he might be compared to a robe of fox-skin with sleeves of lamb's fur. On this they forgave him, and raised P'iao, a grandson of duke Muh to the vacant seat. To him Sun Lin-fu and Ning Chih acted as chief ministers, awaiting his recognition by the States.

"While the marquise of Wei was in Lao, Tsang Heih went to Tse, and paid him a visit of condolence, when he spoke in so violent a way, that, when Heih retired, he said to his followers that the marquise would not be able to enter the state again. "His words," said he, "are dirt. His exile has wrought no change in him. How is it possible that he should return?" Tse-chien and Tse-sien heard this, and visited Heih, when their discourse was so marked by right principle, that he said to his people, "The ruler of Wei is sure to return to his State. With the one of these officers to pull him forward, and the other to keep him back, though he wished not to enter it, he could not keep from doing so."

The K'ang-hi editors observe on this paragraph:—In the account of the exit of the marquise of Wei, the Ch'ün Tsew does not mention the traitors who drove him out, but ascribes his flight to himself. In consequence of this, Too Yu and Kung Ying-tah held that the style was condemnatory of the ruler, in which view they were followed by Hsu Gan-kwah. But this is not the idea of the text. There is no greater crime than the expulsion of a ruler by a minister; and it is to be supposed that the sage would indicate his condemnation of the ruler only? Wang Te-mou and Yen K'e-ling have therefore both disputed this view. This method of settling a point on the critic's *a priori* view of the author's character and intention will not pass current out of China. With the account in the text there has to be taken the statement of Ning Chih on his deathbed, as given in the Chuen at the end of the 20th year, that it was recorded in the tablets (策書) of the States, that 'Ning Chih drove out his ruler.' Mao contends that there were, besides those tablets, others (簡書) in a different style, and that Confucius made his text from the latter. This distinction of tablets again is vehemently controverted; and even if it were granted, the point of real interest in regard to the merits of Confucius as a historian would not be affected by it.—We look for truth as to the things which he relates, and we do not get it. It is to be observed, however, that only in the case of the

murder of a ruler is the name of the traitor given in the Ch'ün Tsew, and even not always then. Records of expulsions are in the style of the text here, with the addition generally of the name of the fugitive prince,—as in II. xv. 4. The omission of the name in the text, however, is not to be considered important.

[The Chuen takes us now, in two narratives to Tsin:—1st. When his armies returned from the invasion of Tsin, the marquise of Tsin disbanded the new army;—which was according to rule. The armies of a large State could only be half those of the Son of Heaven. Chou had six armies, and the greatest of the States might have three. At this time, Che Soh (知朔, belonging to a branch of the Seun or Chung-hang clan) had died after the birth of [his brother] Ying. Woo-tze, [their father], also died when Ying was only six years old. Che K'ew (穀梁, a brother of Fan Kae; belonging to the Fan or See clan) was also still young. Neither of them was competent for office. There was thus no leader for the new army, and it was given up.]

2d. "The music-master Kwang being by the side of the marquise of Tsin, the marquise said to him, "Have not the people of Wei done very wrong in expelling their ruler?" Kwang replied, "Perhaps the ruler had done very wrong. A good ruler will reward the virtuous and punish the vicious; he will nourish his people as his children, overshadowing them as heaven, and supporting them as the earth." Then the people will maintain their ruler, love him as a parent, look up to him as the sun and moon, revere him as they do spiritual beings, and stand in awe of him as of thunder;—could such a ruler be expelled? Now, the ruler is the host of the spirits, and the hope of the people. If he make the life of the people to be straitened and the spirits

to want their sacrifices (Read 若困民之生, 匱神之祀), then the hope of the people is cut off, and the altars are without a host;—of what use is he, and what should they do but send him away? Heaven, in giving birth to the people, appointed for them rulers to act as their superintendents and pastors, so that they should not lose their proper nature. For the rulers there are assigned their assistants to act as tutors and guardians to them, so that they should not go beyond their proper limits. Therefore the son of Heaven has his dukes; princes of States have their high ministers; ministers have [the Heads of] their collateral families; great officers have the members of the secondary branches of their families; inferior officers have their friends; and the common people, mechanics, merchants, police runners, shepherds and groomers, all have their relatives and acquaintances to aid and assist them. These stimulate and honour those [to whom they stand in such a relation], when they are good, and correct them when they do wrong. They rescue them in calamity, and try to put away their errors. From the king downwards, every one has his father, elder brothers, sons and younger brothers, to supply [the defects] and watch over [the character of] his government. The historiographers make their records; the blind make their poems; the musicians re-



cite their satires and remonstrances; the great officers admonish and instruct, and inferior officers report to these what they hear; the common people utter their complaints; the merchants [display their wares] in the market places; the hundred artificers exhibit their skilful contrivances. Hence in one of the Books of Hsia (Shoo III. iv. 3) it is said, "The herald with his wooden-tongued bell goes along the roads, proclaiming, 'Ye officers, able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subject of your business.' In the first month, at the beginning of spring, this was done." It was done, lest remonstrances should not be regularly presented. Heaven's love for the people is very great;—would it allow the one man to take his will and way over them, so indulging his excessive desires and discarding the [kindly] nature of Heaven and Earth? Such a thing could not be." The reader will not wonder that the Kang-ho editors should condemn these radical sentiments of the music-master.]

Par. 5. Tso says this was in retaliation for Loo's capture of Yun, in the 12th year. It was only a continuation of the aggressions of Kuo, in defiance not only of Loo, but also of Tsin.

Par. 6. Tso also says this attack was ordered by the viscount of Ts'oo, in consequence of Woo's invasion of Ts'oo the previous year, which ended with the battle of Yung-poo (see the Chuen after xiii. 3); adding, "Tso-nang took post with his army at Tsang, intending to attack Woo; and when Woo would not come forth, he withdrew. He brought up the rear himself, and did not take precautions, thinking Woo could do nothing. A body of men, however, advancing through the defile of K'ou-chow, intercepted and fell upon him where the troops of Ts'oo could not help one another. They defeated Tso-nang, and took the Kung-tzu E-k'uh prisoner."

[The Chuen appends here:—"The king sent duke Ting of Loo to deliver the following charge to the marquis of Ts'oo:—"Formerly, our great kinsman (duke Tso was father-in-law to king Woo; hence the 舅), [your ancestor], duke Tso, aided our ancient kings, and was as a limb to the House of Chow, a tutor and guardian to the myriads of the people; and his services as the grand-tutor were recompensed

with the distinction conferred on him by the eastern sea, descending to his posterity. That the royal House was not overthrown was owing to him. Now I give charge to you Hwan to follow the rules of our [great] kinsman, and to continue the services of your ancestors, bringing no disgrace on them. Be reverent. Do not neglect my charge!"]"

Par. 7. T'ueh,—see VI. 1. 3. This meeting had relation to the affairs of Wei, and from the presence at it of Sun Lin-foo, we can understand how its counsels were likely to incline.

The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Tsin consulted Chung-hang Hsien-tse (Seun Yen) about the affairs of Wei, when that minister replied, "Our best plan is to accede to its present circumstances, and settle it accordingly. Wei has a ruler. If we attack it, we may not succeed as we should desire, and we shall be troubling the States. The historiographer Yih said, 'Add stability to the heavy.' Chung-hway said, 'Deal summarily with States that are going to ruin, and take their States from the disorderly. To overthrow the perishing and strengthen what is being preserved, is the way in which to administer a State.' Let your lordship now settle Wei, and wait the time [for a different course]. In winter a meeting was held at T'ueh, to consult about the settlement of Wei. Fan Seun-tze borrowed from Ts'oo its [banner with variegated] feathers and ox-tails, and did not return it; in consequence of which the people of Ts'oo began to be disaffected."

[The Chuen appends here a short narrative about Ts'oo:—"When Tso-nang of Ts'oo returned from the invasion of Woo, he died. When he was about to die, he left word that Tso-kang should fortify Ying. The superior man will say that Tso-nang was [indeed a] faithful [minister]. When his ruler died, he did not forget to make him remembered by a good name (see on xiii. 3); when he was about to die himself, he did not forget to defend the altars [of the State]. Ought he not to be pronounced faithful? To the faithful the people look. The words of the ode (She, II. xlii. oda L1),

"If we could now go back to Chow,

Those would be admirably looked to by all the people,"

have respect to the faithfulness [of the officers spoken of]."]

### Fifteenth year.

十有五年春，宋公使向戌來聘，二月己亥，及向戌盟于劉。劉，夏逆王后于齊。夏，齊侯伐我北鄙，圍成，公救成，至遇。



季孫宿、叔孫豹、帥師城成郛。  
 秋八月丁巳，日有食之。  
 邾人伐我南鄙。  
 冬十有一月，癸亥，晉侯周卒。

左傳曰：十有五年春，宋向戌來聘，且尋盟。見孟獻子，尤其室，曰：子有令聞而美其室，非所望也。對曰：我在晉，吾兄爲之，毀之重勞，且不敢問。官師從單靖公，逆王后于齊，卿不行，非禮也。

楚公子午爲令尹，公子罷戎爲右尹，蔣子馮爲大司馬，公子橐師爲右司馬，公子成爲左司馬，屈到爲莫敖，公子追舒爲箴尹，屈蕩爲連尹，養由基爲宮廐尹，以靖國人。君子謂楚於是乎能官人。官人，國之急也。能官人，則民無觀心。詩云：嗟我懷人，寘彼周行。能官人也。王及公侯伯子男，甸采衛大夫，各居其列，所謂周行也。

鄭尉氏司氏之亂，其餘盜在宋，邾人以子西伯有子產之故，納賂於宋，以馬四十乘與師茂。師慧三月，公孫黑爲質焉。司城子罕以堵汝父尉駟司齊與之。良司臣而逸之，託諸季武子。武子寘諸卞。邾人醢之，三人也。師慧過宋朝，將私焉。其相曰：朝也，慧曰：無人焉。相曰：朝也，何故無人？慧曰：必無人焉。若猶有人，豈其以千乘之相，易淫樂之矇，必無人焉。故也。子罕聞之，固請而歸之。

夏，齊侯圍成，貳於晉故也。於是乎城成郛。

秋，邾人伐我南鄙，使告於晉。晉將爲會以討邾莒。晉侯有疾，乃止。冬，晉悼公卒，遂不克會。

鄭公孫夏如晉奔喪，子蟻送葬。

宋人或得玉，獻諸子罕。子罕弗受。獻玉者曰：以示王人，王人以爲寶也，故敢獻之。子罕曰：我以不貪爲寶，爾以玉爲寶，若以與我，皆喪寶也。不若人有其寶。稽首而告。



氏歸之奪月，復而攻人里，寅也，以鄉可懷曰，  
 諸妻堵鄭十其後之，爲使諸子請納以璧，小  
 范而狗人二所，使富之至其罕死此，越不人

- XV 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the duke of Sung sent Hëang Seuh to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries; [and] in the second month, on Ke-hae, [the duke] made a covenant with him at Lëw.
- 2 Hëa of Lëw met the king's bride in Ts'e.
- 3 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Ch'ing. The duke went as far as Yu to relieve Ch'ing.
- 4 K'e-sun Suh and Shuh-sun P'aoü led a force and walled round the suburbs of Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ting-sze, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 A body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders.
- 7 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Kwei-hae, Chow, marquis of Ts'in, died.

Par. 1. Too observes that this mission of Hëang Seuh was in return for that of Shuh-sun P'aoü to Sung in the duke's 2d year, and to renew the covenant at Poh in the 11th year. He says nothing about the situation of Lëw, from which Ying-tai infers that it was a place near the capital, though outside it. For the duke to covenant at all with the messenger was below his dignity; to go outside the city to do it was still more unbecoming. Wan Ch'ung-tung (萬充宗; of the pres. dyn.) ingeniously

supposes that 于劉 are an addition to the text occasioned by the next paragraph's beginning with 劉. The Chuen says:—Hëang Seuh of Sung came on a friendly mission; and to renew the [existing] covenant. Visiting Mäng Hëen-tze, he reproved him about his house, saying, "I did not expect that a man of your great reputation would have so beautiful a house." Hëen-tze replied, "My elder brother did it, when I was in Ts'in. To have taken it down again would have been a great labour, and I did not wish to find fault with him."

Par. 2. The negotiation for the king's marriage with a princess of Ts'e is related in the Chuen appended to xii. 5. For the ceremonies in conveying a king's bride to Chow, see on II. xii. 6. Those ceremonies appear not to have been correctly observed on the occasion here spoken of. The Lëw Hëa of the text is no doubt, the "duke Ting of Lëw," mentioned in the Chuen appended to par. 6 of last year. But his appearing by his name here shows, according to the rules for the use of titles, designations, and names, that he was not yet a high minister or duke of the court, and not even a great officer; yet here he is employed to receive the queen and convey her to Chow,—a duty for which only a high minister was competent. What Tso-she says on the subject is too brief to be intelligible:—An officer, following duke Tsing of

Shen, met the queen in Ts'e. That a minister did not go on this duty was contrary to rule.

[The Chuen gives two narratives here about the affairs of Ts'oo and of Ch'ing. 1st. 'The Kung-tze Woo of Ts'oo was made chief minister (in room of Tze-mang); the Kung-tze P'ie-jang, director of the Right; Wei Tze-p'ing, grand marshal; the Kung-tze T'oh-sze, marshal of the Right; the Kung-tze Ch'ing, marshal of the Left; K'ueh Tsou, the Moh-gaou; the Kung-tze Chuy-shoo, director of Remonstrances; K'ueh Tang, joint-director; Yang Yëw-ko, director of the palace stables;—and thus the people of the State were composed. The superior man will say that Ts'oo was able to put the right men in the right offices. Such allotment of offices is an urgent necessity of a State; when it is done, the minds of the people have nothing more to desire. The words of the ode (Sha, L. i. ode III. 1).

"Alas! I think of the men,  
 Who can be placed in all the offices,"

refer to the subject of being able to give offices to proper men. "All the offices" there refers to the occupancy of their places by the king, the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, knights, the lords of the Yen, the Ts'ao the Wei, and their great officers."

2d. "After the insurrection of the Wei and Sze families in Ch'ing (see on x. 8), the ruffians who escaped [took refuge] in Sung, to which the people of Ch'ing, out of regard to Tze-se, Pih-yëw, and Tze-ch'an, sent a bribe of 100 horses, and the musicians Fei and Hwuy; and in the 3rd month, the Kung-sun Hih also went [to Sung] as a hostage. Tze-han, [Sung's] minister of Works, on this, delivered up Chay (So 堵 is here, and should formerly have been, read) Joo-foo, Wei T'ien, and Sze T'ei; but thinking well of Sze Shin, he let him escape to the protection of Ké Woo-tze [in Loo], who placed



him in P'ien. The people of Ch'ing reduced the other three men to pickle. The musician Hwuy was passing by the court of Sung, and wished to make his water, when his guide told him it was the court. "But," said Hwuy, "there is no man there." "It is the court," replied the other; "how should there be no man there?" "It is impossible," said Hwuy, "there should be any man. If there were, would he have preferred [two] blind masters of licentious music to [simply gratifying] the ministers of a State of a thousand chariots? This is a proof that there can be no man there." When Tse-han heard this, he made an urgent request, and returned [the musicians].

Par. 3, 4. Ch'ing.—see II. vi. 2. Yu was also in Loo, and the duke only advanced to it, fearing an encounter with T'e, which seems, however, to have withdrawn its troops, leaving to Suh and P'ao the opportunity of fortifying the place. 郭 we have seen, denotes 'the outer suburbs' extending beyond the 郭. We must suppose that the wall now named was between the limits of the two, outside the 郭 on the inside of the 郭. The Chuen says:—In summer, the marquis of T'e laid siege to Ch'ing, having become estranged from Tsin. On this we fortified the suburbs of Ch'ing. Ch'ing was the city of the Mang-sun clan. That the Heads of the other two clans undertook to fortify it shows, it is understood, the alliance that existed between the three.

Par. 5. This eclipse took place May 23d, a.c. 557. The month is wrong;—it was really the 6th month intercalary. Even Tso Yu saw that there was an error in the text.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—In autumn, a body of men from Chou invaded our southern borders, when we sent information of their doing so to Tsin. Tsin purposed to call a meeting [of the States], to punish Choo and Kan, but the thing was stopped by the illness of the marquis. In winter duke Taou of Tsin died, and no meeting [of the States] could be held.

Par. 7. The marquis Chow, or duke Taou, of Tsin was a prince of great merit, though he is ranked as inferior to his predecessor, duke Wan, and to duke Hwan of T'ei. He was succeeded by his son P'ei (彪), known as duke P'ing.

[The Chuen adds here three short narratives:—1st. 'The Kung-sun Hsü of Ch'ing went to Tsin, hurrying to the death-rites. Tse-k'ou attended the funeral.' 2d. 'A man of Sung found a gem, and presented it to Tse-han, who would not receive it. The man said, "I showed it to a lapidary, who considered it to be valuable, and therefore I ventured to offer it to you." Tse-han said, "What I consider valuable is not to be covetous; what you consider valuable is your gem. If you give it to me, we shall both lose what we consider to be valuable; we had better each keep his own." [The man] bowed his head to the earth, and said, "If a small man like me carry such a pebble in his bosom, he cannot leave his village. I offer it as my means of asking [an escape from] death." Tse-han on this placed the man in the street where he lived himself, and made a lapidary cut the gem for him, who in this way became rich, and was sent afterwards back to his place.' 3d. 'In the 12th month, the people of Ch'ing took away his wife from Chay Kow, and sent her back to the Fan family [of Tsin, to which she belonged].']

Sixteenth year.

十有六年春王正月葬  
晉悼公。  
三月公會晉侯宋公衛  
侯鄭伯莒子邾子薛伯  
杞伯小邾子于浞梁戊  
寅大夫盟。  
晉人執莒子邾子以歸。  
齊侯伐我北鄙。  
夏公至自會。  
五月甲子地震。



叔<sup>七</sup>老會鄭  
伯<sup>八</sup>晉荀偃  
衛甯殖宋  
人伐許  
秋<sup>九</sup>齊侯伐  
我比鄙圍  
邲<sup>九</sup>。  
大<sup>十</sup>雩。  
冬<sup>十一</sup>叔孫豹  
如晉。

左傳曰十六年春葬晉悼公平公卽位羊舌肸爲傅張君臣爲中軍司馬祁奚韓襄欒盈士鞅爲公族大夫虞丘書爲乘馬御改服脩官燕於曲沃警守而下會於溴梁命歸侵田以我故執邾宣公莒犁比公且曰通齊楚之使晉侯與諸侯宴於溫使諸大夫舞曰歌詩必類齊高厚之詩不類荀偃怒且曰諸侯有異志矣使諸大夫盟高厚高厚逃歸於是叔孫豹晉荀偃宋向戌衛甯殖鄭公孫彊小邾之大夫盟曰同討不庭許男請遷於晉諸侯遂遷許許大夫不可晉人歸諸侯鄭子驥聞將伐許遂相鄭伯以從諸侯之師穆叔從公齊子帥師會晉荀偃書曰會鄭伯爲夷故也夏六月次於榘林庚寅伐許次於函氏晉荀偃欒黶帥師伐楚以報宋揚梁之役楚公子格帥師及晉師戰於湛阪楚師敗績晉師遂侵方城之外復伐許而還秋齊侯圍邲孟孺子速微之齊侯曰是好勇去之以爲之名速遂塞海陘而還冬穆叔如晉聘且言齊故晉人曰以寡君之未禘祀與民之未息不然不敢忘穆叔曰以齊人之朝夕釋憾於敝邑之地是以大請敝邑之急朝不及夕引領西望曰庶幾乎比執事之閒恐無及也見中行獻子賦圻父獻子曰偃知罪矣敢不從執事以同恤社稷而使魯及此見范宣子賦鴻鴈之卒章宣子曰句在此敢使魯無鳩乎

XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Taou of Tsin.

2 In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the [new] marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis



of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, the viscounts of Choo and Keu, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in K'eh-l'ang. On Mow-yin [their] great officers made a covenant.

- 3 The people of Ts'in seized the viscounts of Keu and Choo and carried them back [to Ts'in].
- 4 The marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders.
- 5 In summer, the duke came from the meeting.
- 6 In the fifth month, on K'ah-tsze, there was an earthquake.
- 7 Shuh Laou joined the earl of Ch'ing, Seun Yen of Ts'e, Ning Chih of Wei, and an officer of Sung, in invading Heu.
- 8 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Ch'ing.
- 9 We had a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 10 In winter, Shuh-sun P'au went to Ts'in.

Par. 1. This interment was hurried on—probably because of the urgency of public affairs, that the new marquis might be able to attend the meeting in the next par.

Par. 2, 3. K'eh-l'ang might be translated 'bridge or dam of K'eh.' The place is referred to, the present dia. of Tse-yuen (濟源), dep. Hwae-k'ang, near mount Yuen (原山), on the Pih-k'ien river (白澗水). The Chuen says:—On the burial of duke Taou, duke Ping took his place. Yang-shih Heih (appears formerly as Shih-hang) was made [grand-] tutor; Chang K'ou-chin (son of Chang Laou), marshal of the army of the centre; K'e He, Han S'ang, Lwan Ying, and Sao Yang, great officers of the ducal kindred; and Yu K'ue-shoo, charioteer to the duke, who changed his mourning, arranged all the offices, and offered the winter sacrifice in K'eh-yuh. Having carefully arranged for the keeping of the State, he descended [eastward], and met the States at K'eh-l'ang. He ordered them to return the lands which they had taken from one another in their invasions; and on our account he seized duke Seuen of Choo and duke Le-pe of Keu, charging them moreover with maintaining a friendly intercourse with Ts'e and Ts'au. The marquis feasted with the other princes in Wan, and made their great officers dance before them, telling them that the odes which they sang must be befitting the occasion. That sung by K'ou How of Ts'e was not so, which enraged Seun Yen, so that he said, "The States are cherishing a disaffected spirit," and proposed that all the great officers should make a covenant with K'ou How, who, however, stole away back to Ts'e. On this, Shuh-sun P'au, Seun Yen of Ts'in, H'ang Seuh of Sung, Ning Chih of Wei, the Kung-sun Ch'ee of Ch'ing, and a great officer of Little Choo, made a covenant, engaging that they should together punish the State which did not appear at the court [of Ts'in].

Kung-yang and K'eh-l'ang argue from the 3d par., where the princes meet but only the

great officers covenant, that it supplies evidence of how the power of the States was being engrossed by the latter; and this view was followed by Hoo Gan-kwoh and Choo He. The Chuen, however, supplies a better ground for the covenanting in this case being confined to the great officers.

Par. 4. Ts'e would seem to have now determined to set Ts'in at defiance.

Par. 7. Shuh Laou.—see xiv. 1. The Chuen says:—The lacon of Heu asked leave from Ts'in to remove his capital (see VIII. xv. 1), where Heu moves its capital to be near Ts'au, while now it wants to move back towards Ts'in. The States accordingly [assembled to] superintend the removal, which the great officers of Heu then refused to sanction. The commanders of Ts'in sent the princes back to their States; but Tze-k'oon of Ch'ing, hearing that it was intended to invade Heu, kept in attendance on the earl, and followed the armies [which had been detained for the expedition]. Mu-shih (Shuh-sun P'au), however, went back to Loo with the duke, while Tse-tze (Shuh Laou) joined Seun Yen of Ts'in with a force. The text says that "he joined the earl of Ch'ing," the earl's rank requiring this style, [though in reality Seun Yen commanded in the expedition]. In summer, in the 6th month, they halted at Yih-lin; and on Kang-yin they attacked [the capital of] Heu, halting at Han-shen.

[Then] Seun Yen and Lwan Yen of Ts'in led a force and invaded Ts'au, in return for the expedition [by Ts'au] to Yang-l'ang of Sung (see on xii. 6). The Kung-tse Kih came with a force, and fought with that of Ts'in at Chan-fan, where he received a great defeat. The army of Ts'in then overran the country outside Ts'au's barrier wall, and returned to the attack of Heu, and thence back to Ts'in.

According to this Chuen, an invasion of Heu and an invasion of Ts'au were confusedly mixed up together, though the text only speaks of the former. Many critics contend that Seun Yen should appear before the earl of Ch'ing, as he, representing Ts'in, was director of all the forces; and Maou contends that the order of the names proves that the invasion of Heu was really from



Ch'ing, and not from Tain;—contrary to the Chuen.

Par. 3. Tso-she has 邾 for 成. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e laid siege to Ch'ing, when Máng Suh, (styled) Yu-tzu, (a son of Máng Hsien-tzu) came suddenly upon him. "This," said the marquis, "is a man of daring; let us leave the place, and so make his name famous." Suh then shut up the ravine by the sea, and returned."

Par. 10. The Chuen says:—"In winter, Muh-shuh went to Tain on a visit of friendly inquiries, and also to speak about Ts'e. The people of Tain said, "[The reason of our inaction is] that our ruler has not yet offered the *te* sacrifice (See on IV. ii. 2), and that the people have not yet rested [from their toils against Ts'ao and Hsü]. But for these things, we should not

have dared to forget [your distress]." Muh-shuh said, "Because the people of Ts'e morning and evening vent their indignation on our poor State, therefore we press our request [for help]. Such is the urgency of our distress, that in the morning we cannot be confident there will be the evening, and with necks outstretched we look to the west, and say, 'Perhaps [Tain] is coming.' When your officers have leisure, I am afraid the help may be too late." When he saw Chung-hang Hsien-tzu (Seun Yen), he sang the K'e-foo (She, II. iv. ode I); and Hsien-tzu said, "I know my guilt. How dared I not to follow your officers, and along with them care for your altars, causing Loo to come to this distress?" When he saw Fan Seuen-tzu, he sang the last stanza of the Hung yen (She, II. III. ode VII.) and Seuen-tzu said, "Here am I, Kue. Dare I allow the people of Loo to be scattered about?"

Seventeenth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有七年春王二  
月庚午邾子貜卒  
宋人伐陳夏衛  
石買帥師伐曹  
秋齊侯伐我北鄙  
圍桃齊高厚帥師  
伐我北鄙圍防  
九月大雩  
宋華臣出奔陳  
冬邾人伐我南鄙

左傳曰十七年春宋莊朝伐陳獲司徒  
印卑宋也  
衛孫蒯田於曹隧飲馬於重丘毀其瓶  
重丘人閉門而詢之曰親逐而君爾父  
爲厲是之不憂而何以田爲夏衛石買  
孫蒯伐曹取重丘曹人愬於晉  
齊人以其未得志於我故秋齊侯伐我  
北鄙圍桃高厚圍臧紇於防師自陽關  
逆臧孫至於旅松鄆叔紇臧驥臧賈帥  
甲三百宵犯齊師送之而復齊師去之  
齊人獲臧堅齊侯使夙沙衛唁之且曰  
無死堅稽首曰拜命之辱抑君賜不終  
姑又使其刑臣禮於士以杙扶其傷而  
死  
宋華閱卒華臣弱臯比之室使賊殺其  
宰華吳賊六人以鉞殺諸盧門合左師  
之後左師懼曰老夫無罪賊曰臯比私  
有討於吳遂幽其妻曰畀余而大璧宋



公聞之曰臣也不唯其宗室是暴大亂  
宋國之政必逐之左師曰臣也亦卿也  
大臣不順國之恥也不如蓋之乃舍之  
左師爲己短策苟過華臣之門必聘十  
一月甲午國人逐獫狁獫狁入於華臣  
氏國人從之華臣懼遂奔陳  
冬邾人伐我南鄙爲齊故也  
○宋皇國父爲大宰爲平公築臺妨於  
農收子罕請俟農功之畢公弗許築者  
諷曰濶門之哲實與我役邑中之黔實  
慰我心子罕聞之親執扑以行築者而  
挾其不勉者曰吾儕小人皆有闔廬以  
辟燥溼寒暑今君爲一臺而不速成何  
以爲役諷者乃止或問其故子罕曰宋  
國區區而有詛有祝禍之本也  
○齊晏桓子卒晏嬰羈紵斬其經帶杖  
菅屨食鰥居倚廬寢苦枕草其老曰非  
大夫之禮也曰唯卿爲大夫

- XVII 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on K'ang-woo, K'ang, viscount of Choo, died.
- 2 A body of men from Sung invaded Ch'in.
- 3 In summer, Shih Mae of Wei led a force, and invaded Ts'aou.
- 4 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to T'aou. Kaou How of Ts'e invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Fang.
- 5 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 6 Hwa Shin of Sung fled from that State to Ch'in.
- 7 In winter, a body of men from Choo invaded our southern borders.

Par. 1. This was duke S'uen (宣公). He had been carried as a prisoner to Tsin from the meeting at Keih-ling in the previous year, but must have been liberated and returned to Choo.

He was succeeded by his son Hwa (華), known as

duke Taou (悼公). Kuh makes the name 𣎵

Par. 2. The marquis of Ch'in, it was seen, stole away from the meeting of the northern States at Wei, in the 7th year; and from that time Ch'in had kept aloof from the northern alliance, and been confederate with Ts'oo. It was this, no doubt, which led to the present action of Sung against it. The Chuen says:— 'This spring, Ch'wang Ch'ao of Sung invaded Ch'in, and took prisoner its minister of Instruction Gang;—through his making too light of [the force of] Sung.'

Par. 3. The Chuen says:— 'Sun K'uei (son of Sun Lin-too) of Wei was hunting in Su of Ts'aou, and, while giving his horses drink near Chung-k'ew, broke the pitcher [of the well]. The people of Chung-k'ew shut their gate against him, and reviled him, saying, "You drove out your ruler; your father is a devil. How is it then, without taking those things to

heart, you occupy yourself with hunting?" In summer, Shih Mae of Wei and Sun K'uei invaded Ts'aou, and took Chung-k'ew. The people of Ts'aou complained to Tsin.'

Par. 4. Ts'ao (Kung-yang has 洮) is wrongly identified by Too with a Ts'ao-hou (桃盧) in the pres. dia. of Sze-shun, which was on the east of Lo. Its place is to be found in a Ts'ao-h'ang (桃鄉), 40 *li* north-east of the district city of Wan-shang. Too she omits the 齊 be-

fore 高厚. The Chuen says:— 'The people of Ts'e having been disappointed of their aim in regard to us, in autumn the marquis invaded our northern border, and laid siege to T'aou, while Kaou How besieged Ts'ang Heih in Fang. [In the meantime] an army advanced from the pass of Yang to Leu-sung, to meet Heih [and bring him off]. Shuh-heih (Confucius' father) commander of Ts'ao, Ts'ang Ch'ow, and Ts'ang K'ia, led forth 300 men-at-arms, made a night-attack on the army of Ts'e, escorted him [to Leu-sung], and then returned themselves to the city. The army of Ts'e then left the place, but



they had taken Tsang Kên. The marquis of T'ue sent Shuh-sha Wei to comfort him, and tell him that he should not die. Kên bowed his head to the ground, and said, "Thanks for the condensation of this message, but your ruler's gift is not complete. How is it that he sent his castrated minister (Wei was a eunuch) on a visit of courtesy to an officer?" On this he drove a stake into his wound, and died.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—On the death of Hwa Yuch of Sung, [his brother] Hwa Shin, despising the weakness of [Yueh's son], Kao-p'e, employed some ruffians to kill his steward Hwa Woo. There were six of them, and they did the deed with a long spear near the Loo gate, behind the house of the master of the Left,—him of Hoh. The master of the Left was afraid, and said to them, "The old man has committed no crime;" but they replied that Kao-p'e for some private reasons wanted to take Woo off. [Shin] then kept Woo's wife in confinement, and required her to give him her large pearl. When the duke of Sung heard of these things, he said, "Shin is not only tyrannizing over the members of his own House, but he is throwing the government of the State into great confusion;—he must be driven out." The master of the Left, however, said, "But Shin is also a minister. If the great ministers are [seen to be thus] insubordinate, it will be a disgrace to the State. You had better cover the matter up." Shin accordingly was let alone; but the master of the Left made himself a short whip, and, whenever he passed Hwa Shin's gate, made his horses gallop. In the 11th month, the people were pursuing a mad dog, which ran into Shin's house. They followed it there, and Hwa Shin, in terror, left the State and fled to Ch'in.

Par. 7. Tso-she says this movement of Choo was in the interest of T'ue.

[The Chuen adds here two narratives:—1st. In Sung, Hwang Kwoh-foo, being grand-administrator, was building a tower for Duke Ping. As the work interfered with the labours of harvest, Tze-han requested that it might be deferred till that was finished. The duke, however, refused the request, and the builders sang:—

"The White of the Tail gate  
Laid on us this task.  
The Black in the city's midst  
Would comfort our hearts."

Tze-han, hearing of this, took a stick, and went round among them, and chastised those who were not diligent, saying, "We, the small people, all have our cottages where we can shut ourselves up, and escape the burning sun, and the wet, the cold and the heat. Now our ruler is building a single tower; if you do not quickly finish it, how can you be regarded as doing work?" On this the singers stopped. When some one asked Tze-han the reason of his conduct, he said, "The State of Sung is very small. To have them blessing one in it and cursing another, would lead to calamity." 2d. When Gan Hwan-tse of T'ue died, [his son] Gan Ying had his unhemmed mourning clothes of coarse sack-cloth. His head-band and girdle were still coarser; he carried a bamboo stick for a staff; and wore grass shoes. He lived on congee, and occupied the mourning shed, sleeping on rushes, with a pillow of grass. His old servant said to him, "These are not the observances proper to a great officer;" but he replied, "Only a minister should do as the great officers [now do]."

### *Eighteenth year.*

楚<sup>六</sup>曹<sup>五</sup>伯<sup>子</sup>公<sup>冬</sup>秋<sup>三</sup>買<sup>夏</sup>十<sup>二</sup>  
公子<sup>伯</sup>負<sup>芻</sup>卒<sup>于</sup>師<sup>齊</sup>。  
伯<sup>小</sup>邾<sup>子</sup>同<sup>圍</sup>齊。  
子<sup>邾</sup>子<sup>滕</sup>子<sup>薛</sup>伯<sup>杞</sup>。  
公<sup>衛</sup>侯<sup>鄭</sup>伯<sup>曹</sup>伯<sup>莒</sup>。  
冬<sup>十</sup>月<sup>公</sup>會<sup>晉</sup>侯<sup>宋</sup>。  
秋<sup>齊</sup>師<sup>伐</sup>我<sup>北</sup>鄙。  
買<sup>晉</sup>人<sup>執</sup>衛<sup>行</sup>人<sup>石</sup>。  
夏<sup>十</sup>有<sup>八</sup>年<sup>春</sup>白<sup>狄</sup>來。



左傳曰十八年春白狄始來。

夏晉人執衛行人石買於長子執孫蒯於純留爲曹故也。

秋齊侯伐我北鄙中行獻子將伐齊夢與厲公訟弗勝公以戈擊之首隊於前跪而戴之奉之以走見梗陽之巫臯他日見諸道與之言同巫曰今茲主必死若有事於東方則可以逞獻子許諾晉侯伐齊將濟河獻子以朱絲係玉二轂而禱曰齊環怙恃其險負其衆庶棄好背盟陵虐神主曾臣彪將率諸侯以討焉其官臣偃實先後之苟捷有功無作神羞官臣偃無敢復濟唯爾有神裁之沈玉而濟冬十月會於魯濟尋渙梁之言同伐齊齊侯禦諸平陰壘防門而守之廣里夙沙衛曰不能戰莫如守險弗聽諸侯之士門焉齊人多死范宣子告析文子曰吾知子敢匿情乎魯人莒人皆請以車千乘自其鄉入既許之矣若入君必失國子盍圖之子家以告公公恐晏嬰聞之曰君固無勇而又聞是弗能久矣齊侯登巫山以望晉師晉人使司馬斥山澤之險雖所不至必旆而疏陳之使乘車者左實右僞以旆先與曳柴而從之齊侯見之畏其衆也乃脫歸丙寅晦齊師夜遁師曠告晉侯曰鳥鳥之聲樂齊師其遁邢伯告中行伯曰有班馬之聲齊師其遁叔向告晉侯曰城上有鳥齊師其遁十一月丁卯朔入平陰遂從齊師夙沙衛建大車以塞隧而殿殖綽郭最曰子殿國師齊之辱也子姑先乎乃代之殿衛殺馬於隘以塞道晉州綽及之射殖綽中肩兩矢夾脰曰止將爲三軍獲不止將取其衷顧曰爲私誓州綽曰有如日乃弛弓而自後縛之其右具丙亦舍兵而縛郭最皆衿甲面縛坐於中軍之鼓下晉人欲逐歸者魯衛請攻險己卯荀偃士刳以中軍克京茲乙酉魏絳欒盈以下軍克邾趙武韓起以上軍圍廬弗克十二月戊戌及秦周伐雍門之萩范鞅門於雍門其御追喜以戈殺犬於門中孟莊子斬其綽以爲公琴己亥焚雍門及西郭南郭劉難士弱率諸侯之師焚申池之竹木壬寅焚東郭北郭范鞅門於揚門州綽門於東門左驂迫還於東門中以枚數圍齊侯駕將走郵棠犬子與郭榮扣馬曰師速而疾略也將退矣君何懼



焉。且社稷之主，不可以輕。輕則失衆，君必待之。將犯之。犬子抽劍斷鞅，乃止。甲辰，東侵及濰，南及沂。鄭子孔欲去諸大夫，將叛晉，而起楚師以去之。使告子庚。子庚弗許。楚子聞之，使揚豚尹宜告子庚曰：「國人謂不穀主社稷，而不出師，死不從禮，不穀卽位於今五年，師徒不出，人其以不穀爲自逸，而忘先君之業矣。」大夫圖之，其若之何？子庚歎曰：「君王其調午懷安乎？吾以利社稷也。」見使者，稽首而對曰：「諸侯方睦於晉，臣請嘗之。」若可，君而繼之，不可，收師而退，可以無害。君亦無辱。子庚帥師治兵於汾，於是子蟻伯有、子張從鄭伯伐齊。子孔子展子西守，二子知子孔之謀，完守入保。子孔不敢會楚師。楚師伐鄭，次於魚陵。右師城上棘，遂涉潁，次於旃然。蔣子馮、公子格率銳師侵費滑，胥靡獻于雍梁。右回梅山，侵鄭東北，至於蟲牢，而反。子庚門於純門，信於城下，而還涉於魚齒之下，甚雨及之。楚師多凍，役徒幾盡。晉人聞有楚師，嘖曰：「不害，吾驟歌北風，又歌南風。南風不競，多死聲，楚必無功。」董叔曰：「天道多在西北。」南師不時，必無功。叔向曰：「在其君之德也。」

- XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, [a representative of] the White Taih came to Loo.  
 2 In summer, the people of Ts'in seized Shih Mae, the messenger of Wei.  
 3 In autumn, an army of Ts'e invaded our northern borders.  
 4 In winter, in the tenth month, the duke joined the marquis of Ts'in, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, and laid siege with them to [the capital] of Ts'e.  
 5 Foo-ts'oo, earl of Ts'aou, died in the army.  
 6 The Kung-tsze Woo of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'ing.

Par. 1. The White Taih,—see on VII. viii.  
 5. This was the first time, acc. to Tso-she, that they sought any intercourse with Loo; nor are they again mentioned in the classic. It is not said they came to the court of Loo (朝), because they knew nothing of the ceremonies current among the States of China. Comp. the language in V. xxix. 5.

Par. 2. It would appear that Shih Mae and Son Kwae, who led the attack on Ts'aou in the

past year (see on xvii. 8), had now been sent on some commission to Ts'in; hence the name 行.

Acc. to Tso-she, they were both seized by Ts'in, but only Shih Mae appears in the text, it being a rule of the Ch'un T'zu not to mention assistant commissioners at meetings, &c.—see on xiv. 1. The Chuen says:—In summer, the people of Ts'in seized Shih Mae, the messenger of Wei, at Chang-tao; and they seized Son Kwae at Tun-few;—both on account of [their invasion of] Ts'aou.



Par. 3. For 齊師 Kub-lêng has 齊侯. These repeated attacks on the borders of Loo were intended, no doubt, to make it forsake the party of Tein, and embrace that of Te's.

Par. 4. The phrase 同圍 is peculiar to this par. 同會 occurs many times, but not 同圍 nor 同伐. The 同 must show here the special interest which Loo had in the expedition. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, the marquis of Te's having invaded our northern border, Chung-hang Hsien-tseu prepared to invade Te's. [Just then], he dreamt that he was maintaining a suit with duke Le (see on VIII. xiii. 2). Hsien-tseu had taken a principal part in the murder of duke Le, in which the case was going against him, when the duke struck him with a spear on his head, which fell down before him. He took his head up, put it on his shoulders, and ran off, when he saw the wizard Kaou of K'ang-yang. A day or two after, it happened that he did see this Kaou on the road, and told him his dream, and the wizard, who had had the same dream, said to him, "Your death is to happen about this time; but if you have business in the east, you will there be successful [first]." Hsien-tseu accepted this interpretation.

"When the marquis was proceeding to invade Te's, and was about to cross the Ho, Hsien-tseu bound two pairs of gems together with a thread of red silk, and offered the following prayer, "Hwan of Te's, relying on his defiles and trusting in his multitudes, has cast away the bonds of friendship, broken his covenants, and treated cruelly [the people,—] the lords of the Spirits. Your servant P'ew is about to lead the States to punish him, and before P'ew and behind P'ew it is the business of me his officer to go. If the enterprise be crowned with success, there will then be no disgrace to you, O Spirits, and I, Yen, will not presume to recross this river. Do ye, O Spirits, decide in this case." He then drops the gems into the river, and crossed it.

"In winter, in the 10th month, there was a meeting on the Loo side of the Teu, when [the States] renewed their engagement at Kaib-lêng, and undertook together to invade Te's. The marquis of that State withstood them at Ping-yin, where there was a dyke with a gate, in front of which he dug a moat a *le* wide. Shuh-sha Wei said to him, "If you cannot fight, our best plan will be to [abandon this, and] guard our defiles;" but the marquis would not listen to him. The soldiers of the States attacked the defences, and many of the men of Te's were killed. Fan Shuen-tseu told Selh Wan-tseu (an officer of Te's), saying, "I know you, and will not keep back the truth from you. Loo and K'eu have asked to enter your State from their own territories with a thousand chariots, and liberty has been given to them to do so. If they enter, your ruler is sure to lose his State. You had better consult for the emergency." Tso-k'ia (the above Selh Wan-tseu) reported this to the marquis, who was frightened at the intelligence. When Gan Ying heard of this, he said, "Our ruler before had no courage, and now he has got this news,—he cannot long hold out."

"The marquis of Te's ascended mount Woo to look at the army of Tein. The commanders of it had made the marshals examine all the difficult places in the hills and marshes, and set up flags in them at some distance from one another, even though there were no troops occupying them. They also sent forward their chariots with flags, only the man on the left being real, and the one on the right a figure. These were followed by carts, dragging branches after them. When the marquis saw all this, he was awed by the multitude, and returned, with all his insignia taken down.

"On Ping-yin, the last day of the moon, the army of Te's withdrew during the night. The music-master K'wang told the marquis of Tein of it, saying, "The crows are cawing joyfully. The army of Te's must have retreated." Hing Pih told Chung-hang Pih of it, saying, "I hear the neighing of horses retreating. The army of Te's must be withdrawing." Shuh-hsiao announced to the marquis, saying, "There are crows on the wall. The army of Te's must have retreated." On Ting-moon, the 1st day of the month, the army of Tein entered Ping-yin, and went on in pursuit of the army of Te's. Shuh-sha Wei placed several large carriages together to stop up a defile, and wished to bring up the rear; but Chih Ch'oh and Kwch Tsau said to him, "For you to bring up the rear of the army would be a disgrace to Te's. Please go on in front." Accordingly they took his place in the rear; and Wei killed a number of horses in the narrowest part of the way to shut it up [against them]. [Soon after], Chow Ch'oh of Tein came up, and shot Chih Ch'oh in the shoulder, two arrows lodging, one on each side of his neck, crying out, "Stop, and you shall be kept a prisoner in the army. If you do not stop, I will shoot you through your heart." The other looked round, and said to him, "Make me an oath [to that effect]." "I swear to you by the sun," replied Chow Ch'oh, and with this he unstrung his bow, and bound his hands behind him himself. His spearman Ken Ping also laid aside his weapon, and bound Kwch Tsau. Both of them were bound in the same way with their buff-coats on, and sat down at the foot of the drum of the army of the centre. The man of Tein wanted to pursue the fugitives who were making for the capitals, while Loo and Wei asked leave to attack the [various] defiles.

"On Ke-moon, Seun Yen and See Kuo, with the army of the centre, reduced King-tse. On Yih-yew, Wei K'ang and Lwan Ying, with the third army, reduced Shu. Chao Woo and Han K'e, with the first army, invaded Leu, and could not take it; but in the 12th month, on Mow-sau, they arrived at Tsin-chow, and cut down the [fields of] southernwood about the Yung gate [of the capital]. Fan Yang made an attack on that gate, and his charioteer, Chuy He, killed a dog in it with a spear, while M'ang Ch'ung-tseu hewed down the oak trees about it, to make lutes for our duke. On Ke-hao they burned the Yung gate, with the western and southern suburbs. L'w Nan and See Jeh led the armies of the States, and burned down the bamboos and other trees about the Shin pond. On Jio-yin they burned the eastern and northern suburbs, while Pan Yang attacked the Yang gate, and Chih Ch'oh that on the east. There his outside horse on the left turned



wildly round, but Ch'oh with his switch [quietly] numbered [the nails at the top of] the leaves of the gate.

The marquis of Ts'e had the horses put to his chariot, intending to flee to Yeh-t'ang, when his eldest son and K'weh Yung laid hold of them, saying, "The haste and vehemence of the enemy only show in what a hurry they are. They will [soon] retire. What have you to fear? And moreover, as the lord of the altars, you should not be lightly moved. If you are, the multitudes will fall off from you. You must remain here, and await the result." The marquis was notwithstanding going to drive on, when his eldest son drew his sword, and cut the traces, on which he stopped. On K'eh-shin, the allies made an incursion eastwards to the north of the Wei and to the E.

Par. 5. In the army:—i.e., during the expedition against Ts'e. Kung and K'eh foolishly suppose that the notice indicates the author's pity;—it is simply a record of the event.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—T'ze-k'ung (the Kung-tze K'ea) wanted to remove all the great officers. Intending to revolt from Ts'in, and that he might raise an army of Ts'oo, and so remove them, he sent and informed T'ze-k'ang (the Kung-tze Woo, chief minister of Ts'oo), who, however, declined to move in the affair. The viscount of Ts'oo heard of it, and sent E, the commandant of Yang-tsun, with this message to T'ze-k'ang, "The people say that I, occupying my position as lord of the altars, and not going out to war, will die without following the rules [of our former kings]. It is now 5 years since I succeeded to my father, and during that time our troops have not [once] gone forth. People may well suppose that I am indulging myself, and forgetful of the inheritance of my fathers. Do you take the case into consideration, and consider what should be done." T'ze-k'ang sighed, and said to himself, "Does the king think that I am seeking my own ease? I acted as I did for the benefit of the State." He then saw the messenger, bowed himself to the ground

and said, "The States are now in friendly harmony with Ts'in, but I will make trial of their feeling. If I find an attempt feasible, the king can follow me. If I do not, I will withdraw with the army. In this way no harm will be incurred, and the king will have no disgrace."

Accordingly, T'ze-k'ang led out an army, and marshalled it at Fan. At this time T'ze K'eaon, Pih-yeh, and T'ze-chang were in attendance on the earl of Ch'ing in the invasion of Ts'e, while T'ze-k'ung, T'ze-chien, and T'ze-se, had charge of the State. These two other officers were aware of the scheme of T'ze-k'ung, carefully completed their watch, and brought the people within the outer defences, so that T'ze-k'ung did not dare to have any meeting with the army of Ts'oo, which had now entered the State, and was halting at Yu-ling. The master of the Left raised a wall at Shang-keli, after which he crossed the Ying, and halted at Chen-jen. Wei T'ze-p'ing and the Kung-tze K'ia led thence a body of light-armed troops, and made incursions on Po, Hwah, Seu-mei, H'een-yu, and Yang-l'ang, going round by the right of mount Mei, and extending their raid to the north-east of Ch'ing, as far as Ch'ung-laon. When they returned, T'ze-k'ang made an attack on the Shun gate, passed two nights at the foot of the wall, and then withdrew, crossing the river at the foot of [the hill] Yu-ch'ie. Heavy rains then overtook him, and many of the soldiers suffered so from cold that the followers of the camp nearly all perished.

"The army of Ts'in having heard of this expedition of Ts'oo, the master Kwang said [to the marquis], "It will do no harm. I was singing a northern air and a southern, and the latter was not strong, and gave the notes of many deaths. Ts'oo will accomplish nothing." Tung-shuh [also] said to him, "The course of Heaven lies now mainly in the north-west. The time is unfavourable to a southern expedition. It will have no success." Shuh-hiang said, "All depends on the virtue of the ruler."

Nineteenth year.

十有九年春王正月  
 諸侯盟于祝柯  
 晉人執邾子  
 公至自伐齊  
 取邾田自漚水  
 季孫宿如晉  
 葬曹成公  
 夏衛孫林父帥師  
 伐齊  
 秋七月辛  
 卯齊侯環卒



晉士句帥師侵齊至

穀聞齊侯卒乃還

八月丙辰仲孫蔑卒

齊殺其大夫高厚

鄭殺其大夫公子嘉

冬葬齊靈公

城西郭

叔孫豹會晉士句于

柯

城武城

左傳曰十九年春諸侯還自沂上盟於督揚曰大毋侵小執邾悼公以其伐我故

遂次於泗上疆我田取邾田自郕水歸之於我晉侯先歸公享晉六卿於蒲圃賜之三命之服軍尉司馬司空輿尉侯奄皆受一命之服賄荀偃束錦加璧乘馬先吳壽夢之鼎荀偃瘳疽生瘍於頭濟河及著雍病目出大夫先歸者皆反士句請見弗內請後曰鄭甥可二月甲寅卒而視不可舍宣子歸而撫之曰事吳敢不如事主猶視藥懷子曰其爲未卒事於齊故也乎乃復撫之曰主苟終所不嗣事於齊者有如河乃瞑受舍宣子出曰吾淺之爲丈夫也

季武子如晉拜師晉侯享之范宣子爲政賦黍苗季武子與再拜稽首曰小國之仰大國也如百穀之仰膏雨焉若常膏之其天下輯睦豈唯敝邑賦六月

晉欒黶帥師從衛孫文子伐齊

季武子以所得於齊之兵作林鐘而銘魯功焉臧武仲謂季孫曰非禮也夫銘天子令德諸侯言時計功大夫稱伐今稱伐則下等也計功則借人也言時則妨民多矣何以爲銘且夫大伐小取其所得以作彝器銘其功烈以示子孫昭明德而懲無禮也今將借人之力以救其死若之何銘之小國幸於大國而昭所獲焉以怒之亡之道也



齊侯娶於魯，曰顏懿姬，無子。其姪，驪聲姬生光，以爲犬子。諸子：仲子、戎子、嬖。仲子生牙，屬諸戎子。戎子請以爲犬子，許之。仲子曰：「不可，廢常不祥。」問諸侯，難。光之立也，列於諸侯矣。今無故而廢之，是專黜諸侯，而以難犯不祥也。君必悔之。」公曰：「在我而已。」遂東犬子光，使高厚傅牙，以爲犬子。夙沙衛爲少傅。齊侯疾，崔杼微逆光，疾病而立之。光殺戎子，尸諸朝，非禮也。婦人無刑，雖有刑，不在朝市。夏五月壬辰晦，齊靈公卒，莊公卽位，執公子牙於句瀆之丘，以夙沙衛易己，衛奔高唐以叛。

晉士匄侵齊，及穀，聞喪而還，禮也。

⑤四月丁未，鄭公孫蠆卒，赴於晉大夫。范宣子言於晉侯，以其善於伐秦也。六月，晉侯請於王，王追賜之大路，使以行禮也。

秋八月，齊崔杼殺高厚於灑藍，而兼其室。書曰：「齊殺其大夫，從君於昏也。」

鄭子孔之爲政也，專國人患之，乃討西宮之難，與純門之師。子孔當罪，以其甲及子革、子良氏之甲守甲辰。子展、子西、帥國人伐之，殺子孔而分其室。書曰：「鄭殺其大夫，專也。」子然、子孔、宋子之子也。士子孔、圭、嬖之子也。圭、嬖之班亞宋子，而相親也。士子孔亦相親也。僖之四年，子然卒，簡之元年，士子孔卒。司徒孔實相子革、子良之室，三室如一，故及於難。子革、子良，出奔楚。子革爲右尹，鄭人使子展當國，子西聽政，立子產爲卿。

⑥齊慶封圍高唐，弗克。冬十一月，齊侯圍之，見衛在城上，號之，乃下，問守備焉，以無備告，捐之，乃登。聞師將傅食，高唐人殲綽，工偃會夜，繩納師，醢衛於軍。

城西郭，擢齊也。

齊及晉平盟於大隧，故穆叔會范宣子於柯。穆叔見叔向，賦「載馳之四章」，叔向曰：「胖敢不承命。」穆叔歸，曰：「齊猶未也，不可以不懼。」乃城武城。



其不本，曷是子孔不悼子石 ㊟  
宗有必其謂曰成哀子卒共衛

- XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the princes made a covenant in Chuh-ko.  
2 The people of Tsin seized and held the viscount of Choo.  
3 The duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.  
4 We took the lands of Choo as far as from the K'oh-water.  
5 Ke-sun Suh went to Tsin.  
6 There was the burial of duke Ch'ing of Ts'au.  
7 In summer, Sun Lin-foo of Wei led a force and invaded Ts'e.  
8 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-maou, Hwan, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
9 Sze Kae of Tsin led a force to make an invasion into Ts'e, and had arrived at Kuh, when he heard of the death of the marquis, on which he returned.  
10 In the eighth month, on Ping-shin, Chung-sun Mieh died.  
11 Ts'e put to death its great officer, Kaou How.  
12 Ch'ing put to death its great officer, the Kung-tze K'ea.  
13 In winter there was the burial of duke Ling of Ts'e.  
14 We walled round our western suburbs.  
15 Shuh-sun P'au had a meeting with Sze Kae of Tsin in Ko.  
16 We walled Woo-shing.

Par. 1. Chuh-ko (Kung-yang has 阿 for 柯) was in Ts'e,—in the pres. dia. of Chang-ting (長清), dep. Tso-nan. We see from the Chuen that it was also called Tuh-yang. The princes in the text are those who had been engaged in the campaign against Ts'e. The Chuen says:—"The princes returned from the country about the K (see the Chuen on xviii. 4; at the end), and made a covenant in Tuh-yang, to the effect that the great States should make no raids on the small." The news from Ch'ing of its being invaded by Ts'ou had rendered it necessary to give up further operations against Ts'e.

Par. 2. 'They seized,' says Tso-she, 'duke Tsau of Choo, because he had invaded us (see xvii. 8).' His father had been seized for the same reason in the duke's 16th year; and we are astonished both at the persistent hostility of Choo and Kuo to Loo in defiance of Tsin, and at Loo's inability to defend itself.

Par. 3. The critics have much to say on its being stated here that the duke came from the 'invasion,' and not from the siege of the capital of Ts'e; but the truth seems simply to be that the siege was merely an incident of the invasion.

Par. 4. The K'oh ran through Choo, and flowing along the south of Loo, fell into the See (泗)—in the pres. dia. of Yu-t'ao. Comp. VIII. ii. 7; but the phrase, 'lands of Choo,' would indicate that they had never belonged to Loo, though the Chuen seems to say so. It is a con-

tinuation of that on par. 2, and says:—"They then halted near the See, and defined the boundary of our lands, taking those of Choo from the K'oh-water, and giving them (歸之) back to us. The marquis of Tsin then returned before (his army) to his capital, and the duke gave an entertainment to the six generals of Tsin in the P'oo orchard, giving to each of them the robes of a minister of three degrees; while to the controller of the army, the marshal, the superintendent of entrenchments, the master of carriages, and the scoutmaster, he gave the robes of an officer of one degree (see the Chuen after VIII. ii. 4). On Seun Yen he further conferred a bundle of silks, a pail, and 4 horses, followed by the tripod which Loo had received from Shu-mung of Wei.

'Seun Yen was now suffering from an ulcer, which grew upon his head; and after crossing the Hoas far as Choo-yung, he was quite ill, and his eyes protruded. The great officers who had returned before him all came back, and Sze Kae begged an interview with him which he did not grant. He then begged to know who should be his successor, and Yen said, "My son by the daughter of Ch'ing." In the 2d month, on K'ah-yin, he died with his eyes protruding, and his teeth firmly closed. Seven-tze (See Kuo), washed [his face], and stroked it, saying, "Shall I not serve Woo (Yen's son) as I have served you?" But still he stared. Luan Hwa-tze (Ying) said, "Is it because he did not complete his undertaking against Ts'e?" And he also stroked [his face], saying, "If you are indeed dead, let the tin witness if I do not carry



on your undertaking against Te'e!" The eyes of the corpse then closed, and the [customary] gem was put between the teeth. When Seno-tze left the apartment, he said, "I am but a shallow creature (with reference to what he had said to the corpse)."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—Ke Woo-tze went to Tain, to give thanks for the expedition [against Te'e], when the marquis entertained him. Fan Seno-tze, who was [now] principal minister, sang the Shoo miao (Sho, II. viii. ode III.). Ke Woo-tze rose up, bowed twice with his head to the ground, and said, "The small States depend on your great State as all the kinds of grain depend on the fattening rain. If you will always dispense such a cherishing influence, the whole kingdom will harmoniously unite under you, and not our poor State only!" He then sang the Luh Yen (Sho, II. iii. ode III.).

Par. 7. Sun Lin-foo had a reason for attacking Te'e, because K'an, whom he had driven from Wei, had taken refuge there. It would appear, however, that Tain also took part in this expedition. The Chuen says:—Lwan Pang of Tain led a force, and followed Sun Wan-tze in an incursion into Te'e. Lwan Pang was sent on this expedition, it is supposed, through the influence of Lwan Ying, to fulfil the oath which he had sworn to the corpse of Sen Yen.

[The Chuen appends here:—Ke Woo-tze had a bell, toned to the second note of the chromatic scale, cast from the weapons which he had acquired in Te'e, and had the services performed by Loo engraved upon it. Tsung Woo-chung said to him, "This is contrary to rule. What should be engraved [on such articles] is—for the son of Heaven, his admirable virtue; for the prince of a State, a record of his services estimated according to the season in which they have been performed; for a great officer, his deeds worthy of being mentioned. And such deeds are the lowest degrees [of merit so commemorated]. If we speak of the time [of this expedition] it very much interfered with [the husbandry of] the people;—what was there in it worthy of being engraved? Moreover, when a great State attacks a small one, and takes the spoils to make an article, the regular furniture [of the ancestral temple], it engraves on it its successful achievement to show them to posterity, at once to manifest its own bright virtue, and to hold up to condemnation the offences of the other. But how should anything be made of our getting the help of others to save ourselves from death? A small State, we were fortunate against a great one; but to display our spoils in this manner, so as to excite its rage, is the way to ruin."] ]

Par. 8. For 環 Kung-yang has 環. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Te'e had married Yen-a, a daughter of Loo, but she bore him no son. Her niece, Tsung-shing, however, bore him Kwang, who was declared his eldest son and successor. Among his concubines were two daughters of Sung, Chung Tze and Jung Tze. The latter was his favourite, and when Chung Tze bore a son Ya, the child was given to Jung Tze, who begged that he might be made successor to his father. The marquis agreed to this; but the child's mother objected, saying, "To abrogate in his favour the regular order [of succession] will be inauspicious. It is hard, moreover, to interfere with the other princes.

Since Kwang was declared your successor, he has been numbered among them; and now to displace him without any cause is to take it on yourself to degrade a prince. Your lordship will be sure to repent of incurring, in such a difficult matter, the charge of doing what is inauspicious." The marquis replied that the thing rested entirely with himself, and sent Kwang away to the east. At the same time he appointed Kaou How grand-tutor to Ya, whom he declared to be his successor, with Suh-sha Wei as assistant-tutor.

When the marquis was ill, Tsuy Ch'oo privately brought Kwang back to the capital; and when the marquis became very ill, Ch'oo raised Kwang to be his successor. Kwang then put Jung Tze to death, and exposed her body in the court,—which was contrary to rule. A wife should not be subjected to the [ordinary] punishments; and if it be necessary to punish her, the thing should not be done in the court or the market place.

In summer, in the 5th month, on Jin-shin, the last day of the moon, duke Ling of Te'e died. Duke Chwang (Kwang) took his place, and seized Ya on the mound of Kow-tow. As he held that the substitution of him in his own place had been owing to Suh-sha Wei, Wei fled to Kaou-t'ang, and held it in revolt.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—Sze Kao of Tain was making an incursion into Te'e, and had got as far as Kuh, when he heard of the death of the marquis and returned;—which was according to rule. Kuh,—see III. vii. 4, et al.

[The Chuen says:—In the 4th month, on Ting-we, the Kung-sun Ch'ao of Ch'ing died, and the news of his death was sent to the great officers of Tain. Fan Seno-tze (Sze Kao) spoke to the marquis about how well Ch'ao had behaved in the invasion of Te'in, on which the marquis made a request to the king, and obtained for him the posthumous gift of a carriage, which was used at the performance of his [funeral] rites.] ]

Par. 10. Chung-sun Mieh, or Mäng Hsien-tze, had long sustained an important position in Loo. He was succeeded by his son Suh (速), or Mäng Chwang-tze (莊子).

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month, Tsuy Ch'oo of Te'e killed Kaou How in Shue-tan, and took to himself all his property. The text, in ascribing his death to the State, intimates that he had followed his ruler in his abandoned blindness to what was right.

Par. 12. For 嘉 Kung-yang has 喜. The Chuen says:—Tsu K'ung of Ch'ing, in his government of the State, acted on his own exclusive authority, to the distress of the people. At the punishment of the troubles in the western palace (see on X. 5), and in the attempt [of T'oo] on the Shun gate (in the year before this), he had acted criminally; but he guarded himself with his own men-at-arms, and with those of the families of Tze-kih and Tze-ling. On K'eh-shin, Tze-chen and Tze-se attacked him at the head of the people, put him to death, and divided his property between themselves. The text ascribes his death to the State because of the exclusive authority which he had arrogated. Tze-jen and Tze-k'ung were sons [of duke Mieh] by [a daughter of Sung].—Sung Tze; and Sze Tze-k'ung was his son by [a daughter of



Ch'in). Kwei Kwei. Kwei Kwei's rank was inferior to Sung Tze's, but they were fond of each other. Sao Tze-k'ung was also on friendly terms with them. Tze-jen died in the 4th year of He (the 5th year of duke Siang of Loo), and Sao Tze-k'ung in Kien's (duke Muh's) first year, (Siang's 8th year); and the minister of Instruction K'ung looked after the households of Tze-kih and Tze-léang. The three families indeed were as one, and hence they came together to trouble. Tze-kih and Tze-léang fled to T'oo, where the former became director of the Left. The people of Ch'in made Tze-chen manager of the State, with Tze-se as administrator of the government, and Tze-ch'an a high minister.

Par. 13. [The Chuen appends here:—] K'ing Fung of T'e laid siege to Kaou-t'ang, but could not reduce it. In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis joined the siege; and seeing [Shu-sha] Wei on the top of the wall, he called out to him. Wei came down, and the marquis asked him if he was well prepared for defence. He replied that he was not, and the marquis bowed to him, when he ascended the wall again. Hearing that the army [of the marquis] was coming [to the siege, Wei] gave out food to the men of Kaou-t'ang; but [two officers of T'e], Chih Ch'oh and Kung K'ou, agreed to bring the soldiers by night

up the wall by means of cords (the text here is probably defective). Wei was made pickle of in the army.]

Par. 14. This was done, says Tso, 'through fear of T'e.'

Par. 15. This Ko is different from the place in T'e of the same name, and was probably in Wei,—in the pres. dep. of Ta-ming. The Chuen says:—'T'e and Tain concluded a peace, and made a covenant in Ta-suy. In consequence, Muh-shuh had a meeting with Fan Senen-tze in Ko. Having an interview with Shuh-héang, he sang the 4th stanza of the Tse ch'e (Sbe, I. iv. ode X.). Shuh-héang said, "I dare not but receive your command."'

Par. 16. Woo-shing was a city of Loo,—90 $\frac{1}{2}$  to the south-west of the pres. dia. city of Pe, dep. E-chow.

The Chuen says:—'On his return to Loo, Muh-shuh said, "T'e is not yet [reconciled to us]; we must not dismiss our apprehensions." Accordingly we fortified Woo-shing.'

[The Chuen adds here:—'On the death of Shih Kung-tze (Shih Mae) of Wei, [his son], Taou-tze manifested no grief. K'ung Ching-tze said, "Here is a case of the falling tree tearing up its roots. Taou-tze will certainly not long possess his ancestral temple."']

### Twentieth year

二十年春王正月辛亥仲孫速會莒人盟于向。夏六月庚申公會晉侯齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒子邾子滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子盟于澶淵。秋公至自會仲孫速帥師伐邾。蔡殺其大夫公子燮蔡公子履出奔楚。陳侯之弟黃出奔楚。叔老如齊。冬十月丙辰朔日有食之。季孫宿如宋。



左傳曰二十年春及莒平孟莊子會莒人盟于向督揚之盟故也夏盟于澶淵齊成故也

邾人驟至以諸侯之事弗能報也秋孟莊子伐邾以報之

蔡公子變欲以蔡之晉蔡人殺之公子履其母弟也故出奔楚

陳慶虎慶寅畏公子黃之偏愬諸楚曰與蔡司馬同謀楚人以爲

討公子黃出奔楚初蔡文侯欲事晉曰先君與於踐土之盟晉不

可棄且兄弟也畏楚不能行而卒楚人使蔡無常公子變求從先

君以利蔡不能而死書曰蔡殺其大夫公子變言不與民同欲也

陳侯之弟黃出奔楚言非其罪也公子黃將出奔呼於國曰慶氏

無道求專陳國暴蔑其君而去其親五年不滅是無天也

齊子初聘於齊禮也

冬季武子如宋報向戌之聘也褚師段逆之以受享賦常棣之七

章以卒宋人重賄之歸復命公享之賦魚麗之卒章公賦南山有

臺武子去所曰臣不堪也

衛甯惠子疾召悼子曰吾得罪於君悔而無及也名藏在諸侯

之策曰孫林父甯殖出其君君入則掩之若能掩之則吾子也若

不能猶有鬼神吾有餒而已不來食矣悼子許諾惠子遂卒

- XX. 1 In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-bae, Chung-sun Suh had a meeting with an officer of Keu, and made a covenant [with him] in Hëang.
- 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Käng-shin, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'äng, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, when they made a covenant in Shen-yuen.
- 3 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.
- 4 Chung-sun Suh led a force and invaded Choo.
- 5 Ts'ae put to death its great officer, duke [Chwang's] son Sëeh. His brother, Le, fled to Ts'oo.
- 6 Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 7 Shuh Laou went to Ts'e.



8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Ping-shin, the sun was eclipsed.

9 Ke-sun Suh went to Sung.

Par. 1. Here, and afterwards, Kung-yang has 遽 for 速. As to the individual, see on par. 10 of last year. Hsiang,—see on I. ii. 2. The Chuen says:—"We were [now] at peace with Keu, and Máng Chwang-tse had a meeting with an officer of Keu, and made a covenant in Hsiang,—in consequence of the covenant at Tuh-yang (see on xix. 1)."

Par. 2. Shen-yuen was a river, called also the 浮水, and gave its name to the city in the text,—35 1/2 north-west from the pres. K'ao Chow (開州), dep. Ta-ming. It belonged to Wei. This meeting and covenant were to celebrate the good understanding which now existed between Tsin and Ts'e (齊成故也).

Par. 4. This shows strikingly the little value of those covenants. Loo, moreover, might have been satisfied with the lands of Choo which had been assigned to it after the expedition against Ts'e.

The Chuen says:—"Troops from Choo had repeatedly attacked us, and we had not been able to retaliate in consequence of the business of the States; but this autumn, Máng Chwang-tse did so, and invaded Choo."

Par. 5, 6. For 變 K'uh-hsiang has 濕. This S'eh and Le were sons of duke Chwang of Ts'e, and brothers consequently of duke Wán, whose father had been present at the meeting of Tsien-t'oo in the 38th year of duke Ho. The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tse S'eh of Ts'e wished to carry that State over to Tsin, on which the people put him to death, and his full brother Le fled to Ts'oo."

Par. 6. Kung and K'uh have 光 instead of 黃. The Chuen says:—"K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin, being afraid of the pressure on them of the Kung-tse Hwang, accused him to Ts'oo, saying that he was confederate in the design of the minister of war of Ts'e (S'eh of the last par.). The people of Ts'oo thought this was sufficient ground for reprimanding Hwang, who therefore fled to that State, [to clear himself]. At an earlier period, duke Wán of Ts'e had wished to serve Tsin, saying, "My predecessor took part in the covenant of Tsien-t'oo. Tsin should not be abandoned; and moreover, its rulers and we are brethren." Through fear of Ts'oo, however, he died without being able to carry his purpose into effect (in the 17th year of duke S'ueu). After this, the people of Ts'oo laid their requirements on Ts'e without regard to any rule,

and the Kung-tse S'eh wished to carry out the design of the former ruler for the benefit of the State; but, unable to effect his purpose, he died. The text in p. 5, that "Ts'e put to death its great officer, the Kung-tse S'eh," intimates that his wishes did not coincide with those of the people. And the account in this, that "Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, left the State, and fled to Ts'oo," intimates that his flight was from no crime of his. When Hwang was about to flee, he cried out in the capital, "Those Kings, in violation of what is right are seeking to monopolize the government of Ch'in, tyrannizing over their ruler, and getting his relatives out of the way. If within 5 years they are not exterminated, there can be no Heaven."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"Ts'e-tse (Shih Laou) went [now] for the 1st time on a friendly mission to Ts'e;—which was proper." It was to be hoped that the animosity which had so long prevailed between Ts'e and Loo would now give place to friendly sentiments.

Par. 8. This eclipse took place at noon, on the 15th August, a.c. 552.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"In winter, Ke Woo-tse went to Sung, to return the friendly visit of Hsiang S'ueh (see xv. 1). Choo S'ue-tsun met him to conduct him to an entertainment, where he sang the 7th and last stanzas of the Chang-te, (Sha, II. i., ode IV.). The people of Sung gave him large gifts; and when he returned, and gave in the report of his mission, the duke entertained him. He then sang the last stanza of the Yu le (Sha, II. ii. ode III.). The duke responded with the Nan shan y'ew t'ae (Sha, II. ii. ode VII.), at which Woo-tse left his place, and said, "I am not worthy [of such praise]."

[The Chuen calls the reader here to a narrative about Wei:—"Ning Hwuy-tse of Wei was ill, and called to him his son, Ts'ao-tse, "I trespass," said he to him, "against my ruler (see on xiv. 6), and subsequent repentance was of no avail. My name is in the tablets of the States, to the effect that 'Sun Lin-t'ao and Ning Chih drove out their ruler.' If the ruler re-enter, that may hide my crime; and if you can so hide it, you are my son. If you cannot do so, and I continue to exist as a Spirit, I will starve in that condition, and will not come to partake of your sacrifices." Ts'ao-tse made him a promise, and soon afterwards he died]."



Twenty-first year.

二十<sup>二</sup>有一年春王正月

公如晉。

邾庶其以漆閭丘來奔。

夏公至自晉。秋晉欒

盈出奔楚。九月庚戌

朔日有食之。冬十月

庚辰朔日有食之。

曹伯來朝。公會晉侯

齊侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹

伯莒子邾子于商任。

左傳曰二十一年春公如晉拜師及取邾田也。

邾庶其以漆閭丘來奔季武子以公姑姊妻之皆有賜於其從者於是魯多盜季孫謂臧武仲曰子盍詰盜武仲曰不可詰也紇又不能季孫曰我有四封而詰其盜何故不可子爲司寇將盜是務去若之何不能武仲曰子召外盜而大禮焉何以止吾盜子爲正卿而來外盜使紇去之將何以能庶其竊邑於邾以來子以姬氏妻之而與之邑其從者皆有賜焉若大盜禮焉以君之姑姊與其大邑其次阜牧與馬其小者衣裳劍帶是賞盜也賞而去之其或難焉紇也聞之在上位者酒濯其心壹以待人軌度其信可明微也而後可以治人夫上之所爲民之歸也上所不爲而民或爲之是以加刑罰焉而莫敢不懲若上之所爲而民亦爲之乃其所也又可禁乎夏書曰念茲在茲釋茲在茲名言茲在茲允出茲在茲惟帝念功將謂由己壹也信由己壹而後功可念也庶其非卿也以地來雖賤必書重地也

齊侯使慶佐爲大夫復討公子牙之黨執公子買於何瀆之丘公子鉏來奔叔孫還奔燕

夏楚子庚卒楚子使薳子馮爲令尹訪於申叔豫叔豫曰



國多寵而王弱，國不可爲也。遂以疾辭。方暑，闔地下冰而牀焉，重繭衣裳，鮮食而寢。楚子使醫視之，復曰：「瘠則甚矣，而血氣未動，乃使子南爲令尹。」

欒桓子娶於范，宣子生懷子。范鞅以其亡也，怨欒氏，故與欒盈爲公族大夫，而不相能。桓子卒，欒祁與其老州賓通，幾亡室矣。懷子患之，祁懼其討也，愬諸宣子曰：「盈將爲亂，以范氏爲死桓主，而專政矣。」曰：「吾父逐鞅也，不怒，而以寵報之，又與吾同官而專之，吾父死而益富，死吾父而專於國，有死而已，吾蔑從之矣。」其謀如是，懼害於主，吾不敢不言。范鞅爲之微，懷子好施，士多歸之。宣子畏其多士也，信之。懷子爲下卿，宣子使城著，而遂逐之。秋，欒盈出奔楚，宣子殺箕遺、黃淵、嘉父、司空靖、祁豫、董叔、祁師，申書、羊舌虎、叔鮒，囚伯華。叔向，籍偃，人謂叔向曰：「子離於罪，其爲不知乎？」叔向曰：「與其死亡若何？」詩曰：「優哉游哉，聊以卒歲。」知也。樂王黼見叔向曰：「吾爲子請，叔向弗應，出不拜，其人皆咎叔向。」叔向曰：「必祁大夫。」室老聞之曰：「樂王黼言於君，無不行，求赦吾子，吾子不許，祁大夫所不能也，而曰必由之，何也？」叔向曰：「樂王黼從君者也，何能行？祁大夫外舉不棄，內舉不失親，其獨遺我乎？」詩曰：「有覺德行，四國順之。」夫子覺者也。晉侯問叔向之罪於樂王黼，對曰：「不棄其親，其有焉，於是祁奚老矣，聞之，乘駟而見宣子曰：『詩曰：『惠我無疆，子孫保之。』』書曰：『聖有恭勳，明徵定保。』夫謀而鮮過，惠訓不倦者，叔向有焉，社稷之固也。猶將十世宥之，以勸能者，今壹不免其身，以棄社稷，不亦惑乎？鯀殛而禹興，伊尹放，犬甲而相之，卒無怨色，管蔡爲戮，周公佑王，若之何其以虎也。棄社稷，子爲善，誰敢不勉？多殺何爲？」宣子說，與之乘，以言諸公而免之，不見叔向而歸。叔向亦不告免焉，而朝。初，叔向之母，妬叔虎之母，美而不使，其子皆諫其母。其母曰：「深山大澤，實生龍蛇，彼美，余懼其生龍蛇以禍女。」女，敝族也。國多大寵，不仁人聞之，不亦難乎？余何愛焉？使往視寢，生叔虎，美而有勇力，欒懷子嬖之，故羊舌氏之族，及於難。欒盈過於周，周西鄙掠之，辭於行人曰：「天子陪臣，盈得罪於王之守臣，將逃罪，罪重於郊甸，無所伏竄，敢布其死。」昔陪臣書，能輸力於王室，王施惠，



焉。其子驪不能保任其父之勞。大君若不棄書之力，亡臣猶有所逃。若棄書之力，而思驪之罪，臣戮餘也。將歸死於尉氏，不敢還矣。敢布四體，唯大君命焉。王曰：尤而效之，其又甚焉。使司徒禁掠藥氏者，歸所取焉。使候出諸輶輶。

冬，曹武公來朝。始見也。

會于商任。錮藥氏也。齊侯、衛侯不敬。叔向曰：二君者，必不免。會朝，禮之經也。禮，政之興也。政，身之守也。怠禮失政，失政不立，是以亂也。知起中行，喜州綽，邢蒯，出奔齊，皆藥氏之黨也。樂王鮒謂范宣子曰：盍反州綽，邢蒯，勇士也。宣子曰：彼藥氏之勇也，余何獲焉。王鮒曰：子為彼藥氏，乃亦子之勇也。齊莊公朝，指殖綽，郭最曰：是寡人之雄也。州綽曰：君以為雄，誰敢不雄。然臣不敏，平陰之役，先二子鳴。莊公為勇爵，殖綽、郭最欲與焉。州綽曰：東門之役，臣左驂迫，還於門中，識其枚數，其可以與於此乎。公曰：子為晉君也。對曰：臣為隸新。然二子者，譬於禽獸，臣食其肉，而寢處其皮矣。

- XXI. 1 In his twenty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Tsin.
- 2 Shoo-k'e of Choo came a fugitive to Loo, with [the cities of] Ts'eih and Leu-k'ew.
- 3 In summer, the duke arrived from Tsin.
- 4 In autumn, Lwan Ying of Tsin fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 5 In the ninth month, on K'ang-seuh, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 In winter, in the tenth month, on K'ang-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 7 The earl of Ts'au came to the court of Loo.
- 8 The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, and the viscounts of Keu and Choo, in Shang-jin.

Par. 1. The duke now went to Tsin, 'to make his acknowledgments,' says Tso-cho, 'for the expedition [against Ts'oo], and for his receiving the lands of Choo (xviii. 4; xix. 4).' Wang K'ü-kwan bitterly contrasts the duty thus, and on other occasions, paid by the princes of Loo to the leading State, and their general neglect of the duty they owed to the king.

Par. 2. Shoo-k'e was a great officer of Choo, possessed of the cities in the text. Rebelling against his govt., and unable to maintain himself against it, he fled to Loo, surrendering to it

the cities in question. Had he not so thrown himself on Loo, the text would have been—

鄭庶其以漆間丘叛 Comp. X. v. 4, xxxi. 6. Of course it was wrong in Loo to receive, as it did, such a fugitive. Both the cities were in the northern part of the pres. dia. of Tsow, dept. Yen-chow. The Chinese says:—'Shoo-k'e of Choo having come as a fugitive, and surrendering to Loo his cities of Ts'eih and Leu-k'ew, Ke Woo-tse gave him to wife the



[widowed] aunt and sister of the duke, and gave gifts to all his followers. On this Loo became pestered with a multitude of robbers, and Woo-tze asked Tsang Woo-chung why he did not deal effectually with them. "They cannot be so dealt with," was the reply. "I am not able to do it." Woo-tze urged, "We have our four boundaries well defined; how is it that robbers cannot be put down? And you are the minister of Crime. Your chief business should be to remove all such criminals; how is it that you are unable to do so?" Woo-chung said, "You call the robbers of other States, and treat them with the greatest ceremony; how can I in such a case repress our own robbers? You are the principal minister of our State, and you bring into it robbers from abroad, and would have me put them away; how should I be able to do so? Shoo-k'e stole from Choo its cities, and came here with them, and you have given him to wife ladies of our ducal House, and have conferred on him [those] cities. To all his followers you have given gifts. Now, since to the great robber you have shown such ceremony, giving him our ruler's aunt and sister, and those great cities; and to the robbers of the next degree you have given runners, heralds, carriage-men and grooms, the least gifts being robes, swords, and girlies;—you thus reward robbers. To reward them, and at the same time put them away, should be a difficult thing, I think. I have heard this, that when men in high positions change their hearts, treating others with a uniform consistency, and regulating their good faith by such laws that it is clearly demonstrated, then men can be properly ruled by them. For the way which their superiors take is that to which men [naturally] turn. When they do that which their superiors do not do, there are pains and penalties for them, which we may not presume not to inflict. If the people, however, do that which their superiors do as well, it is what is to be expected, and cannot be prevented. It is said in one of the Books of Hsin (Shoo, II. ii. 10): "Think whether this thing can be laid on this man. If you would put it away from this man, it depends on [putting] the thing [away from yourself]. When you name or speak of this thing, [let it be fit] for this man. Your sincerity must proceed from this, and be in this. Think, O emperor, of the work thus to be achieved." This tells how the result must come from one's own uniform endeavour. Let one's sincerity be uniform and undivided, and then successful results may be anticipated."

"Shoo-k'e was not a minister, [though he is here named]. But coming with territory, of low rank as he was, it was necessary to record the thing as in the text, from the importance belonging to the territory."

[The Chuen gives here two narratives about the affairs of Te'v and Te'oo:—1st. "The marquis of Te'v appointed K'ing T'ao a great officer, and proceeded to further (see on xix. 8) measures against the partisans of his brother Ya. He seized the Kung-tze Mao on the mound of Kow-tow. The Kung-tze Te'oo fled to Loo, and Shuh-sun Semo to Yen."

2d. "In summer, Tze-k'ang of Te'oo died, and the viscount wished to appoint Wei Tse-ping to his office of chief minister. Wei consulted Shin Shuh-yu, who said, "There are many favourites in the State, and the ruler is

young. The administration will be impracticable." On this he declined the appointment, alleging that he was ill. The season being warm, he dug a hole in the ground, filled it with ice, and placed his bed over it; and there he lay, with two coverings stuffed with silk, and in a robe of fur, taking very little food. The viscount sent his physician to see him, who reported that he was very thin, but that there was yet no [irregular] motion of his pulse. Tse-nan (the Kung-tze Chuy-shoo) was then made chief minister."

Par. 4. Here is the verification of Sze Yang's prediction about the downfall of the Lwan family towards the conclusion of the Chuen on xiv. 8. The Chuen here says:—"Lwan Hwan-tze (Lwan Yen, 樂 鵬) had married a daughter of Fan Seuen-tze (Fan or Sze K'ao, 士 皜), who bore him Hwan-tze (the Ying of the text). Fan Yang (Seuen-tze's son), because of his banishment [to Te'v], had a grudge against the Lwan family; and though he and Lwan Ying were both great officers of the ducal kindred, they could not bear each other (see the Chuen on xiv. 3). After the death of Hwan-tze, Lwan K'e (his wife, Seuen-tze's daughter) had an intrigue with the old [steward of the family], Chow Pin, which had almost led to the ruin of the House. Hwan-tze was distressed about it; and his mother, afraid of his taking severe measures, accused him to Seuen-tze, saying, "Ying is about to raise an insurrection on the ground that, since the death of his father Hwan, the Fan family is monopolizing the government. My father, he says, 'drove out Yang, but [Seuen-tze] instead of being angry [with his son], rewards him with [additional] favour.' He has also given him a similar office to mine, and throws the power into his hands. Since my father's death, [the family] is more wealthy. By that death they have got the monopoly of the government. I will die sooner than follow them." Such are his designs; and afraid of his injuring you, my father, I dare not but tell them to you." Fan Yang confirmed what she said by his own testimony."

"Hwan-tze was fond of showing his liberality, and had thereby attached to himself many officers,—so many, that Seuen-tze was afraid of them; and though he believed what was told him, [he hesitated to take action]. Hwan-tze, [moreover], was the [assistant-] commander of the 3d army. [At last], Seuen-tze sent him to fortify Choo, and thereby took occasion to drive him from the State, so that in the autumn he fled from it to Te'oo. Seuen-tze then put to death Ko E, Hwang Yuan, K'ia Foo, Sze-k'ung T'ang, P'ing Yu, Tung Shuh, Ping Sze, Shin Shoo, Yang-shuh Hoo, and Shuh-p'e; and imprisoned Pih-t'ze, Shuh-hiang, and Tseih Yen. People said to Shuh-hiang, "Was it from want of wisdom that you let yourself be involved in this affair?" He replied, "Is this imprisonment not better than death? The ode says (Sho, II. vii. ode VIII. 5; but the quotation is doubtful),

"How easily, how happily,  
They complete their years!"

Here is my wisdom." Yeh Wang-foo had an interview with Shuh-hiang, and said to him, "I



will intercede for you;" but the prisoner gave him no answer, nor did he make him any acknowledgment when he went out. His friends all blamed Shuh-hsiang for this; but he said "My liberation must be effected by the great officer K'e." When the steward of his house heard this, he said to him, "Whatever Yoh Wang-foo tells him, our ruler is sure to do. He offered to ask for your pardon, and you would not allow him to do so. It was more than the great officer K'e could accomplish, and yet you say that your liberation must come from him;—what is your meaning?" Shuh-hsiang replied, "Yoh Wang-foo is but a parasite of our ruler;—what could he do? The great officer K'e recommended to office one not of his own family, though he was his enemy, nor did he fail to recommend his relative to it, though he was his own son (see the Chuen after III. 4);—shall I alone be forgotten by him? The ode says (Sho, III. III. ode II. 2),

"To an evident virtuous conduct  
All in the State render their obedient  
homage."

Such a manifestly virtuous man is K'e."

The marquis of Tsai asked about the guilt of Shuh-hsiang from Yoh Wang-foo, who replied, "He would not abandon his relatives, and probably shares in their guilt." At this time K'e was old, [and living in retirement]; but when he heard what was going on, he came, posting from stage to stage, to see Shuen-tze, and said to him, "The ode says (Sho, IV. I. [L] ode IV.),

"Your favours to me are unbounded,  
And my posterity shall preserve [our  
inheritance];"

The Shoo says (III. IV. 2), "The sage, with their counsels and merit, ought clearly to be established and preserved." Now in Shuh-hsiang we have one whose counsels have seldom been in error, and whose kindly lessons have been unvaried. He is a strength to our altars. His posterity for ten generations should be pardoned [if they did wrong], for the encouragement of the men of ability; and now for one offence [of his brother] he is not to get off with his life. It is an abandoning of our altars;—is there not a mistake in the matter? When Kwan was put to death, Yu was raised to office. E Yin kept T'ao-k'eh in confinement, and acted as minister to him; but in the end [the sovereign] had not a resentful look. Kwan and T'ao were put to death by the duke of Chou, but he himself was the king's helper. Why are you now, on account of Hoo (Shuh-hsiang's brother), forgetting your duty to our altars? Do that which is good, and who is there that will not feel stimulated? But what is the use of putting many to death?" Shuen-tze was pleased, and they went in the same carriage to speak with the marquis, so that Shuh-hsiang was pardoned. K'e He then went home without seeing Shuh-hsiang, who, on his part, sent no word to him of his being liberated, but went to court.

At an earlier period, Shuh-hsiang's mother, being jealous of the beauty of Shuh-hoo's mother, did not allow her to be with their husband. Her sons all conspired with her, when she said, "Deep hills and great marshes produce the dragon and the serpent. Because of her beauty,

I am afraid she may bring forth a dragon or a serpent that will bring calamity upon you. You are but a feeble clan, and in the State there are many great nobles. If unfriendly persons were setting them against you, would not your case be hard? On what [other] ground should I grudge her our husband's favours?" She then sent the lady to her husband's couch; and the result was the birth of Shuh-hoo. He was remarkable for his beauty, courage, and strength, and became a favourite with Hwar-tze, and thus it was that the Yang-shih clan became involved in [the present] difficulties.

When Lwan Ying was passing by Chow, the people in its western borders plundered him, on which he complained to a messenger [from the king], saying, "I, Ying, a servant of the son of Heaven, belonging to another State, offended the king's servant, who is its guardian. Trying to escape from the consequences of my guilt, I have trespassed again in your borders. Nowhere can I hide; nowhere can I fly; let me venture to set forth the question of my death. Formerly, Your Majesty's servant, [my grandfather], Shoo, was able to contribute his strength to the royal House, and the king bestowed favours on him. His son Yen was not able to preserve and continue the services of Shoo; and now, O great ruler, if you have not forgotten the zealous duty of Shoo, then there will be a way of escape for me. If you have forgotten that, and think of the guilt of Yen, I am but the fragment of a doomed man. I will go [to the capital] and die under the hand of the officer Wei; I dare not go back. I have presumed to declare every thing;—it is for you, O great ruler, to issue your command." The king said, "To go on thus to wrong him as [Tsai] has done would be acting worse than Tsai." He then made the minister of Instruction prohibit all plundering of Lwan Ying, and require the people to return what they had taken away. He also made the officer of escort conduct him through the Hwan-yuen pass."

Par. 3, 6. The former of these eclipses took place at noon, on August 13th, A.D. 651. The record of the second is an error. There was on the day mentioned no eclipse of the sun; there could be none. How the error, and the similar one in the 24th year, originated, cannot be ascertained. The critics have vexed themselves with the question in vain. See in the 'Explanations of the Classics by scholars of the present dynasty,' ch. 58, pp. 4, 5, and ch. 297, p. 6; and what has been said in the section on eclipses in the prolegomena. Yang Sze-heun (楊士勛) the glossarist of Kuh-liang, of the Tang dynasty (in the 7th cent.), says:—"In this year, and the 24th year, we have the record of eclipses in successive months. According to modern chronologists such a thing could not be; but perhaps it did occur in ancient times!" See also the note by the K'ang-hu editors on the birth of Confucius, at the end of this year.

Par. 7. This earl—duke Woo (武公)—succeeded to the State of Tsau, on the death of his father as related xviii. 5. He now came, as T'ao-she says, to Lou, 'to have a first interview with the duke.'

Par. 8. Where Shang-jin was is not known. The Chuen says:—"The meeting at Shang-jin was to prevent Lwan [Ying] from being har-



houred anywhere. The marquises of Ts'e and Wei behaved disrespectfully at it, which made Shih-hêng say, "These two princess are sure not to escape an evil end. These meetings and visits at courts are standard ceremonies; such ceremonies are the vehicles of government; it is through government that men's persons are guarded. When the ceremonies are dishonoured, government is lost; and when government is not firmly established, disorder must ensue."

\* Che K'e, Chung-hang He, Chow Ch'oh, and Hing Kwae, all fled [from Tsin] to Ts'e, being partisans of the Lwan family. Yoh Wang-foo said to Fan Shien-tze, "Why not bring back Chow Ch'oh and Hing Kwae who are men of daring courage?" "They are braves of the Lwan family," replied Shien-tze. "What should I gain?" Wang-foo said "Be to them what the Lwan was, and they will also be your braves."

\* Duke Chwang of Tse, at his audience [one day], pointed to Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsuy, and said, "These are my heroes." Chow Ch'oh said, "If your lordship thinks them heroes, who may not presume to be reckoned a hero? But unworthy as I am, after the service at Ping-yin, (See on xviii.4), I crowed before them both." Duke Chwang having instituted an order of bravery, Chih Ch'oh and Kwoh Tsuy wished to belong to it. Chow Ch'oh said, "In the attack on the eastern gate, my outside horse on the left turned wildly round in the gate, and I know the number of the boards in it;—can I be allowed for this to belong to the order?" The duke said, "You were acting for the ruler of Tsin." "But I am newly become your servant," replied the other. "As to those two, they are like beasts, whose flesh I will eat, and then sleep upon their skins."

[The K'ang-he editors give here the following note on the birth of Confucius:—"According to the Chuen of Kung-yang, Confucius was born in the 11th month of Ssang's 21st year, on the day K'ang-tze; and according to that of Kuh-lang, he was born on K'ang-tze, in the 10th month of this year. The "Historical Records,"

however, give his birth, as in the 22d year of Ssang. In the preface to his "Collected Comments" on the Analects, Choo He, using the "History of the Kung family," thus defers to the authority of the "Historical Records," while Sang Lën (Ming dynasty), in his "Discussion of the month and year of Confucius' Birth and Death," vehemently maintains the authority of Kung and Kuh. He adduces, however, no incontestable evidence of their correctness, merely saying that the "Historical Records" contain many errors, and that the statement of Kung and Kuh, handed down from one man to another, is to be relied upon, as having been supported by proofs. Hsia Hung-ke says, "Confucius was born in the 22d year of Ssang, and lived to the 10th year of Gae, so that he was then 73 years old. The account in the "Historical Records" is correct. The month as given by Kung-yang is wrong;—how can we place implicit confidence in him? Sang Lën, following Kung and Kuh, makes the sage to have been 74 years old, which seems a strange thing to bear of." This view of Hsia's is the best. The prolegomena to the "General Mirror of History" observe, moreover, that in the 21st year of Ssang the sun was twice eclipsed, which does not appear a proper year for the sage to be born in;—and this consideration is not without its reasonableness! Confucius was born in a K'ang-suh year, and died in a Jin-suh;—such is the account that has long obtained. Giving a paramount authority to Choo He, and comparing with him the statements of Hsia and the prolegomena to the "General Mirror," we may assume that the "Historical Records" are not in error in this matter.

\* The year of the sage's birth ought to be noticed in connection with the Ch'ün Ts'ew, but there is no article in the Chuen of Tso-shu on Ssang's 22d year, to which it could be annexed; we have therefore preserved here the statements of Kung and Kuh, and discussed them in this note. See the proleg. to Vol. I, p. 59].

### Thirty-second year.

二十有二年春，王正月，公至自會。夏四月，公至自會。秋七月，辛酉，叔老卒。冬，公會晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、曹伯、莒子、邾子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子于沙隨。公至自會。楚殺其大夫公子追舒。



○左傳曰：二十二年春，臧武仲如晉，雨，過御叔，御叔在其邑，將飲酒，曰：『焉用聖人？我將飲酒而已。』雨行，何以聖？爲？穆叔聞之，曰：『不可使也，而傲使人，國之蠹也。』令倍其賦。

○夏，晉人徵朝於鄭，鄭人使少正公孫僑對曰：『在晉先君悼公九年，我寡君於是卽位，卽位八月，而我先大夫子驪從寡君以朝於執事，執事不禮於寡君，寡君懼，因是行也。我二年六月，朝於楚，晉是以有戲之役。楚人猶競，而申禮於敝邑，敝邑欲從執事，而懼爲大尤。』曰：『晉其謂我不共有禮，是以不敢攜貳於楚。我四年三月，先大夫子驪又從寡君以觀費於楚，晉於是乎有蕭魚之役，謂我敝邑適在晉國，譬諸草木，吾臭味也，而何敢差池？楚亦不競，寡君盡其土實，重之以宗器，以受齊盟，遂帥羣臣隨於執事，以會歲終，貳於楚者，子侯、石孟歸而討之。漢梁之明年，子驪老矣，公孫夏從寡君以朝於君，見於嘗耐與執燔焉。』問：『二年，聞君將靖東夏，四月又朝，以聽事期，不朝之間，無歲不聘，無役不從，以大國政令之無常，國家罷病，不虞荐至，無日不惕，豈敢忘職？大國若安定之，其朝夕在庭，何辱命焉？若不恤其患，而以爲口實，其無乃不堪任命，而前爲仇讐？』敝邑是懼，其敢忘君命，委諸執事，執事實重圖之。

○秋，欒黶自楚適齊，晏平仲言於齊侯曰：『商任之會，受命於晉，今納欒氏，將安用之？小所以事大，信也，失信不立，君其圖之。』弗聽。退告陳文子曰：『君人執信，臣人執共，忠信篤敬，上下同之，天之道也。君自棄也，弗能久矣。』○九月，鄭公孫黑肱有疾，歸邑於公，召室老宗人立段，而使鬪官、薄祭、祭以特羊，殷以少牢，足以共祀，盡歸其餘邑。曰：『吾聞之，生於亂世，貴而能貧，民無求焉，可以後亡。』敝共事君，與二三子生在敝戒，不在富也。己巳，伯張卒。君子曰：『善戒。』詩曰：『慎爾侯度，用戒不虞。』鄭子張其有焉。

冬，會于沙隨，復錮欒氏也。欒黶猶在齊。晏子曰：『禍將作矣。齊將伐晉，不可以不懼。』

楚觀起有寵於令尹子南，未益祿而有馬數十乘，楚人患之。王將討焉。子南之子藥疾爲王御士，王每見之，必



泣，棄疾曰：「君三泣臣矣，敢問誰之罪也？」王曰：「令尹之不能，爾所知也。」國將討焉，爾其居乎？對曰：「父戮子居，君焉用之？」洩命重刑，臣亦不爲。王遂殺子南於朝，轎觀起於四竟。子南之臣謂棄疾請徙子尸於朝，曰：「君臣有禮，唯二三子。」三日，棄疾請尸，王許之。既葬，其徒曰：「行乎？」曰：「吾與殺吾父，行將焉入？」然則臣王乎？曰：「棄父事讐，吾弗忍也。」遂縊而死。復使蘧子馮爲令尹，公子駒爲司馬，屈建爲莫敖，有寵於蘧子者八人，皆無祿而多馬。他日朝，與申叔豫言，弗應而退。從之入於人中，又從之，遂歸。退朝見之，曰：「子三困我於朝，吾懼，不敢不見。吾過，子姑告我，何疾我也？」對曰：「吾不免罪，懼何敢告子？」曰：「何故？」對曰：「昔觀起有寵於子南，子南得罪，觀起車裂，何故不懼？」自御而歸，不能當道。至，謂八人者曰：「吾見申叔夫子，所謂生死而肉骨也。知我者，如夫子則可。不然，請止。」辭八人者，而後王安之。

十二月，鄭游暇將如晉，未出竟，遭逆妻者，奪之，以館於邑。丁巳，其夫攻子明，殺之，以其妻行。子展廢良，而立大叔。曰：「國卿君之貳也，民之主也，不可以苟。」請舍子明之類，求亡妻者，使復其所，使游氏勿怨。曰：「無昭惡也。」

- XXII. 1 In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting.  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 3 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-yëw, Shuh Laou died.  
 4 In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'au, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, the earls of Sëeh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in Sha-suy.  
 5 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer Chuy-shoo.

Par. 1. [The Chuen introduces here:—This spring, Tsang Woo-chung was going to Tsin, and was passing by [the city of] Yu Shuh (=Shuh of Yu), when it rained. Shuh was then in the city, and about to set to drinking. He said, "What occasion is there for employing a sage? I will do nothing but drink. Travelling thus in the rain, what sageness can he be possessed of?" When Muh-shuh (Shuh-sun P'ao) heard of this, he said, "[This Yu Shuh] is not fit to be sent on any mission. Carrying himself so proudly to our messenger, he is one of the vermin of the State." He then ordered that his contribution to the State should be doubled.]

Par. 2. [We have here in the Chuen the following narrative about the relations of Tsin and Ch'ing:—In summer, the people of Tsin summoned [the earl of] Ch'ing to appear at their court, when the people of Ch'ing employed the Shaou-ching, Kung-sun K'iaon (Tse-ch'an), to reply, which he did as follows:—In the 9th year of duke Taou, the last ruler of Tsin (the 9th year of Sëang), our ruler succeeded to the State; and eight months after, our late great officer, Tse-ze (the Kang-tse Pei, 駘), followed him to the presence of your ministers in your court. They did not behave courteously to him, on which he was afraid and took his departure; and in the



6th month of his second year we went to the court of T'ao. In consequence of this, Tsin made the campaign of He (See on ix. 5). But T'ao was still strong, and repeated its courteous treatment of our State. We wished to follow your ministers, but were afraid they would find great matter of offence in our conduct. Tsin, we thought, will say that we do not respond respectfully to courtesy; and on this account we did not dare to separate from T'ao.

In our ruler's 4th year, in the 3d month, our late great officer K'iao (Kung-sun Ch'ao) attended him to T'ao, to see what course it would be proper for us to adopt; and on this Tsin made the campaign of Siao-yu (See on xi. 8). Then it said that our State was near to that of Tsin, and that they were like plants which had the same fragrance;—why then should they presume to be in unequal relations? At this time T'ao did not shew strength, and our ruler brought forth all the productions of the State, and added to them the vessels of his ancestral temple, that he might enter into a common covenant. He then led his servants to follow your ministers, and was present in your court at the end of the year. On his return, he punished Tse-ho and Shih Yu, who were inclined towards T'ao.

The year after [the meeting at] Keih-lang (See xvi. 2), Tse-k'iao being old, Kung-sun Hsiao attended our ruler to your court, when he had an audience at the summer sacrifice, and assisted in holding the offerings of flesh. When two years had intervened, hearing that your ruler was about to pacify the States of the east, he again went to your court in the 4th month, to ascertain the time for the enterprise. Between his appearances at your court, there has been no year in which he has not sent a mission of friendly inquiries, there has been no service in which he has not taken his share. Through the orders of your great State coming not at regular times our State has been wearied and distressed; at any time some unlooked for requirement might come; every day are we careful not to give offence;—how should we dare to forget our duty? If your great State will grant us stable rest morning and evening, our ruler will be found in your court, without your having to condescend to send him any order to appear. But if you do not have pity on our distress, and fill your mouth with complaints against us, shall we not then be unable to endure your commands? You will be clipping our territory, and we shall become enemies to each other. This is what our State is afraid of; how dare we be unmindful of your ruler's order? We thus lay the case before his ministers; let them consult about it as its importance requires.]

Par. 3. See on xiv. 1. Shih Laou was succeeded in the position of great officer by his son Kung (叔弓), known as Tse-shih King-tse (子叔敬子).

[The Chuen returns here to the affairs of Lwan Ying of Tsin:—In autumn, Lwan Ying went from T'ao to T'se, on which occasion Gan Ping-chung said to the marquess of T'se, "At the meeting of Shang-jin, you received the command of Tsin [not to harbour Lwan]; if you now receive him, where will be the use of that meeting? It is by good faith that a small State serves a large one. If its good faith be

lost, it cannot stand. Let your lordship consider it." The marquess would not listen to him, and Ping-chung withdrew, and told Chia Wan-tse, saying, "Rulers should hold fast good faith, and their subjects reverent obedience. It is the rule of Heaven that high and low should all observe true-heartedness, good faith, honesty, and reverence. Our ruler is throwing himself away;—he cannot continue long."

We have then another narrative about an officer of Ch'ing:—In the 9th month, the Kung-sun Hih-k'wang of Ch'ing called to him the steward of his house, and his kinsmen who took part with him in his ancestral temple, and told them to support [his son] Twan in his place, requiring them to diminish the number of his officers and the style of his sacrifices. A single sheep would be sufficient at the seasonal services, and a sheep and a pig at the grand sacrifice once in 3 years. Retaining a sufficient number of towns to supply these sacrifices, he gave all the rest back to the duke, saying, "I have heard that when one is born in an age of disorder, the best thing for him is to be able to be poor. When the people have nothing to require from him, his family will endure longer than the families of others. Reverently and dutifully," [said he to his son], "serve your ruler, and the officers, [his ministers]. Your life will depend on your reverence and caution, and not on your riches." On Ke-zze, Pih-chang (Hih-k'wang) died. The superior man will say that he was wise in the cautions which he gave. What the ode says (She, III. iii. ode II. 5),

'Be careful of your duties as a prince;  
Be prepared for the dangers that may  
arise.'

was exemplified by Tse-chang of Ch'ing.]

Par. 4. Kung and Kuh have here 廢子 after 朱子. Sha-suy,—see VIII. xvi. 2. The Chuen says:—"This meeting at Shu-suy was to take further measures to prevent the harbouring of Lwan [Ying]. He was still in T'ao, and Gan-tse said, "Calamity is about to develop itself. T'ao will attack Tsin. There is ground for us to cherish apprehension."

Par. 6. See the Chuen after par. 4 of last year. The Chuen here says:—"Kwan K'e of T'ao was a favourite of Tse-nan the chief minister, and while his emolument was yet but small, his teams of horses were numbered by tens. The people were distressed about it, and the king determined to punish the minister. Tse-nan's son, K'e-tai, was charioteer to the king, who would fall a weeping whenever he saw him. K'e-tai said to him, "You have thrice wept at the sight of me;—let me ask whose crime makes you do this." The king said, "You know the inefficiency of the chief minister. The State is about to punish him; and can you abide in your office after that?" "If I were to abide after my father has been put to death," replied the charioteer, "how could you employ me? But to commit the great crime of disclosing what you have said is what I will not do." After this the king put Tse-nan to death in the court, and caused the four limbs of Kwan K'e to be torn from each other by chariots in four different directions. Tse-nan's servants then asked K'e-tai to beg leave to remove his father's body from the court. "It is



for you," he said to them, "[to teach me how] to observe the duties that should obtain between a ruler and his minister." After three days, he begged the body which the king granted to him; and when it was buried, his followers asked him if he was going to leave the State. "I was a party," he said, "to the death of my father;—to what State should I go?" "Well then," they asked again, "will you continue to be a servant of the king?" He replied, "To have abandoned my father, and yet to serve his enemy, is what I cannot bear to do." Immediately after, he strangled himself.

"[The king] then again appointed Wei Tze-ping to be chief minister. The Kung-tze E was made [grand-]marshal, and K'ueh K'uei was made the Moh-gaon. The favourites of Wei-tze were eight men, all of whom, though having no emoluments, were possessed of many horses. One day [after his appointment], being at court, he spoke to Shin Shuh-yu, who gave him no answer, and withdrew. Wei-tze followed him, and he threw himself among a crowd. When he was still followed, Yu returned to his house, whither the other went to see him, when he had retired from the court. "Thrice," said Wei-tze, "you snubbed me in the court. You have frightened me, and I have felt that I must come and see you. Please tell me my errors; why should you be so indignant with me?" "I was afraid," replied Shuh-yu, "lest I should not escape [the impending fate]; how should I dare to tell you?" "What do you mean?" asked the minister. The other said, "Lately, Kwan K'e was the favourite of Tze-nan. Tze-nan

was dealt with as a criminal, and Kwan K'e was torn in pieces by chariots. Is there not reason for me to be afraid?" [Wei-tze] then drove home himself, but was not able to keep the road. When he arrived, he said to his favourites, "I have seen my master Shin Shuh. It may be said of him that he can give life to the dead, and flesh to the [bare] bones. With a master who knows me as he does I am satisfied; but I had rather drop the acquaintance of one who does not do so." He then dismissed the eight men, and afterwards the king was satisfied with him.

[The Chuen appends the narrative of a strange and melancholy event in Ch'ing:—"In the 12th month, Yew Pan of Ch'ing was proceeding to Tsin; and before he crossed the boundaries of the State, he met with a man and the bride whom he was conducting to his house. Yew Pan took the lady from him by force, and lodged her in a city [that he was passing]. On Ting-see, her husband attacked Tze-ming (Yew Pan), and killed him, and then went away with his [recovered] wife. Tze-chen set aside Liang (Pan's son), and made T'ao-shuh (Pan's younger brother) Head of the family, saying, "A minister of the State is only second to the ruler, and a lord of the people. He must not be allowed to act disorderly. I have taken it on me to set aside another who is like Tze-ming." He also sought for the man who had lost his wife, made him return to his place, and would not allow the Yew family to resent what he had done, saying to them, "Do not make more manifest the wickedness [of Tze-ming]."]

*Twenty-third year.*

二十有三年春，王二月癸酉朔，日有食之。三月己巳，杞伯句卒。夏，邾界我來奔。葬杞孝公。陳殺其大夫慶虎及慶寅。陳侯之弟黃自楚歸于陳。晉欒盈復入于晉，入于曲沃。秋，齊侯伐衛，遂伐晉。八月，叔孫豹帥師救晉，次于雍榆。



己卯<sup>十</sup>仲  
孫速卒<sup>十一</sup>  
冬十月<sup>十二</sup>  
乙亥<sup>十三</sup>臧  
孫紇出<sup>十四</sup>  
奔邾<sup>十五</sup>  
晉人殺<sup>十六</sup>  
欒盈<sup>十七</sup>  
齊侯襲<sup>十八</sup>  
莒<sup>十九</sup>

左傳曰二十三年春杞孝公卒晉悼夫人喪之平公不徹樂非禮也禮爲鄰國嗣陳侯如楚公子黃嚮二慶於楚楚人召之使慶樂往殺之慶氏以陳叛夏庶建從陳侯圍陳陳人城板隊而殺人役人相命各殺其長遂殺慶虎慶寅楚人納公子黃君子謂慶氏不義不可肆也故書曰惟命不予常

晉將嫁女於吳齊侯使析歸父滕之藩載欒盈及其士納諸曲沃欒盈夜見胥午而告之對曰不可天之所廢誰能興之子必不免吾非愛死也知不集也盈曰雖然因子而死吾無悔矣我實不天子無咎焉許諾伏之而觸曲沃人樂作午言曰今也得欒孺子何如對曰得主而爲之死猶不死也皆歎有泣者甯行又言皆曰得主何貳之有盈出徧拜之四月欒盈帥曲沃之甲因魏獻子以晝入絳初欒盈佐魏莊子於下軍獻子私焉故因之趙氏以原屏之雖怨欒氏韓趙方睦中行氏以伐秦之役怨欒氏而固與范氏和親知悼子少而聽於中行氏程鄭嬖於公唯魏氏及七輿大夫與之樂王鮒侍坐於范宣子或告曰欒氏至矣宣子懼桓子曰奉君以走固官必無害也且欒氏多怨子爲政欒氏自外子在位其利多矣既有利權又執民柄將何懼焉欒氏所得其唯魏氏乎而可弼取也夫克亂在權子無懈矣公有姻喪王鮒使宣子墨綬冒絰二婦人輦以如公奉公以如固官范鞅逆魏舒則成列既乘將逆欒氏矣趙進曰欒氏帥賊以入鞅之父與二三子在君所矣使鞅逆吾子鞅請驂乘持帶遂超乘右撫劍左援帶命驅之出僕請鞅曰之公宣子逆諸階執其手賂之以曲沃初斐豹隸也著於丹書欒氏之力臣曰督戎國人懼之斐豹謂宣子曰苟焚丹書我殺督戎宣子喜曰而殺之所不請於君焚丹書者有如日乃出豹而閉之督戎從之踰墮而待之督戎踰入豹自後擊而殺之范氏之徒在臺後



欒氏乘公門，宣子謂鞅曰：「矢及君屋，死之。」鞅用劍以帥卒，欒氏退，攝車從之。遇欒樂，曰：「樂免之，死將認汝於天。」樂射之不中，又注，則棄槐本而覆，或以餓鉤之，斷肘而死。欒魴傷，欒盈奔曲沃，晉人圍之。

秋，齊侯伐衛，先驅穀梁御王孫揮，召揚爲右，申鑾成秩，御莒恒，申鮮虞之傅擊爲右，曹開御戎，晏父戎爲右，貳廣上之，登御邢公，盧蒲癸爲右，啟牟成御，襄罷師，狼蘧疏爲右，肱商子車御，侯朝桓跳爲右，大廩商子游御，夏之御寇，崔如爲右，燭庸之越驪乘，自衛將遂伐晉，晏平仲曰：「君恃勇力以伐盟主，若不濟，國之福也，不德而有功，憂必及君。」崔杼諫曰：「不可。」臣聞之，小國閒大國之敗，而毀焉，必受其咎。君其圖之。弗聽。陳文子見崔武子曰：「將如君何？」武子曰：「吾言於君，君弗聽也，以爲盟主而利其難，羣臣若急，君於何有？」子姑止之。文子退，告其人曰：「崔子將死乎？」謂君甚，而又過之，不得其死，過君以義，猶自抑也。況以惡乎？齊侯遂伐晉，取朝歌，爲二隊，入孟門，登太行，張武軍於熒庭，戍鄆郛，封少水，以報平陰之役，乃還。趙勝帥東陽之師以追之，獲晏羗。

八月，叔孫豹帥師救晉，次于雍榆，禮也。

季武子無適子，公彌長而愛悼子，欲立之，訪於申豐曰：「彌與紇，吾皆愛之，欲擇才焉而立之。」申豐趨退，歸，盡室將行，他日又訪焉，對曰：「其然。」將具敝車而行，乃止，訪於臧紇。臧紇曰：「飲我酒，吾爲子立之。」季氏飲大夫酒，臧紇爲客，既獻，臧孫命北面重席，新樽絜之，召悼子降逆之。大夫皆起及旅，而召公鉏，使與之齒。季孫失色。季氏以公鉏爲馬正，愠而不出。閔子馬見之，曰：「子無然，禍福無門，唯人所召。爲人子者，患不孝，不患無所，敬共父命，何常之有？若能孝敬，富倍季氏可也。」姦回不軌，禍倍下民可也。公鉏然之，敬共朝夕，恪居官次。季孫喜，使飲已酒，而以具往，盡舍旃。故公鉏氏富，又出爲公左宰。孟孫惡臧孫，季孫愛之。孟氏之御驪豐黠，好羯也，曰：「從余言，必爲孟孫再三云，羯從之。」孟莊子疾，豐黠謂公鉏，苟立羯，請讐臧氏。公鉏謂季孫曰：「孺子秩，固其所也。若羯立，則季氏信有力於臧氏矣，弗應。」己卯，孟孫卒，公鉏奉羯立於戶側。季孫至，入哭而出，曰：「秩焉在？」公鉏曰：「羯在此矣。」



季孫曰：孺子長，公鉏曰：何長之有，唯其才也。且夫子之命也，遂立羯，秩奔邾。臧孫入哭，甚哀，多涕，出其御曰：孟孫之惡子也，而哀如是。季孫若死，其若之何？臧孫曰：季孫之愛我疾疾也，孟孫之惡我藥石也，美疾不如惡石，夫石猶生我，疾之美，其毒滋多，孟孫死，吾亡無日矣。

孟氏閉門，告於季孫曰：臧氏將爲亂，不使我葬。季孫不信，臧孫聞之，戒冬十月，孟氏將辟，藉除於臧氏。臧孫使正夫助之，除於東門，甲從己而視之。孟氏又告季孫，季孫怒，命攻臧氏。乙亥，臧紇斬鹿門之關，以出奔邾。初，臧宣叔娶於鑄，生賈及爲而死，繼室以其姪穆姜之姨子也，生紇，長於公宮。姜氏愛之，故立之。臧賈，臧爲出在鑄，臧武仲自邾使告臧賈，且致大蔡焉。曰：紇不佞，失守宗祧，敢告不弔。紇之罪不及不祀，子以大蔡納請，其可？賈曰：是家之禍也，非子之過也。賈聞命矣，再拜受龜，使爲以納請，遂自爲也。臧孫如防，使來告曰：紇非能害也，知不足也，非敢私請，苟守先祀，無廢二勳，敢不辟邑。乃立臧爲，臧紇致防而奔齊。其人曰：其盟我乎？臧孫曰：無辭，將盟臧氏。季孫召外史掌惡臣而問盟首焉。對曰：盟東門氏也。曰：毋或如東門遂，不聽公命，殺適立庶。盟叔孫氏也。曰：毋或如叔孫僑如，欲廢國常，蕩覆公室。季孫曰：臧孫之罪，皆不及此。孟椒曰：盍以其犯門斬關？季孫用之。乃盟臧氏。曰：無或如臧孫紇，干國之紀，犯門斬關。臧孫聞之，曰：國有人焉，誰居？其孟椒乎。

晉人克欒黶於曲沃，盡殺欒氏之族黨。欒黶出奔宋。書曰：晉人殺欒黶，不言大夫，言自外也。

齊侯還自晉，不入遂，襲莒，門於且于，傷股而退。明日將復戰，期於壽舒。杞殖、華還載甲，夜入且于之隧，宿於莒郊。明日先遇莒子於蒲侯氏。莒子重賂之，使無死。曰：請有盟。華周對曰：貪貨棄命，亦君所惡也。昏而受命，日未中而棄之，何以事君？莒子親鼓之，從而伐之，獲杞梁。莒人行成，齊侯歸。遇杞梁之妻於郊，使弔之。辭曰：殖之有罪，何辱命焉？若免於罪，猶有先人之敝廬在，下妾不得與郊弔。齊侯弔諸其室。

④齊侯將爲臧紇田。臧孫聞之，見齊侯，與之言伐晉。對曰：多則多矣，抑君似鼠。夫鼠晝伏夜動，不穴於寢廟，畏



事。茲夏施作抑容之有知田如之焉。亂君人  
 怨在書不不有於知滅之仲乃非寧而聞故  
 施茲曰。恕順由魯而武難尼弗鼠將後晉也。  
 也。順念也。而也。國不仲也。曰。與何事作之今

- XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Kwei-yêw the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 2 In the third month, on Ke-aze, Kae, earl of Ke, died.
- 3 In summer, Pe-go of Choo came a fugitive to Loo.
- 4 There was the burial of duke Hsiao of Ke.
- 5 Ch'in put to death its great officers, K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin.
- 6 Hwang, the younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, returned from Ts'oo to Ch'in.
- 7 Lwan Ying of Tsin again entered Tsin, and entered K'eh-yuh.
- 8 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Wei, and took the opportunity to invade Tsin.
- 9 In the eighth month, Shuh-sun P'ao led a force to relieve Tsin, and halted at Yung-yu.
- 10 On Ke-maou Chung-sun Suh died.
- 11 In winter, in the tenth month, on Yih-hae, Tsang-sun Heih fled to Choo.
- 12 The people of Tsin put to death Lwan Ying.
- 13 The marquis of Ts'e fell upon Keu by surprise.

Par. 1. This eclipse was visible at sunrise on the 30th December, a.c. 550.

Par. 2. Earl Kae is known as duke Hsiao. Tzu-she says, 'This spring, duke Hsiao of Ke died, and the widow of [duke] Taou of Tsin went into mourning for him (She was his sister). Duke Ping, however, did not discontinue his usual music;—which was contrary to propriety. The rules of propriety require that such music should be intermitted on [the death of the ruler of] a neighbouring State.

Par. 3. For 異我 Kung and Kuh have 鼻我. We are to suppose that Pe-go was a partisan of Shoo-k'e of xz. 3, and came to Loo in the same way that the other had done.

Par. 5, 6. For the circumstances in which the prince Hwang had fled to Ts'oo see the Chuen on xz. 6. The Chuen here says:—'The marquis of Ch'in went to [the court of] Ts'oo, when the Kung-tze Hwang accused the two K'ing to Ts'oo, the people of which summoned them to it. [Instead of going themselves], they sent K'ing Loh, who was put to death. The K'ing clan upon this held the capital of Ch'in in revolt. In summer, K'eh Kien (the Anagawa of Ts'oo; see the Chuen on p. 6 of last year) went with the marquis of Ch'in, and laid siege to it. The people were then repairing the wall, and one of the frame-planks falling down, [the K'ing] put the builder to death. The workmen then agreed together that they should

kill their overseers, and proceeded to put to death K'ing Hoo and K'ing Yin. The people of Ts'oo re-instated the Kung-tze Hwang. The superior man will pronounce that the K'ing acted unrighteously, and that such a course cannot be indulged in [with safety]. As it is said in the Shoo (V. ix. 23), 'The [favour] of Heaven is not constant.'

The death of the two K'ing serves to illustrate the latitude with which the statements of a State putting its officers to death may be interpreted. Confucius' text in itself gives no intimation of the real nature of the transaction here. Too Yu contends that the 及 is a mere connective, and must have no stress laid upon it. Acc. to a canon on the use of the conjunction, K'ing Hoo would be the proper criminal, involving Yin in the consequences of his guilt. But acc. to the Chuen here and xz. 6, they were equally criminal. Like all the other similar canons, this breaks down here and in other places. Comp. e.g. VI. ix. 7.

Par. 7. Lwan Ying, it will be remembered, had found shelter in Tze;—see the Chuen introduced at par. 3 of last year.

The Chuen says:—'[The marquis of] Tsin being about to marry one of his daughters to [the viscount of] Woo, the marquis of Tze ordered Seth Kwei-foo to escort the appointed ladies of his house to accompany her, taking the opportunity to place Lwan Ying and his followers in enclosed carriages, and to convey



them to K'uh-yuh. Ying had an interview at night with [the commandant of that city] Sen Woo, and told him [his plans]. "The thing," said Woo, "is impracticable. Who can raise up him whom Heaven is overthrowing? You are sure to perish [in this attempt]. I do not grudge death [in your cause], but I know the enterprise will not succeed." Ying replied, "Granted, but if through your help I go to my death, I will not regret it. I may not have Heaven on my side, but you will be free from blame." Sen Woo agreed to his request, and, having concealed him, invited the [principal] men of K'uh-yuh to a banquet. When the music struck up, he said to them, "If now we had got here the young Lwan, what would you do?" "If we had our lord here," they replied, "we should think dying for him to be no death." With this all sighed, and some wept. As the cup went round, he put the same question again, and they all said, "Only give us our lord, and there will be no swerving from our purpose." On this Ying came forward, and saluted them all round.

In the 4th month, Ying led on the men-at-arms from K'uh-yuh, and, depending on the help of Wei Hsien-tze, entered K'ang in the day time. Before this, Ying had been assistant-commander of the 3d army under Wei Chwang-tze. In consequence of this, Hsien-tze (Son of Chwang-tze) was secretly attached to Ying, and the latter depended on his help. But the Chao clan were hostile to the Lwan, because of the misfortunes of [the lords of] Yen and Ping (See the Chuan on VIII. viii. 6). The clans of Han and Chao [likewise] were now on friendly terms. The Chung-hung clan were hostile to the Lwan, because of what had occurred in the invasion of Tsin (see on xiv. 3); and Cho Ch'ou-tze being young, his family was guided by the Chung-hung. Ch'ing Ch'ing was a favourite of the duke; and thus it was that only the Head of the Wei clan and the superintendent of the duke's carriages favoured Lwan Ying.

Yoh Wang-foo was sitting with Fan Seuen-tze, when word was brought to them that Ying had arrived. Seuen-tze was afraid, but Hwan-tze (Wang-foo) said to him, "Quickly support the marquis into the strong palace, and no harm will be sustained. The Lwan have many enemies; and the government is in your hands. Lwan Ying has come from without, and you are in your place;—your advantages are many. Since you have such advantages and the power, and hold moreover the handle of the people, what have you to fear? And has Ying any friends but the chief of the Wei clan, whom you may take by force? Disorder is to be repressed by prompt action for the exigency;—do not you be remiss [in taking it]."

As they were in mourning at the duke's for their relative (the mar of Ke), Wang-foo made Seuen-tze put on mourning clothes and head-band all blackened, and he pushed along in a lady's barrow by two females, and in this guise go to the duke, with whom he then proceeded to the strong palace.

[At the same time], Fan Yang went to meet Wei Shoo, whom he found with his carriages all drawn up and yoked, about to go to meet Lwan Ying. Hurrying forward, Yang said to him, "Lwan Ying with a body of rebels has en-

tered the city. My father and the great officers are all at the ruler's, and have sent me to meet you. Allow me to take the third place in your carriage and to hold the strap." With this, he sprang into the carriage, brandishing his sword in his right hand, and with his left hand holding the strap, while he ordered them to gallop along. As they issued from the gate, the driver asked where he should go to. "To the duke's," cried Yang. Seuen-tze met Wei Shoo at the steps, took him by the hand, and promised him K'uh-yuh.

[Seuen-tze] had a slave Fei P'ao, one of those entered in the red book (Book of criminals). The strongest of Lwan Ying's followers was Tuh Jung, of whom all the people were afraid. Fei P'ao said to Seuen-tze, "If you will burn the red book, I will kill Tuh Jung." Seuen-tze joyfully said to him, "I swear by the sun, that if you kill Tuh Jung, I will beg our ruler to burn it." Accordingly he sent P'ao forth, and shut the gate behind him. Tuh Jung came to pursue him, and P'ao waited for him, concealed behind a low wall. Then, when Jung had jumped over it, P'ao killed him with a blow from behind.

The followers of Fan were all behind the tower, and the Lwan swarmed up to the duke's gate. "The arrows reach the ruler's house," said Seuen-tze to Yang: "do your utmost, though you die." Yang led on his men with his sword drawn, and the Lwan withdrew. He was then pursuing them in his father's chariot, as if he were the commander-in-chief, when he was met by Lwan Loh. "Get out of my way," [cried Yang], "O Loh. Though I die, I will dispute with you in heaven." Loh discharged an arrow at him, and missed; and when he had got another on the string, his carriage was overturned by the root of a cassia-tree, when some one drew him from underneath with the hook of his spear, and out of his arms, so that he died. Lwan Yang was wounded, and Ying fled to K'uh-yuh, where the troops of Tsin laid siege to him.

Of the two statements in the text, that 'Ying entered Tsin again, and entered K'uh-yuh,' the second is to be understood of Ying's retreating to K'uh-yuh, after his attempt upon the capital of the State was defeated. Kung-yang is in error, as the K'ang-he editors point out, in referring it to Ying's first entrance into K'uh-yuh, and then advancing from it to the capital.

The use of 入 is somewhat peculiar. Maou says:—入 is used instead of 叛 (rebelled), because in the first instance he entered and then rebelled,—he had not rebelled before he entered; and in the second instance, he entered after he had rebelled,—he did not enter, and then held the city in rebellion! He compares xx. 7 and VIII. xviii. 5.

Par. 8. The K'ang-he editors remark that the invasion of Tsin by Tze, following here the account of Lwan Ying's attempt, makes it plain that Ying had been aided and instigated by Tze; but it is from the Chuan and not from the text that we learn this. Wei had attacked Tze at the command of Tsin in the 19th year, and the marquis would now first wreak his vengeance on it. The invasion of Tsin being so much the greater undertaking, the critics heal-



tate, needlessly, it seems to me, to apply here the usual canon as to the significance of 道.

The Chuen says:—<sup>1</sup>In autumn, the marquis of Ts'ao invaded Wei. The van of the army was commanded by Wang-sun Hwuy, with Kih Yung as charioteer, and Shao Yang as spearman. The next column was commanded by Ken Hsing, with Ch'ing Ch'ih as charioteer, and Foo-che, [son] of Shin S'iao-yu, as spearman. [In the centre], Ts'ao K'uei was charioteer to the marquis, and Gau Foo-jung was spearman. The supporting force was commanded by Hing Kung, with Shang Cho-ting as charioteer, and Lao P'oo-kwei as spearman. In the left wing, S'iao P'ei commanded, with Laon Ching as charioteer and Ling Kuei-soo as spearman; in the right, How Chao, with Shang Tse-ken as charioteer, and Hwan T'ao as spearman. The army of the rear was commanded by Hsia Cho-yu-k'ow with Shang Tse-yu as charioteer, and Ts'uy Joo as spearman, Chui-yung Che-yueh being in the same chariot.

<sup>2</sup>The intention being to go on from Wei to attack Ts'ao, Gan Ping-chung said, "The marquis means, in the confidence of his courage and strength, to attack the president of covanants. It will be well for the State if he do not succeed. If there be success without virtue, grief will [soon] come to him." Ts'uy Ch'oo remonstrated with the marquis, saying, "Do not [invade Ts'ao]. I have heard that when a small State takes advantage of the troubles of a great one to do it further injury, it is sure to have to bear the blame. Let your lordship consider it." But remonstrance was of no use.

<sup>3</sup>[After this] Ch'iu Wan-tse saw Ts'uy Woo-tse and said to him, "What is to be done with reference to our ruler?" "I remonstrated with him," was the reply, "and he would not listen to me. If we are all brought to straits by his taking advantage of the [present] distress of the president of covanants, what difficulty will there be in dealing with him? Forbear saying anything for the present." Wan-tse retired, and said to his people, "Shall Ts'uy-tse die peacefully? He speaks of the marquis's conduct as very bad; and his own will go beyond it. He will not have a peaceful death. When a man condemns his ruler in a righteous way, he still does so to his own damage; how much more must he do so, when he has wickedness in his mind!"

<sup>4</sup>The marquis accordingly invaded Ts'ao, and took Chao-ko. He then divided his forces into two bodies; entered the pass of Mang; ascended the hill of T'ao-hang; formed an entrenched camp at Yung-ying; placed garrisons in Pe and Shao; raised a mound at Shao-shwuy—all in retaliation for the affair at Ping-yin (See on xviii. 3). He then withdrew, and was pursued by Chao Shing with the troops of Tung-yang, when Gan Le was taken prisoner.

Par. 9. 齊雍榆 Kang and Kih have

雍榆 The place belonged to Ts'ao, and was 12½ southwest from the pres. dia. city of Sena (濰縣), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. T'ao-che says that the action of the commander was 'proper.' Why it should be 'proper' to halt, it is difficult to understand, though it was no doubt proper in Loo to send an expedition to the relief

of Ts'ao. Kung-yang and Ying-tah think the halting was to get orders from the marquis of Ts'ao; while the K'ang-ho editors condemn it as an evidence of weakness. But see the reference to the expedition in the 國語 II. iii. art. 7.

Par. 10, 11. It will be found from the Chuen that there was a connection between these two events:—<sup>1</sup>Ke Woo-tse had no son by his wife proper. Of [his other sons], Kung-wel was the eldest, but he loved Ts'ao-tse, and wished to make him his successor. Consulting Shin Fung on the subject, he said to him, "I love both Mei and Hsih (Ts'ao-tse), but I wish to select the abler of the two, and make him my successor." Shin Fung hurried away home, and intended to leave the State with all his family. Another day he consulted him again, and Fung replied, "If it must be so, I will get my carriage ready and leave the State"; upon which he desisted from his purpose. Consulting Tsang Heih about it, however, that minister said, "Invite me to drink with you, and I will appoint him for you." Accordingly Ke gave a feast to all the great officers, with Tsang Heih as the principal guest. When he had sent the pledge cup round, Tsang-sun ordered two mats to be placed in the northern part of the hall. He then took a new cup, and washed it, called for Ts'ao-tse, and went down the steps to meet him, while the great officers all rose up. When the general cup was going round, he also called for Kung-t'oo (Kung-wel), and made him take a place after Ts'ao-tse. Ke-sun lost colour [on seeing what was done].

<sup>2</sup>[After this], Woo-tse appointed Kung-t'oo to be the superintendent of his stud, but he was indignant, and would not come forth. Min Tse-sun visited the young man, and said to him, "You ought not to behave so. Happiness and misery have no gate by which they must enter; each man calls the one or the other for himself. A son should be distressed lest he should not be filial, and not about his proper place. Reverence and honour your father's command; what invariableness attaches [to the order of succession]? If you maintain your filial reverence, you may become twice as rich as the Head of the Ke family; but if you play a villainous and lawless part, your misery may be double that of one of the lowest of the people." Kung-t'oo took this advice, showing a reverent obedience to his father early and late, and assiduously filled his office. Ke-sun was delighted, and made himself be invited by him to a feast to which he went, carrying with him all the apparatus for it and leaving it there. In this way Kung-t'oo became rich, and [by-and-by] he went forth, and became administrator of the Left to the duke.

<sup>3</sup>Mang-sun hated Tsang-sun, and Ke-sun liked him. Mang-sun's charioteer, Ts'ow Fung-t'ien liked [his master's son] K'ieh, and said to him, "If you will follow my advice, you will become your father's successor." After he had urged this several times, K'ieh agreed to it; and when Chwang-tse was ill, Fung-t'ien said to Kung-t'oo, "If you will secure the succession of K'ieh, I will be an enemy to Tsang-sun." Kung-t'oo then said to his father, "Yu-tse Ch'ih (the elder brother of K'ieh) ought indeed to succeed to his father, but if we raise K'ieh to the place, we shall truly show ourselves stronger than Tsang-sun." Ke-sun gave him no reply; and



on Ke-mang, when Máng-sun died, Kung-t'ao took K'eh, and placed him at the side of the door (in the chief mourner's place). Ke-sun came to the house, entered the apartment, and wept. When he was going out, he said, "Where is Ch'ih?" Kung-t'ao replied, "K'eh is here." "But Ch'ih is the elder," said Ke-sun. "What have we to do with the elder?" was the reply. "We only require the abler. And his father so commanded," K'eh was thereupon declared successor to Máng Chwang-tse, and Ch'ih fled to Choo.

When Tsang-sun entered the apartment [of the dead], he wept very sore, with many tears. When he went out, his charioteer said to him, "Máng-sun hated you, and yet you thus lament him. If Ke-sun were to die, how would you bear it?" Tsang-sun answered him, "The love of Ke-sun produced in me a feverish eruption. The hatred of Máng-sun was like a medical stone to me. The good eruption was not so beneficial as the painful stone, which brought me to life again, while the eruption increased its venom more and more. Now that Máng-sun is dead, my exile is not distant." The [new] Head of the Máng family then shut his gate, and sent word to Ke-sun that Tsang-sun was about to raise a disturbance, and would not allow him to bury his father. Ke-sun did not believe it; but when Tsang-sun heard it, he took precautionary measures. In winter, in the 10th month, Máng-sun was about to prepare the grave, and borrowed labourers from Tsang-sun, who ordered the superintendent of them to render his assistance; and when they were clearing the road at the east gate, he went himself with some men-at-arms to see them. Máng-sun sent also information of this to Ke-sun, who was angry, and gave orders to attack Tsang. In consequence, on Yih-hae, Tsang Heih cut down the barrier at the Luh gate, made his escape, and fled to Choo.

[Heih's father], Tsang Seuen-shuh had married a lady of Choo, who bore to him K'ea and Wei, and then died. He then raised to her place her niece, (who had come with her to the harem),—a daughter of the younger sister of Muh-k'ang (The mother of duke Ch'ing). This lady bore Heih, who grew up in the duke's palace, and being the object of the duchess K'ang's love, he was made successor to his father. When that took place, his [half-] brothers K'ea and Wei left the State and lived in Choo. Woo-chung [now] sent word from Choo to K'ea of what had befallen him, and sent him a large tortoise, saying, "Through my want of ability, I have lost the charge of our ancestral temple, and I venture to tell you of my pitiable case. My offence, however, is not of a character that should lead to the extinction of our sacrifices. Do you present to the duke this large tortoise, and ask to be permitted to continue them;—and it may be granted." K'ea replied, "What has happened is the misfortune of our family, and not through any fault of yours. I have received your commands." He then bowed twice, and received the tortoise, which he entrusted to [his brother] Wei to present with the request which had been suggested. But Wei preferred the request in his own behalf. Tsang-sun went to Fang (the city of the Tsang clan), and sent a message from it to the duke, saying, "It was not in my power to do any harm;—it was my

wisdom which failed me (Referring to his going with the men-at-arms to see the workmen). I do not presume to make any request for myself. But if you allow the maintenance of the sacrifices to my ancestors, and do not forget the merits of my two predecessors, shall I not leave this city?" Upon this Tsang Wei was made Head of the family;—and Tsang Heih surrendered Fang, and fled to T'e. Some of his people said to him, "Will they make a covenant with reference to us?" "They have nothing to allege in doing so," said Heih. It was determined, however, to do so, and Ke-sun called the historiographer of the Exterior, and asked him how, in dealing with the case of a guilty minister, the covenant should be headed. The historiographer replied, "In the covenant about the minister Tung-mun, it was said, 'Let no one act like Tung-mun Suy, who disregarded the order of the duke, putting to death the rightful heir, and taking the son of a concubine in his place.' In the covenant about the minister Shuh-sun, it was said, 'Let no one act like Shuh-sun K'iaon-joo, who wished to set aside the regular order of the State, and overthrow our dual House.' Ke-sun said, 'The guilt of Tsang-sun is not equal to that of either of these.' Máng Ts'ao suggested that the covenant should be grounded on his violence to the gate in breaking down the barrier. Ke-sun adopted the suggestion, and the covenant ran,—'Let no one act like Tsang-sun Heih, who violated the rules of the State, and broke through the gate, cutting down the barrier.' When Tsang-sun heard these terms, he said, 'There is a man in the State. Who was it? Was it not Máng Ts'ao?'"

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—The people of Tsin reduced K'uh-yuh, and took Lwan Ying, when they put to death all the members and the partisans of the Lwan clan, Lwan Fang making his escape, and flying to Sung. In the text there is no mention of Ying's being "a great officer of Tsin," because he had come [against it] from another State. Comp. the account of the death of L'ang Seuen in xxx. 7.

Par. 13. The Chuen says:—When the marquis of T'e returned from Tsin, without entering [his capital], he fell on K'eu by surprise, and attacked the gate of Tseu-yn. A wound in the thigh obliged him to retire; but next day he resolved to renew the fight, and fixed on Show-shoo as the place of engagement. [In the meantime] Ke Chih and Hwa Seuen passed during the night in their armour through a defile near Tseu-yn, and reached the suburbs of the capital city. Next day, before the marquis, they met with the viscount of K'eu at P'oo-how-shu, who offered them large bribes to induce them not to fight to the death, and begged them to make a covenant with him. Hwa Chow (Hwa Seuen) replied, "If, buying your bribes, we should cast away our orders, your lordship would hate us. If before mid-day we could forget the orders which we received at dawn, wherewith should we serve any ruler?" On this the viscount himself



beat the drum, and urged on his men to attack them, when Ke Liang (Ke Chih) was taken prisoner. After this the people of Keu made submission.

'When the marquis of Ts'e was returning home, he met the wife of Ke Liang in the suburbs, and sent an officer to present to her his condolences. But she declined them, saying, "If Chih committed any offence, why should you condescend to send me any message? If he escaped committing any offence, there is the cottage of his father. I cannot listen to any condolences in the fields." The marquis then sent his condolences to her house.'

[We have here a narrative about Tsang-sun Heih in Ts'e.—The marquis of Ts'e was intending to make a grant of lands to Tsang-sun Heih, when at an audience which Heih had with him, he spoke with him about his invasion of Tsin. Heih replied, "You say you accomplished much, and

but it be so; but your lordship was like a rat. Now a rat lies hid in the day-time, and moves about at night. It does not have its holes in bed-chambers nor in ancestral temples:—from its fear of men. Now your lordship heard of the troubles in Tsin, and began your movements. If it had been quiet, you would have served it. If you were not a rat in this, what were you?"

'After this, the marquis did not give him any lands. Chung-ne said, "It is hard to be wise. There was the wise Tsang Woo-chung, and yet he was not allowed to remain in Loo. And there was reason for it. He did what was not accordant with right, and did not act on the principle of reciprocity. One of the Books of Hsü (Shoo II. ii. 10) says, 'When you think of anything, be found yourself in that thing,' meaning that one's conduct should be accordant with right, and his actions on the principle of reciprocity."']

*Twenty-fourth year.*

叔孫豹如京師。	公至自會。	冬楚子蔡侯陳侯許男伐鄭。	滕子薛伯杞伯小邾子于夷儀。	侯宋公衛侯鄭伯曹伯莒子邾子。	八月癸巳朔日有食之。	齊崔杼帥師伐莒。	秋七月甲子朔日有食之。	仲孫羯帥師侵齊。	二十有四年春叔孫豹如晉。
大饑。	陳鍼宜咎出奔楚。					大水。	夏楚子伐吳。		
					公會晉。				



左傳曰二十四年春，穆叔如晉，范宣子逆之，問焉，曰：「古人有言曰：『死而不朽，何謂也？』」穆叔未對。宣子曰：「昔句之祖，自虞以上爲陶唐氏，在夏爲御龍氏，在商爲豕韋氏，在周爲唐杜氏，晉主夏盟爲范氏，其是之謂乎？」穆叔曰：「以豹所聞，此之謂世祿，非不朽也。魯有先大夫曰臧文仲，既沒，其言立，其是之謂乎？」豹聞之，大上有立德，其次有立功，其次有立言，雖久不廢，此之謂不朽。若夫保姓受氏，以守宗祏，世不絕祀，無國無之，祿之大者，不可謂不朽。」

○范宣子爲政，諸侯之幣重，鄭人病之。二月，鄭伯如晉，子產寓書於子西，以告宣子曰：「子爲晉國，四鄰諸侯，不聞令德，而聞重幣，僑也惑之。僑聞君子長國家者，非無賄之患，而無令名之難。夫諸侯之賄，聚於公室，則諸侯貳；若吾子賴之，則晉國貳。諸侯貳，則晉國壞；晉國壞，則子之家壞。何沒沒也！將焉用賄？夫令名，德之興也。德，國家之基也。有基無壞，無亦是務乎？有德則樂，樂則能久。詩云：『樂只君子，邦家之基。』有令德也夫！上帝臨汝，無貳爾心。有令名也夫！恕思以明德，則令名載而行之，是以遠至邇安。毋寧使人謂子，子實生我，而謂子浚我以生乎？象有齒以焚其身，賄也。宣子說，乃輕幣，是行也。鄭伯朝晉，爲重幣故，且請伐陳也。鄭伯稽首，宣子辭，子西相曰：『以陳國之介恃大國，而陵虐於敝邑，寡君是以請罪焉，敢不稽首。』」

孟孝伯侵齊，晉故也。

夏，楚子爲舟師以伐吳，不爲軍政，無功而還。

齊侯既伐晉而懼，將欲見楚子。楚子使薳啟疆如齊聘，且請期。齊社蒐軍實，使客觀之。陳文子曰：「齊將有寇，吾聞之，兵不戢，必取其族。」秋，齊侯聞將有晉師，使陳無宇從薳啟疆如楚辭，且乞師。崔杼帥師送之，遂伐莒，侵介根。會于夷儀，將以伐齊，水不克。



冬，楚子伐鄭以救齊，門於東門，次於棘澤。諸侯還救鄭，晉侯使張骼、輔  
驪致楚師，求御於鄭。鄭人卜宛射犬，吉。子大叔戒之曰：「大國之人，不可  
與也。」對曰：「無有衆寡，其上一也。」大叔曰：「不然。」郤襄無柰，栢二子在幄，坐  
射犬於外，既食而後食之，使御廣車而行，已皆乘乘車，將及楚師，而後  
從之。乘皆踞轉而鼓琴，近不告而馳之，皆取冑於囊而冑入，壘皆下，搏  
人以投，收禽挾囚，弗待而出，皆超乘，抽弓而射，既免，復踞轉而鼓琴。曰：「公  
孫同乘，兄弟也，胡再不謀？」對曰：「曩者志入而已，今則怯也。」皆笑曰：「公  
孫之亟也。」楚子自棘澤還，使薳啟疆帥師送陳無宇。吳人爲楚舟師之  
役故，召舒鳩人。舒鳩人叛楚，楚子師於荒浦，使沈尹筮與師祁犁讓之。  
舒鳩子敬逆二子，而告無之，且請受盟。二子復命，王欲伐之。薳子曰：「不  
可，彼告不叛，且請受盟，而又伐之，伐無罪也。」姑歸息民，以待其卒。卒而  
不貳，吾又何求？若猶叛我，無辭有庸，乃還。

陳人復討慶氏之黨，鍼宜咎出奔楚。

齊人城邾，穆叔如周聘，且賀城。王嘉其有禮也，賜之大路。

晉侯嬖程鄭，使佐下軍。鄭行人公孫揮如晉聘，程鄭問焉，曰：「敢問降  
階何由？」子羽不能對，歸以語。然明曰：「是將死矣，不然將亡，貴而知  
懼，懼而思降，乃得其階，下人而已。又何問焉？且夫既登而求降，階者，知  
人也，不在程鄭，其有亡費乎？不然，其有惑疾，將死而憂也。」

- XXIV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, Shuh-sun P'aou went to Tsin.
- 2 Chung-sun K'eh led a force and made an incursion into Ts'e.
- 3 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Woo.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on K'eh-tze, the first day of the moon, the sun was completely eclipsed.
- 5 Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu.
- 6 There were great floods.
- 7 In the eighth month, on Kwei-sze, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 8 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in E-e.



- 9 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ue and Oh'in, and the baron of Heu, invaded Ch'ing.
- 10 The duke arrived from the meeting [at E-e].
- 11 K'ëen E-k'ew of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 12 Shuh-sun P'au went to the capital.
- 13 There was a great famine.

Par. 1. The object of this was probably, as Too says, to congratulate the marquis of Tsin on the quelling of the Lwan revolt. The Chuen says, "When Muh-shuh (P'au) went to Tsin, Fan Sên-tse met him, and asked the meaning of the saying of the ancients, "They died but suffered no decay," and, before he had replied, went on to say, "Anciently, the ancestor of the Sên, anterior to the time of Yu (Shun), was the prince of Taou and T'ang (Yao; see on the Shoo, III. iii. 7). In the time of Hsü, their ancestors were the Yu-lung (see the Chuen after X. xix. 4). In the time of Shang, they were the [lords of] Ch'e-wel. In the beginning of Chow, they were the [lords of] T'ang and Too. When Tsin obtained the presidency of covenants, we became the [lords of] Fan.—Is this what is meant by the saying?" Muh-shuh said, "According to what I have heard, this is what is called 'hereditary dignity,' but it is not that 'not decaying.' There was a former great officer of Loo, called Tsang Wan-chung, the excellence of whose words was acknowledged after his death. This may be what the saying intended. I have heard that the highest meaning of it is when there is established [an example of] virtue; the second, when there is established [an example of] successful service; and the third, when there is established [an example of wise] speech. When these examples are not forgotten with length of time, this is what is meant by the saying—"They do not decay." As to the preservation of the surname and the giving off clan branches, by which the ancestral temples are preserved, and the sacrifices continued without interruption from age to age, where is the State in which we have not that? The preservation of the greatest dignity cannot be called that freedom from decay."

[There follows here the following narrative:—  
"Fan Sên-tse was chief minister of Tsin, and the offerings required from the different States became [constantly] more heavy, so that the people of Ch'ing were distressed about it. In the 2d month [of this year], the earl of Ch'ing was going to Tsin, and Tze-ch'ian entrusted to Tze-ss a letter for Fan Sên-tse, in which he said, "The administration of the government of Tsin is in your hands. The neighbouring States all about do not hear of any display of admirable virtue, but they hear of the great offerings which are required from them;—and this perplexes me. I have heard that to a superior man presiding over a State there is no trouble about the want of gifts, but his difficulty is lest he should not be obtaining a good name.

"Now, when the offerings of the different princes are largely accumulated in your duke's house, these princes will become alienated from him. And if you, my master, put your confidence in these things, the State of Tsin will become alienated from you. If the States be-

come alienated from it, Tsin will go to ruin, and if Tsin become alienated from you, your family will go to ruin. In what a fatal course are you proceeding! Of what use would the gifts be then?"

"A good name is the carriage in which virtue is conveyed about; and virtue is the [sure] foundation of a State. When there is a foundation, there is no crumbling to ruin;—is not this then of paramount importance? With virtue there is joyful satisfaction, a satisfaction that is permanent. The ode (She, II. ii. ode VII. 1) says,

'Objects of joyful complacency are these officers,  
The foundations of my State;

—with reference to the effect of admirable virtue. [And another ode (She, III. i. ode I. 7) says],

'God is with you,  
Have no doubts in your heart;'

—with reference to the effect of a good name. Strive with all your heart to make your virtue illustrious, and a good name will then carry the fame of it abroad; and in this way the remote will come to you and the near will repose in you. Had you not better cause men to say of you that you nourish them, than to say that you take from them to nourish yourself? The elephant has tusks to the destruction of its body;—because of their use as gifts." Sên-tse was pleased, and made the offerings [required from the States] lighter.

"On this visit, the earl of Ch'ing appeared at the court of Tsin, on account of the great offerings which were required, and to ask leave to invade Ch'in. He bowed with his head to the ground [before the marquis], and when Sên-tse wished to decline such an act of homage, Tze-ss, who was in attendance on the earl, said, "Through its reliance on the great State [of Ts'oo], Ch'in exercises an insolent oppression of our poor State. On this account our ruler asks leave to call it to account for the offence;—how dare he but bow his head to the earth?"

Par. 2. The appointment of K'ieh to be successor to his father as a minister of Loo and head of the Chung-sun clan, is given in the Chuen on par. 10 of last year. He is known as Mäng Hsiao-phü (孟孝伯). Tze-ss observes that the incursion in the text was made in behalf of Tsin. Kung-yang gives his name as 羯 羯 and 偁.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Woo with a naval squadron; but through the neglect of the rules of war, it returned without accomplishing anything."



Par. 4, 7. The former of these eclipses is correctly recorded. It took place, and was total, about 1 h. 15 m. p. m., on June 12th, B.C. 548. The record of the second is a mistake, for which we cannot account any more than for the similar mistake in xxi. 6.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"The marquis of Ts'e being under apprehension because of his invasion of Tsin, wished to have an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo, who sent Wei K'e-k'ang to Ts'e on a friendly visit, and to be informed as to the time of meeting. The marquis was sacrificing at the altar of the land, and inspected his munitions of war, that the visitor might see them. This made Ch'in Wan-tse remark that there would soon be rebellion in Ts'e. "I have heard," said he, "that when weapons are not kept in their place, a prince will bring his own clans against himself."

"In autumn, having heard that Tsin was contemplating an expedition against him, the marquis sent Ch'in Woo-yu after Wei K'e-k'ang to Ts'oo, to put off the meeting, and to beg the assistance of an army. Ts'uy Ch'oo escorted him with a force, and took the opportunity to invade Keu, making an incursion to K'iao-kin."

It was stated in the Chuen on the last par. of last year that Keu and Ts'e had made peace. We have here another instance of the little value of truces between the States of those days.

Par. 6. See II. i. 5, et al. From the Chuen on next par. it appears that this flood extended beyond Loo.

Par. 8. E-e,—see on V. i. 3; and III. xxxii. 7. "This meeting," says Tso, "was with the intention of attacking Ts'e; but in consequence of the floods, the purpose was not carried out." Here, as always, instead of 夷儀, Kung-yang has 陳儀. Recent critics are severe on Tso, for throwing the failure of this meeting on "the floods;" and what is said in the Chuen on the next par. gives some colour to their strictures.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo invaded Ch'ing, in order to relieve Ts'e, and attacked the eastern gate of its capital. He then halted as the marquis of Keih, while the States returned (from E-e) to relieve Ch'ing. The marquis of Tsin ordered Chang Loh and Foo Leih to float the army of Ts'oo, when they begged Ch'ing to supply them with a charioteer. The people of Ch'ing consulted the tortoise-shell about the matter, and it was indicated that the appointment of Yuen Shih-k'ueu would be fortunate. Tse-tse-shuh admonished him that he should not put himself on an equality with the officers of the great State; but he replied, "Whether they belong to a populous State or a small one, those above me are of the same degree." "Not so," said Tse-shuh. "Small hillocks have no fir trees nor cypresses on them."

"The two officers sat in their tent, while Yuen Shih-k'ueu waited outside. They took their food first, and then gave to him. They made him precede them in a wide war-chariot, while they followed in an easy one. It was not till they approached the army of Ts'oo that they entered his carriage, and then they squatted on a cross board at the back, playing a couple of lutes. When they came quite near, Yuen dashed on without telling them. They took their helmets from the bowcase and put them on;

and when they entered the entrenchments, they descended from the carriage, seized each a man and dashed him to the ground, seized each another, and carried him off under his arm. The chariot had drawn off out of the entrenchments, without waiting for them; but they sprang into it, took their bows, and began shooting. When they had got off, they resumed their squatting, playing upon their lutes. "Kung-sun," said they [to their charioteer], "being in the same carriage, we are brothers; why did you act twice without consulting us?" "The first time," he replied, "I was thinking of nothing but entering [the camp]; just now I was afraid." What a hasty temper Kung-sun has!" responded they, laughing.

"The viscount of Ts'oo withdrew from the marsh of Keih and returned, when he sent Wei K'e-k'ang with a force to escort Ch'in Woo-yu [to Ts'oo].

"The people of Woo, in consequence of the naval attack on them by Ts'oo (par. 3), invited the people of Shoo-k'ew to join them, and they agreed to revolt from Ts'oo. The viscount was then with his army in Hwang-p'oo, and sent Shou, commandant of Shio, and Sze K'e-le to reprove them. The viscount of Shoo-k'ew met the two officers reverently, and assured them there was no such thing, requesting also to be allowed a covenant. When they returned with this report to the king, he [still] wanted to attack the place; but Wei-tse said, "No. They say they are not revolting, and they ask us to impose a covenant on them. If you now go on to attack them, you are attacking the guiltless. Let us return for a time, and give the people rest, to wait for the issue. If the issue be that they show no disaffection, we have nothing more to ask of them. If after all they do revolt, they will have no excuse, and we can take successful action." Accordingly [the army of Ts'oo] returned."

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ch'in were taking further measures against the partisans of the King (See xxiii. 5); and K'ien E-k'ew fled from it to Ts'oo."

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—"The people of Ts'e had [for the king] rebuilt the wall of K'eah (The K'eah-jun of the Chuen on VII. iii. 4). Muh-shuh went to Chow on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to congratulate the court on the rebuilding of the wall. The king admired his courteous deportment, and gave him a great carriage."

The floods mentioned in par. 6 had extended to the capital, and the wall of the king's city had been thrown down. Ts'e had rebuilt it, wishing, in its differences with Tsin, to conciliate the king's favour. The critics observe that this was the first mission which S'ang had sent to the court, though he had been 5 times to Tsin, since his accession, and been 13 times present at meetings of the States.

Par. 13. There was a 饑 twice in the time of duke S'uen;—see VII. x. 13, xv. 10. Here we have the record of a great 旱. K'uh-k'ang says here:—"When one of the [five] grains does not ripen, there is said to be a 旱 (旱, a deficiency); when two, a 旱 (旱); when three, a 旱 (旱); when four, a 旱 (旱); when the







左傳曰：二十五年春，齊崔杼帥師伐我北鄙，以報孝伯之師也。公患之，使告於晉。孟公綽曰：崔子將有大志，不在病我，必速歸。何患焉？其來也不寇，使民不嚴，異於他日。齊師徒歸。

齊棠公之妻，東郭偃之姊也。東郭偃，臣崔武子。棠公死，偃御武子以弔焉。見棠姜而美之，使偃取之。偃曰：男女辨姓，今君出自丁，臣出自桓，不可。武子憖之，遇困之大過。史皆曰：吉。示陳文子。文子曰：夫從風，風隕，妻不可娶也。且其繇曰：困于石，據于蒺藜，入于其宮，不見其妻，凶。困于石，往不濟也；據于蒺藜，所恃傷也；入于其宮，不見其妻，凶，無所歸也。崔子曰：聲也何害？先夫當之矣。遂取之。莊公通焉，驛如崔氏，以崔子之冠賜人。侍者曰：不可。公曰：不爲崔子，其無冠乎？崔子因是，又以其閒伐晉也。曰：晉必將報，欲弑公以說於晉，而不獲閒，公賴侍人賈舉而又近之，乃爲崔子閒公。夏五月，莒爲且子之役故，莒子朝於齊。甲戌，饗諸北郭。崔子稱疾，不視事。乙亥，公問崔子，遂從姜氏姜入於室，與崔子自側戶出。公樹檣而歌，侍人賈舉止衆從者而入閉門。甲寅，公登臺而請弗許，請盟弗許，請自刃於廟弗許，皆曰：君之臣杼疾病，不能聽命，近於公宮，陪臣干諷有淫者，不知二命。公踰牆，又射之中股，反隊，遂弑之。賈舉州綽、邴師、公孫敖封具，鐸父、襄伊、偃、堙皆死。祝佗父祭於高唐，至，復命，不說。弁而死於崔氏。申蒯侍漁者，退，謂其宰曰：爾以帑免，我將死。其宰曰：免是反子之義也，與之皆死。崔氏殺驪蔑於平陰。晏子立於崔氏之門外，其人曰：死乎？曰：獨吾君也乎哉？吾死也。曰：行乎？曰：吾罪也乎哉？吾亡也。曰：歸乎？曰：君死安歸？君民者，豈以陵民？社稷是主。臣君者，豈爲其口實？社稷是養，故君爲社稷死，則死之；爲社稷亡，則亡之。若爲己死，而爲己亡，非其私讎，誰敢任之？且人有君而弑之，吾焉得死之？而焉得亡之？將庸何歸？門啟而入，枕尸股而哭，興，三踊而出。人謂崔子必殺之。崔子曰：民之望也，舍之得民。盧蒲癸奔晉。王何奔莒。叔孫宣伯之在齊也，叔孫還納其女於靈公，嬖，生景公。丁丑，崔杼立而相之，慶封爲左相，盟國人於大宮。曰：所不與崔、慶者，晏子仰天歎曰：嬰所不唯忠於君利社稷者，是與。有如上帝，乃歆辛巳，公與大夫及莒子盟。大史書曰：崔杼



弑其君，崔子殺之，其弟嗣書而死者二人，其弟又書，乃舍之。南史氏聞犬史盡死，執簡以往，聞既書矣，乃還。閭丘嬰以帷縛其妻而載之，與申鮮虞乘而出，鮮虞推而下之，曰：「君昏，不能匡，危不能救，死不能死，而知匿其暱，其誰納之行及奔中？」將舍，嬰曰：「崔慶，其追我。」鮮虞曰：「一與一，誰能懼我？」遂舍枕轡而寢，食馬而食，駕而行，出奔中，謂嬰曰：「速驅之。」崔慶之衆不可當也，遂來奔。崔氏側莊公於北郭，丁亥，葬諸士孫之里，四鬯不陳，下車七乘，不以兵甲。

晉侯濟自泮，會于夷儀，伐齊，以報朝歌之役。齊人以莊公說，使隰鉏請成，慶封如師，男女以班，賂晉侯以宗器樂器，自六正、五吏、三十帥、三軍之大夫、百官之正長、師旅及處守者，皆有賂。晉侯許之，使叔向告於諸侯，公使子服惠伯對曰：「君舍有罪，以靖小國，君之惠也，寡君聞命矣。」

⑤晉侯使魏舒、宛沒逆衛侯，將使衛與之夷儀，崔子止其帑，以求五鹿。

初，陳侯會楚子伐鄭，富陳隧者并埋木刊，鄭人怨之。六月，鄭子展子產帥車七百乘伐陳，宵突陳城，遂入之。陳侯扶其犬子偃師奔墓，遇司馬桓子曰：「載余。」曰：「將巡城，遇賈獲，載其母妻下之，而授公車。」公曰：「舍而毋辭。」曰：「不祥，與其妻扶其母以奔墓，亦免。」子展命師無入公宮，與子產親御諸門。陳侯使司馬桓子賂以宗器，陳侯免，擁社使其衆男女別而繫，以待於朝。子展執繫而見，再拜稽首，承飲而進獻。子美入，數俘而出，祝祓社，司徒致民，司馬致節，司空致地，乃還。

秋七月，己巳同盟于重丘，齊成故也。

⑥趙文子爲政，令薄諸侯之幣，而重其禮。穆叔見之，謂穆叔曰：「自今以往，兵其少弭矣。」齊崔慶新得政，將求善於諸侯，武也知楚令尹若敬行其禮，道之以文辭，以靖諸侯，兵可以弭。衛獻公入于夷儀。



楚薳子馮卒，屈建爲令尹，屈蕩爲莫敖，舒鳩人卒叛楚，令尹子木伐之，及離城，吳人救之，子木遽以右師先，子馮息桓，子捷，子驤，子孟，帥左師以退，吳人居其間七日，子馮曰：「久將墊隘，隘乃禽也，不如速戰。」請以私卒誘之，簡師，陳以待我，我克則進，奔則亦視之，乃可以免，不然，必爲吳禽，從之。五人以其私卒先擊吳師，吳師奔，登山以望，見楚師不繼，復逐之，傳諸其軍，簡師會之。吳師大敗，遂圍舒鳩，舒鳩潰。八月，楚滅舒鳩。

鄭子產獻捷於晉，戎服將事，晉人問陳之罪，對曰：「昔虞閼父爲周陶正，以服事我先王，我先王賴其利器用也，與其神明之後也，庸以元女大姬配胡公，而封諸陳，以備三恪，則我周之自出，至於今是賴。桓公之亂，蔡人欲立其出，我先君莊公奉五父而立之，蔡人殺之，我又與蔡人奉戴厲公，至於莊宣，皆我之自立。夏氏之亂，成公播蕩，又我之自入，君所知也。今陳忘周之大德，蔑我大惠，棄我姻親，介恃楚衆，馮陵我敝邑，不可億逞。我是以有往年之告，未獲成命，則有我東門之役，當陳隧者，并埋木刊，敝邑大懼不競，而恥大姬，天誘其衷，啟敝邑心，陳知其罪，授手於我，用敢獻功。」晉人曰：「何故侵小？」對曰：「先王之命，唯罪所在，各致其辟，且昔天子之地一圻，列國一同，自是以衰，今大國多數圻矣，若無侵小，何以至焉？」晉人曰：「何故戎服？」對曰：「我先君武莊爲平桓卿士，城濮之役，文公布命曰：『各復舊職。』命我文公戎服輔王，以授楚捷，不敢廢王命故也。士莊伯不能詰，復於趙文子，文子曰：『其辭順，犯順不祥，乃受之。』冬十月，子展相鄭伯如晉，拜陳之功，子西復伐陳，陳及鄭平。仲尼曰：『志有之，言以足志，文以足言，不言誰知其志？言之無文，行而不遠，晉爲伯，鄭入陳，非文辭不爲功，慎辭哉！』」

⑤楚薳掩爲司馬，子木使庀賦，數甲兵，甲午，薳掩書土田，度山林，鳩蘘澤，辨京陵，表淳鹵，數疆潦，規偃豬，町原防，牧隰皋，井衍沃，量入修賦，賦車籍馬，賦車兵徒卒，甲楯之數，旣成，以授子木，禮也。

十二月，吳子諸樊伐楚，以報舟師之役，門于巢，巢牛臣曰：「吳王勇而輕，若啟之，將親門，我獲射之，必殪，是君也死，疆其少安，從之。」吳子門焉，牛臣隱於短牆，以射之，卒。



功也。以與蔣掩。

晉程鄭卒。子產始知然明，問爲政焉。對曰：「視民如子，見不仁者誅之，如鷹鷂之逐鳥雀也。子產喜，以語子大叔。且曰：『他日吾見蔑之面而已。』今吾見其心矣。子大叔問政於子產，子產曰：『政如農功，日夜思之，思其始而成其終，朝夕而行之，行無越思，如農之有畔，其過鮮矣。』」

衛獻公自夷儀，使與甯喜言。甯喜許之。大叔文子聞之，曰：「烏乎！詩所謂我躬不說，皇恤我後者，甯子可謂不恤其後矣。將可乎哉？殆必不可。君子之行，思其終也，思其復也。」書曰：「慎始而敬終，終以不困。」詩曰：「夙夜匪解，以事一人。」今甯子視君不如奕棋，其何以免乎？奕者舉棋不定，不勝其耦，而況置君而弗定乎？必不免矣。九世之卿族，一舉而滅之，可哀也哉！」

會于夷儀之歲，齊人城郊。其五月，秦晉爲成，晉韓起如秦，蒞盟。秦伯車如晉，蒞盟，成而不結。

- XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e led a force and attacked our northern borders.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-hae, Ts'uy Ch'oo of Ts'e murdered his ruler Kwang.  
 3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and Ke, and the viscount of Little Choo, in E-e.  
 4 In the sixth month, on Jin-tsze, Kung-sun Shay-che of Ch'ing led a force, and entered [the capital of] Ch'in.  
 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ke-sze, the States made a covenant together in Ch'ung-k'ew.  
 6 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
 7 The marquis of Wei entered into E-e.  
 8 K'ueh K'een of Ts'oo led a force, and extinguished Shoo-k'ew.  
 9 In winter, Kung-sun H'ea of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Ch'in.  
 10 In the twelfth month, Goh, viscount of Woo, invaded Ts'oo, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Ch'aou.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This was in retaliation for the expedition of Mang Hsiao-pih (See par. 2 of last year). The duke was distressed about it, and [was going to] send information to Tsin, when Mang Kung-ch'oh said to him, "Ts'uy-tse has a greater object in his mind. He is not set on troubling us; he is

sure to return back soon:—why need you be distressed?' His coming this time is without injuring us, and he does not treat the people with severity. It is very different from other invasions." The army of Ts'e returned empty-handed.'



Part 2. The Chuen says:—The wife of the commandant of T'ang of T'ao was an elder sister of Tung-k'woh Yen, who was a minister of T'ao-yu Woo-tze. When the commandant died, Yen drove Woo-tze [to his house] to offer his condolences. Woo-tze then saw T'ang K'ang (The wife of the commandant), and, admiring her beauty, wished Yen to give her to him for his wife. Yen said, "Husband and wife should be of different surnames. You are descended from [duke] Ting, and I from [duke] Hwan; the thing cannot be." Woo-tze consulted the milfoil about it, and got the diagram K'wan (䷋; 困), which then became the diagram

Ta-kwo (䷊; 大過); which the diviners all said was fortunate. He showed it to Chin Wan-tze, but he said, "The [symbol for] a man [in K'wan] is displaced by that for wind [in Ta-kwo]. Wind overthrows things. The woman ought not to be married. And moreover, [upon K'wan] it is said, 'Distressed by rocks; holding to brambles; he enters his palace and does not see his wife. It is evil (see the Yi), on the third line of K'wan.' Distressed by rocks;—in vain does one attempt to go forward. 'Holding by brambles;—that in which trust is placed wounds. 'He enters his palace and does not see his wife; it is evil;—there is nowhere to turn to.' T'ao-yu-tze replied, "She is a widow;—what does all this matter? Her former husband bore the brunt of it." So he married her. Afterwards duke Ch'wang had an intrigue with her, and constantly went to T'ao-yu's house. (On one occasion) he took T'ao-yu's hat and gave it to another person; and when his attendants said that he should not do so, he remarked, "Although he be not T'ao-yu-tze, should he therefore be without a hat?"

T'ao-yu-tze [was enraged] by these things; and because the duke took occasion [of its troubles] to invade T'ao, thinking that T'ao would be sure to retaliate, he wished to murder the duke in order to please that State. He did not, however, find an opportunity, till the duke had whipt one of his attendants, called K'ea K'ea, whom notwithstanding he kept near him. This man then watched the duke for T'ao-yu-tze.

In summer, in the 8th month, on account of the affair at T'ao-yu (See on xxiii. 13) the viscount of K'ea came to the court of T'ao, and on K'ea-kuh the duke entertained him in the north suburbs. T'ao-yu-tze gave out that he was ill, and did not go to see the affair. Next day the duke went to ask for him, and went after the lady K'ang, who entered into a chamber, and passed out of it by a side door along with T'ao-yu-tze, while the duke patted a pillar and sung. (In the meantime), his attendant K'ea K'ea stopped all the duke's followers, entered [the house himself], and shut the door. Men-at-arms made their appearance, and the duke, ascending a tower, begged them to let him off. They would not do so, and he then begged to make a covenant; but neither would they agree to this. He begged [finally] to be allowed to kill himself in the ancestral temple; but they again declined, all saying, "Your lordship's servant Ch'ao is very ill, and cannot receive your commands. And this is near the duke's palace. We are watchmen, [and have to take] an adulterer. We can know nothing of two commands." The duke then attempted to get over a wall, when

they shot and wounded him in the thigh; and as he fell backwards, they murdered him. K'ea K'ea, Chow Ch'oh, Ping Sze, Kang-ang Gao, Pang K'ea, Toh Foo, Seang E, and Lou Yia, all died at the same time.

The priest T'ao-foo had been sacrificing in K'ang-t'ang, and when he came to report the execution of his commission, he was killed at T'ao-yu's house, before he could take off his cap. Shin K'was should have been superintending the fishermen, but he retired [from that duty], and said to his steward, "You can make your escape with your family. I will die [here]." The steward replied, "If I made my escape, I should be acting contrary to your righteous course." So he went with him, and they both died. T'ao-yu-tze also put to death Tsung M'ach in Ping-yin.

Gan-tze stood outside the gate of T'ao-yu's house. His people said to him, "Will you die?" "Was he my ruler only?" replied he. "Why should I die?" "Will you leave then?" "Is his death my crime? Why should I flee?" "Will you [now] go back to your house?" "Our ruler is dead. Where should I go back to? Is it the business of the ruler of the people to merely be above them? The affairs of the State should be his chief care. Is it the business of the minister of a ruler merely to be concerned about his support? The nourishment of the altars should be his object. Therefore when a ruler dies or goes into exile for the altars, the minister should die or go into exile with him. If he die or go into exile for his making his own ends, who, excepting his private associates, would presume to bear the consequences with him? Moreover, when another man murders his ruler, how can I die with him? how can I go into exile with him? of what use would it be for me to return home?" When the gate was opened, he went into the house, pillowed the corpse upon his thigh, and wept. He then rose, gave three leaps up, and went out. People advised T'ao-yu-tze to put him to death, but he said, "The people look up to him. Let him alone, and it will conciliate them."

Loo P'oo-kwei fled to T'ao, and Wang Ho fled to K'ea. After Shuh-sun Shen-pih (Shuh-sun K'iaou-joo; see VIII. xvi. 13) took up his residence in T'ao, Shuh-sun Shen introduced his daughter to duke Ling, with whom she became a favourite, and she bore him a son, [who now became] duke King. On Ting-ch'ow, T'ao-yu Ch'oo raised him to the State, and became his chief minister, K'ang Fung being minister of the Left. They made a covenant with the people of the State in the temple of T'ao-kung, which began, "If we do not adhere to T'ao-yu and King," when Gan-tze looking up to heaven, sighed and broke in with, "If I do not adhere to those who are faithful to the ruler and seek the good of the altars, may God witness it!" With this he smeared his lips with the blood.

On Shu-sun, the [new] duke and the great officers made a covenant with the viscount of K'ea.

The grand historiographer wrote [in his tablets]—"T'ao-yu Ch'oo murdered his ruler;—for which T'ao-yu-tze put him to death. Two of his brothers did the same after him, and were also put to death. A third wrote the same, and was let alone. The historiographer in the south, hearing that the grand historiographer and his bro-



there had died in this way, took his tablets and set out [for the court]; but learning on his way that the record was made, he returned.

'Lea-k'ew Ying wrapped up his wife in a curtain, put her into a carriage, and then got into it with Shih Ssen-yu, and quitted the capital. Ssen-yu pushed the lady out of the carriage, saying [to Ying], "You could not correct the ruler in his blindness, nor save him in his peril, nor die with him in his death, and yet you know how to conceal your wife here:—who will receive you?" Coming to a narrow pass, they thought of resting in it, but Ying said, "Ts'uy and K'ing will be pursuing us!" The other replied, "Here it will be one to one. Who can frighten us?" They rested accordingly, and [Shih] slept with his head upon the reins. [In the morning], he fed their horses and then ate, himself yoked their carriage, and issued from the pass. When they had done so, he said to Ying, "Now urge on the horses to their speed. The multitudes of Ts'uy and K'ing could not [here] be withstood." In this way they came flying to Loo.

'Ts'uy-tze placed the coffin of duke Chwang in the northern suburbs, and on Ting-hao he buried it in the village of Sze-sun. There were [only] 4 palanquins to the carriage; travellers were not warned out of the way; and there were [but] seven inferior carriages in the procession, without any men at arms.'

The K'ang-ho editors speak strongly against the conduct of Gan Ying, as described in the above Chuen, and condemn his principle that, when a ruler dies in pursuing his own selfish ends, only his parasites can be expected to die with him. They would have a blind, unreasoning loyalty override every other consideration of duty.

Par. 3. E-e;—see the 8th par. of last year. The object of this meeting was to arrange for the invasion of Ts'e; but it was prevented in the manner described in the Chuen:—"The marquise of Ts'in crossed the P'wan, and assembled the States at E-s, [intending] to invade Ts'e, in retaliation for the campaign of Chao-ko [See on xliii. 8]. The people of Ts'e, however, wished to please Ts'in by [the death of] duke Chwang, and sent Seih Ts'oo to beg for peace. King Fung [also] went to the army [of Ts'in], with rows of men and women, and bribed the marquise with vessels from the ancestral temple and instruments of music. The six commanders [of Ts'in's armies], with the five [civil] officers and the thirty leaders, the great officers of the three armies, the superintendents of the different departments, and the multitude of officers, and those who had remained at home in charge of the State, all received gifts. The marquise granted peace, and sent Shuh-hsiao to inform the princes that he had done so. The duke [of Loo] sent Tze-fuk Hwuy-pu to reply, "That your lordship thus pardons the guilty, in order to give rest to our small States, is your kindness. I have heard your command."

[The Chuen appends here:—"The marquise of Ts'in sent Wei Shoo and Yuen Mui to meet the marquise of Wei [who was a refugee in Ts'e; see xiv. 4], intending to make Wei give him E-s. Ts'uy-tze, however, detained the marquise's family, as a means of asking for Woo-luh [from Wei]."]

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"Before this, the marquise of Ch'in had joined the viscount of Ts'oo in invading Ch'ing [Par. 9 of last year], when the army of Ch'in had closed up the wells and cut down the trees along the ways by which they passed. The people of Ch'ing resented this conduct; and [now], in the 6th month, Tze-chen and Tze-ch'an invaded Ch'in with a force of 700 chariots, dug through the wall [of the capital] in the night time, and entered it. The marquise of Ch'in fled with his eldest son, Yen-sze, to the tombs. Meeting with the minister of War, Hwan-tze [on the way], he asked him to take them in his carriage, but he replied that he was inspecting the wall. [By-and-by], they met with K'ia Hwah, who was in a carriage with his mother and wife, but he put them down, and gave the carriage to the marquise. "You may leave your mother," said the marquise; but Hwah declined doing so, saying that it would not be auspicious. He and his wife then supported his mother, fled to the tombs, and made their escape.

Tze-chen ordered the army not to enter the palace, and took post himself with Tze-ch'an to keep the gate of it. The marquise made the minister of War, Hwan-tze, present to them the vessels of the ancestral temple, while he himself, in mourning, and carrying the tablets from the altar of the land, caused a multitude of the men and women in separate ranks, and bound, to wait with him in the court [for their victors]. Tze-chen then was introduced to him, carrying a cord in his hand, bowed to him twice with his head to the ground, and went forward, holding a cup of spirits, which he presented to him. Tze-mei [Tze-ch'an] entered, declared the number of his prisoners, and went out. [The two commanders] then made the [principal] priest sprinkle the altar of the earth, restored to the minister of Instruction [his hats of] the people, to the minister of War his seal, and to the minister of Works [his charts of] the ground; and returned to Ch'ing.'

K'zou K'ang well remarks, that of all the 'entrances' into cities or States mentioned in the Ch'un Ts'ew, there is none where the hostilities were conducted so courteously as by Tze-chen and Tze-ch'an.

Par. 5. Too Yu observes that there must be an error in the month here, for the day 己巳 must have been the 12th of the 7th month. The covenanting States must be those in par. 3. Ch'ung-k'ew was in Ts'e, most probably in the dis. of Liao-shing (聊城), dep. Tung-ch'ang. Too-sho says the covenant was made with reference to the peace which had been granted to Ts'e.

[The Chuen appends here:—"Chao Wan-tze was [now] chief minister [of Ts'in], and gave orders to make the offerings required from the States lighter, and to behave to them with greater courtesy. Mui-shuh had an interview with him, when he said, "Hostile movements may henceforth be had recourse to somewhat less." Ts'uy and King of Ts'e have come [but] recently into the government of that State, and will wish to cultivate good relations with the rest of the States. I (Woo—武—was Chao's



name) know the chief minister of Ts'oo. If I behave with respectful courtesy to him, and set him the example of polite communications, in order to give repose to the States, hostile measures may be obviated."]

Par. 7. This was duke Hsien (獻公衍) who had been driven from Wei in Sseng's 14th year. E-wei had been the capital of Hing, and on the extinction of that State by Wei, in the 25th year of duke He, it had of course belonged to it. The purpose of the marquis of Tsai, mentioned in the Chuen appended to par. 3, was now carried out. The Ch'ün Ts'ew at this point recognizes "two marquises" of Wei, the one in par. 3 being P'ao (昭), who had been raised to the State on the expulsion of K'an.

Par. 8. Shoo-k'ew;—see on VII. viii. 7. It was the last of the Shoo States, which Ts'oo allowed to maintain a half sort of independence. The extinction of it here is the sequel of the narrative in the Chuen on par. 9 of last year.—Wei Tze-ping of Ts'oo having died, K'ueh K'ien became chief minister (in his room), with K'ueh Tung as the *Moh-gau*. The people of Shoo-k'ew in the end revolted, and the chief minister of Ts'oo, Tze-muh [K'ueh K'ien], proceeded to attack it. When he got to Le-shing, a body of men from Woo came to its assistance. Tze-muh made a hurried march with the army of the right, and got before the rest of it to the city; but Tze-k'ang, Suih Hwan, Tze-ts'ieh, Tze-ping, and Tze-yu, withdrew with the army of the left. The men of Woo thus occupied a position between the two bodies for seven days. Tze-k'ang said [to Tze-muh], "How long it will be raining, and we shall be reduced to such a straits of ground, that we must be made prisoners. Our best plan is to fight soon. Allow us with our troops here to make a feint, while you have your army drawn up in order to wait for the result. If we are successful, you will advance. If we have to fly, you will still see what is best to be done. In this way we can escape; otherwise, we are sure to fall prisoners to Woo." Tze-muh agreed to the plan, and the five men with their soldiers made an onset upon the troops of Woo, which fled. Going up a hill to look, however, and seeing that the [main] army of Ts'oo was not supporting their pursuers, they turned and drove those before them, till they approached their army. Then the fugitives were joined by the rest of the army that had been prepared for the occasion, and the troops of Woo received a great defeat. The siege of Shoo-k'ew was then prosecuted, the people dispersed, and in the 8th month, Ts'oo extinguished the State.

Par. 9. For 夏 K'ung-yang has 蓄. The Chuen says:—Tze-ch'an of Ch'ing [went] to Tsai to report the victory [over Ch'in], and wore for the occasion his military attire. An officer (晉人; see below) asked what had been the offence of Ch'in, when Tze-ch'an replied, "In former times, Oh-fuo of Yu was chief potter to Chow, and with his art did service to our first king [Woo], who, in consequence of the profit which he derived from him in the supply of vessels, and his being the descendant of the spiritual and intelligent [Shun], gave his own eldest daughter, T'ao-ko, in marriage to [his son], duke

Hoo, and invested him with Ch'in, thus completing the number of the 'three honoured States.' Thus the princes of Ch'in originated with our Chow, and to the present time their dependence has been on it. In the troubles which occurred [after the death of] duke Hwan (see on II. v. 1, 8; vi. 4), the people of Ts'ao wanted to raise to the State a prince of Ch'in whose mother was a daughter of Ts'ao, when our ruler duke Chwang placed Woo-foo in the marquiseate. The people of Ts'ao killed him and then we and they appointed and maintained duke Lo. The succeeding dukes, Chwang and Ssuen, both owed their dignity to us. In the troubles occasioned by the Hsü family (see VII. x. 8; i. 5), duke Ch'ing was obliged to flee, but he owed his entrance [again] into his State to us, as [your] ruler knows.

"Now Ch'in has forgotten its great obligations to Chow, and makes no account of our great kindness to it, and has cast away [all consideration of] the affinity between us. Relying on the multitudes of Ts'oo, it has behaved with a cruel insolence to our State, with a determination which could not have been anticipated. On this account we made last year the announcement to you on the subject (See the Chuen after par. 1); and before we had received your explicit commands, [Ch'in and Ts'oo had invaded us, and] attacked our east gate. The troops of Ch'in stopped up the wells and cut down the trees along the roads by which they marched. We were greatly afraid in the consciousness that we were not strong, and were ashamed of the disgrace thus done to T'ao-ko. But [heaven moved our breasts and put it into our hearts] and Ch'in was made to acknowledge its offence, and surrender itself to us. And now we presume to report to you our success."

"The officer of Tsai [further] asked why they encroached upon a small State. Tze-ch'an replied, "It was the command of the former kings, that, wherever there was guilt, it should in every case be punished. And moreover, the domain of the son of Heaven was fixed at 1000 *li* square, and that of the States at 100 *li*, and less according to a scale. But your great State now contains several times the amount of the king's domain. If you did not encroach upon small States, how have you reached this extent of territory?"

"The officer asked once more 'Why do you appear in martial attire?' Tze-ch'an replied, "Our former rulers, Woo and Chwang, were high ministers of the kings Ping and Hwan. After the battle of Shing-pih (In He's 28th year) [your] duke Wan issued his orders that princes should all resume their old offices, and [especially] charged our duke Wan in martial attire to help the king; and therein he reported [to the court] the victory over Ts'oo. [I am now in that attire], because I do not dare to neglect the king's command." See Chwang-pih, was not able to ask any more questions, and reported what had passed to Chuan Wau-tze, who said, "His speeches are reasonable. To go against them would be inauspicious;" and accordingly he received Tze-ch'an.

In winter, in the 10th month, Tze-ch'en attended the earl of Ch'ing to Tsai to acknowledge its acceptance of his service against Ch'in. Tze-ch'en again invaded Ch'in, when the two States made peace.



'Chung no said, "An ancient book says, 'Words are to give adequate expression to one's ideas; and composition, to give adequate power to the words.' Without words, who would know one's thoughts; without elegant composition of the words, they will not go far. Tsin was the leading State, and but for Tse-ch'an's well-composed speeches would not have acknowledged Ch'ing's entrance into Ch'in as good service. Tse-ch'an took great pains with his speeches.'"

The notice in the text of the invasion of Ch'in, after what is told in par. 4, is strange, and Maou ventures to say that this was not properly an invasion, but an expedition to make a covenant of peace.

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about affairs in T'oo:—Wei Yen was made [grand] marshal of T'oo, and Tse-muh (The chief minister) commissioned him to regulate the levies [of the State], and make a schedule of its weapons and buff-coats. On K'ao-woo, Wei Yen set about describing the [different] lands; measuring the forests; defining the meres; marking out the higher lands and the downs; distinguishing the poor and salt tracts; enumerating the boundaries of flooded districts; raising small banks on the plains between dykes; assigning the wet low grounds for pasturage; dividing the wide rich plains into *tings* (see Mencius, III.1. ch. III.13); determining the levies according to the income of each; assigning the [contribution of] carriages and of horses; and of footmen; with the number of buff-coats and shields. When he had completed his task, he delivered the result to Tse-muh. All this was proper.]

Par. 10. For 馮 Kung and Kuh have 謁 Ch'ao, —see VI.11.4. The Chuen says:—'Choo-fan (The viscount of Woo,) now invaded T'oo in return for its naval expedition (xiv.3), and attacked the gate of Ch'ao. New Shin of that place said, "The king of Woo is daring and reckless. If we open the gate, he will attack it himself, and I shall have an opportunity to shoot him dead. Let him once die, and our boundaries will have a little rest." His advice was taken. The viscount attacked the gate, and New Shin shot him from behind a low wall, so that he died.'

This is the first occurrence in the text of 門 as a verb signifying to attack a gate (人攻門曰門. The character has often occurred in the Chuen in this sense.

[We have now four narratives in the Chuen:—1st. 'The viscount of T'oo wanted to reward Tse-muh on account of his extinction of Shoo-k'ow, but that minister refused the reward, saying, "It was all the merit of our late great officer Wei-tzu. The reward was given [accordingly] to Wei Yen.'

2d. 'Ch'ing Ch'ing of Tsin died, and Tse-ch'an then learned for the first time [what] Jen-ming [had said about him] (See the Chuen

at the end of last year). He therefore now consulted him about the practice of government, and Jen-ming replied, "The people should be looked on as one's children; and when a bad man is seen, he should be taken off as a hawk pursues a sparrow." Tse-ch'an, full of joy, repeated his words to Tse-t'ao-shuh, saying, "Formerly I had seen only Mieh's (Jen-ming's name) face, but now I see his heart." Tse-shuh then asked Tse-ch'an about government, and got the reply, "Government is like the work of husbandry. You must think of it day and night, thinking of what is to be done first, and how the end is to be accomplished. Then labour at it morning and evening; but in what you do, do not go beyond what you have thought over;—just as the husbandmen keep within their dividing banks. In this way you will commit few errors."

3d. 'Duke Hsien of Wei opened a communication from E-e with Ning He, who agreed to his proposals (See the Chuen at the end of the 20th year). When Tse-shuh Wan-tse heard of it, he said, "Ah! as it is said in the ode (She, II. v. ode III.8),

'My person is rejected;  
Of what use is it to think of subsequent things?'

Ning-tze may be said not to think of the future. Is what he is contemplating to be done? It cannot be done. The superior man, when he does anything, thinks of what will be the end of it, and whether it can be repeated. It is said in the Shoo, (V. xvii.6), 'Be careful of the beginning and reverent of the end; then in the end you will have no distress.' The ode (She, III. iii. ode VI.4) says,

'Never idle, day nor night,  
In the service of the one man.'

Ning-tze is now dealing with his ruler not so carefully as if he were playing at chess. How is it possible for him to escape disaster? If a chess-player lifts his man without a definite object, he will not conquer his opponent; how much more must this be the case when one would put a ruler down without a definite object! He is sure not to escape ruin. Alas that by one movement a family whose Heads have been ministers for 9 generations should be extinguished!"

4th. 'In the year of the meeting at E-e, (This belongs to the 24th year) the people of T'oo walled K'eh (for the king). In the 5th month, Tsin and Tsin made a peace, Han-k'ue of Tsin going to Tsin to make a covenant, and Pih-kuo of Tsin going to Tsin to make one. The peace thus concluded, however, was not firmly knit.]



Twenty-sixth year.

二十有六年春王二月辛卯衛甯

喜弑其君剽

衛孫林父入于戚以叛

甲午衛侯衎復歸于衛

夏晉侯使荀吳來聘

公會晉人

鄭良霄宋人曹人于澶淵

秋宋公殺其世子痤

晉人執衛

甯喜

八月壬午許男甯卒于楚

冬楚子蔡侯陳侯伐鄭

葬許靈公

○左傳曰二十六年春秦伯之弟鍼如晉修成叔向命召行人子員行人子朱曰朱也富御三云叔向不應子朱怒曰班爵同何以黜朱於朝撫劍從之叔向曰秦晉不和久矣今日之事幸而集晉國賴之不集三軍暴骨子員道二國之言無私子常易之姦以事君者吾所能御也拂衣從之人救之平公曰晉其庶乎吾臣之所爭者大德而爭善私欲已侈能無卑乎

衛獻公使子鮮爲復辭敬姬強命之對曰君無信臣懼不免敬姬曰雖然以吾故也許諾初獻公使與甯喜言甯喜曰必子鮮在不然必敗故公使子鮮子鮮不獲命於敬姬以公命與甯喜言曰苟反政由甯氏祭則寡人甯喜告遽伯玉伯玉曰緩不得聞君之出敢聞其入遂行從近關出告右宰穀右宰穀曰不可獲罪於兩君天下誰



畜之。悼子曰：吾受命於先人，不可以貳。穀曰：我請使焉而觀之。遂見公於夷儀。反曰：君淹恤在外十二年矣，而無憂色，亦無寬言，猶夫人也。若不己死，無日矣。悼子曰：子鮮在，右宰穀曰：子鮮在，何益多而能亡於我？何爲？悼子曰：雖然，弗可以已。孫文子在戚，孫嘉聘於齊，孫襄居守。二月庚寅，甯喜右宰穀伐孫氏，不克。伯國傷，甯子出舍於郊。伯國死，孫氏夜哭。國人召甯子，甯子復攻孫氏，克之。辛卯，殺子叔及犬子角。書曰：甯喜弑其君，剽言罪之在甯氏也。

孫林父以戚如晉。書曰：入于戚以叛，罪孫氏也。臣之祿，君實有之，義則進，否則奉身而退，專祿以周旋，戮也。甲午，衛侯入，書曰：復歸國納之也。大夫逆於竟者，執其手而與之言，道逆者，自車揖之。逆於門者，頷之而已。公至，使讓犬叔文子曰：寡人淹恤在外，二三子皆使寡人朝夕聞衛國之言，吾子獨不在寡人。古人有言曰：非所怨，勿怨寡人。怨矣，對曰：臣知罪矣。臣不佞，不能負羈縻，以從扞牧圉。臣之罪一也。有出者，有居者，臣不能貳，通外內之言以事君，臣之罪二也。有二罪，敢忘其死，乃行從近，闕出，公使止之。

⑤衛人侵戚，東鄙孫氏愬於晉。晉成茅氏殖綽伐茅氏，殺晉成三百人，孫蒯追之，弗敢擊。文子曰：厲之不如，遂從衛師，敗之圍雍，鉏獲殖綽，復愬於晉。

⑥鄭伯賞入陳之功。三月甲寅朔，享子展，賜之先路三命之服，先八邑。賜子產次路再命之服，先六邑。子產辭邑曰：自上以下，隆殺以兩，禮也。臣之位，在四，且子展之功也。臣不敢及賞禮，請辭邑。公固子之，乃受三邑。公孫揮曰：子產其將知政矣，讓不失禮。

晉人爲孫氏故，召諸侯，將以討衛也。夏，中行穆子來聘，召公也。

⑦楚子秦人侵吳，及雩婁，聞吳有備而還。遂侵鄭。五月，至於城麇。鄭皇頡戍之，出與楚師戰，敗，穿封戌囚皇頡。公子圍與之爭之，正於伯州犂。伯州犂曰：請問於囚，乃立囚。伯州犂曰：所爭，君子也，其何不知。主其手曰：夫子



爲王子圍。寡君之貴介弟也。下其手曰：此子爲穿封戌，方城外之縣尹也。誰獲子？囚曰：頡遇王子弱焉。戌怒，抽戈逐王子圍。弗及。楚人以皇頡歸。印董父與皇頡戍城麇。楚人囚之，以獻於秦。鄭人取貨於印氏，以請之。子犬叔爲令正，以爲請。子產曰：不獲受楚之功，而取貨於鄭，不可。謂國。秦不其然？若曰：拜君之勩，鄭國微君之惠。楚師其猶在敝邑之城下，其可弗從？遂行。秦人不予更幣，從子產而後獲之。

六月，公會晉趙武、宋向戌、鄭良霄、曹人于澶淵，以討衛。疆戚田，取衛西鄙懿氏六十，以與孫氏。趙武不書，尊公也。向戌不書，後也。鄭先宋，不失所也。於是衛侯會之。晉人執甯喜、北宮遺，使汝齊以先歸。衛侯如晉，晉人執而囚之於士弱氏。秋七月，齊侯、鄭伯爲衛侯故如晉。晉侯兼享之。晉侯賦嘉樂，國景子相齊侯，賦蓼蕭。子展相鄭伯，賦緇衣。叔向命晉侯拜二君曰：寡君敢拜齊君之安我先君之宗祧也，敢拜鄭君之不貳也。國子使晏平仲私於叔向曰：晉君宣其明德於諸侯，恤其患而補其闕，正其違而治其煩，所以爲盟主也。今爲臣執君，若之何？叔向告趙文子，以告晉侯。晉侯言衛侯之罪，使叔向告二君。國子賦鸛之柔矣。子展賦將仲子兮。晉侯乃許歸衛侯。叔向曰：鄭七穆罕氏其後亡者也。子展儉而壹。

初，宋芮司徒生女子，赤而毛，棄諸堤下。共姬之妾取以入，名之曰棄。長而美，平公入夕，共姬與之食。公見棄也，而視之尤。姬納諸御，嬖生佐，惡而婉。犬子齊美而很，合左師畏而惡之。寺人惠牆、伊戾爲犬子內師而無寵。秋，楚客聘於晉，過宋。犬子知之，請野享之。公使往。伊戾請從之。公曰：夫不惡女乎？對曰：小人之事君子也，惡之不敢遠，好之不敢近，敬以待命，敢有貳心乎？縱有共其外，莫共其內。臣請往也。遣之。至，則欲用牲，加書徵之，而騁告。公曰：犬子將爲亂，旣與楚客盟矣。公曰：爲我子又何求？對曰：欲速公使視之，則信有焉。問諸夫人，與左師，則皆曰：固聞之。公囚犬子。犬子曰：唯佐也能免我，召而使請。曰：日中不來，吾知死矣。左師聞之，聒而與之語。過期，乃縊而死。佐爲犬子，公徐聞其無罪也，乃享伊戾。左師見夫人之步馬者，問之，對曰：君夫人氏也。左師曰：誰爲



君夫人余胡弗知。國人歸以告夫人。夫人使饋之錦與馬。先之以玉。曰：君之妾棄使某獻。左師改命曰：君夫人而後再拜稽首受之。

⑤鄭伯歸自晉。使子西如晉聘。辭曰：寡君來煩執事。懼不免於戾。使夏謝不敏。君子曰：善事大國。

⑥初，楚伍參與蔡犬帥子朝友。其子伍舉與聲子相善也。伍舉娶於王子牟。王子牟爲申公而亡。楚人曰：伍舉實送之。伍舉奔鄭。將遂奔晉。聲子將如晉。遇之於鄭郊。班荆相與食。而言復故。聲子曰：子行也。吾必復子。及宋向戌將平晉楚。聲子通使於晉。還如楚。令尹子木與之語。問晉故焉。且曰：晉大夫與楚孰賢？對曰：晉卿不如楚。其大夫則賢。皆卿材也。如杞梓皮革。自楚往也。雖楚有材。晉實用之。子木曰：夫獨無族姻乎？對曰：雖有。而用楚材實多。歸生聞之。善爲國者。賞不僭而刑不濫。賞僭則懼及淫人。刑濫則懼及善人。若不幸而過。寧僭無濫。與其失善。寧其利淫。無善人。則國從之。詩曰：人之云亡。邦國殄瘁。無善人之謂也。故夏書曰：與其殺不辜。寧失不經。懼失善也。商頌有之曰：不僭不濫。不敢怠皇。命于下國。封建厥福。此湯所以獲天福也。古之治民者。勸賞而畏刑。恤民不倦。賞以春夏。刑以秋冬。是以將賞爲之加膳。加膳則飫賜。此以知其勸賞也。將刑爲之不舉。不舉則微樂。此以知其畏刑也。夙興夜寐。朝夕臨政。此以知其恤民也。三者禮之大節也。有禮無敗。今楚多淫刑。其大夫逃死於四方。而爲之謀主。以害楚國。不可救療。所謂不能也。子儀之亂。析公奔晉。晉人賁諸戎車之廐。以爲謀主。驍角之役。晉將遁矣。析公曰：楚師輕窺。易震蕩也。若多鼓鈞聲。以夜軍之。楚師必遁。晉人從之。楚師宵潰。晉遂侵蔡。襲沈。獲其君。敗申息之師於桑隧。獲申麗而還。鄭於是不敢南面。楚失華夏。則析公之爲也。雍子之父兄譖雍子。君與大夫不善是也。雍子奔晉。晉人與之師。以爲謀主。彭城之役。晉楚遇於靡角之谷。晉將遁矣。雍子發命於軍曰：歸老幼。反孤疾。二人役歸一人。簡兵蒐乘。秣馬蓐食。師陳焚次。明日將戰。行歸者而逸楚囚。楚師宵潰。晉降彭城而歸諸宋。以魚石歸。楚失東夷。子辛死之。則雍子之爲也。子反與子靈爭夏姬。而雍害



其事。子靈奔晉。晉人與之邢，以爲謀主。扞禦北狄，通吳於晉，教吳叛楚，教之乘車、射御、驅使，使其子狐庸爲吳行人焉。吳於是伐巢，取駕，克棘，入州來。楚罷於奔命，至今爲患。則子靈之爲也。若敖之亂，伯賁之子賁皇奔晉，晉人與之苗，以爲謀主。鄢陵之役，楚晨壓晉軍而陳，晉將遁矣。苗賁皇曰：「楚師之良在其中軍，王族而已。若塞井夷竈，成陳以當之，樂范易行以誘之，中行二郤必克，二穆吾乃四萃於其王族，必大敗之。」晉人從之。楚師大敗，王夷師燬，子反死之。鄭叛吳興，楚失諸侯，則苗賁皇之爲也。子木曰：「是皆然矣。」聲子曰：「今又有甚於此，椒舉娶於申公子牟，子牟得戾而亡，君大夫謂椒舉改賁遺之懼而奔鄭，引領南望曰：『庶幾赦余。』亦弗圖也。今在晉矣，晉人將與之縣，以比叔向，彼若謀害楚國，豈不爲患？」子木懼，言諸王，益其祿爵而復之。聲子使椒鳴逆之。許靈公如楚，請伐鄭，曰：「師不興，孤不歸矣。」八月卒於楚。

楚子曰：「不伐鄭，何以求諸侯？」冬十月，楚子伐鄭，鄭人將禦之。子產曰：「晉楚將平，諸侯將和，楚王是故昧於一來，不如使遑而歸，乃易成也。」夫小人之性，黷於勇，審於禍，以足其性而求名焉者，非國家之利也。若何從之？子展說不禦寇。十二月乙酉，入南里，墮其城，涉於樂氏門於師之梁，縣門發，獲九人焉。涉於汜而歸，而後葬許靈公。

⑤衛人歸衛姬於晉，乃釋衛侯。君子是以知平公之失政也。

⑥晉韓宣子聘於周，王使請事，對曰：「晉士起將歸時事於宰旅，無他事矣。」王聞之曰：「韓氏其昌阜於晉乎？」辭不

失舊。

⑦齊人城郊之歲，其夏齊烏餘以廩丘奔晉，襲衛羊角，取之，遂襲我高魚，有大雨，自其竇入，介於其庫，以登其城，克而取之，又取邑於宋。於是范宣子卒，諸侯弗能治也。及趙文子爲政，乃卒治之。文子言於晉侯曰：「晉爲盟主，諸侯或相侵也，則討而使歸其地。今烏餘之邑，皆討類也，而貪之，是無以爲盟主也。」請歸之。公曰：「諾。」孰可使也？對曰：「胥梁帶能無用師，晉侯使往。」



- XXVI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Sin-maou, Ning He of Wei murdered his ruler P'eaou.
- 2 Sun Lin-foo of Wei entered Ts'eh, and held it in revolt.
- 3 On K'eah-woo, K'an, marquis of Wei, returned to his dignity in that State.
- 4 In summer, the marquis of Tsin sent S'ün Woo to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 5 The duke had a meeting with an officer of Tsin, L'ang S'eaou of Ch'ing, an officer of Sung, and an officer of Ts'aou, in Shen-yuen.
- 6 In autumn, the duke of Sung put to death his heir-son Tso.
- 7 The people of Tsin seized and held prisoner Ning He of Wei.
- 8 In the eighth month, on Jin-woo, Ning, baron of Heu, died in Ts'oo.
- 9 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquis of Ts'ae, and the marquis of Ch'in, invaded Ch'ing.
- 10 There was the burial of duke Ling of Heu.

[The Chuen introduces here the narrative of an occurrence in Tsin, which probably took place in the 1st month of this year:—"This spring, K'een, a younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, went to Tsin, to cultivate the good relations [into which the States had recently entered] (See the 4th narrative at the end of last year). Shuh-h'ang gave orders to call the Interouncius Tze-yun, when another, Tze-choo, said, "I ought to go in [this time]." Thrice he said so, but Shuh-h'ang gave him no answer, on which he became angry, and said, "His order and rank are the same as mine. Why do you [thus] degrade me in the court?" He then with his hand on his sword followed Shuh-h'ang, who said to him, "Ts'in and Tsin have been in unfriendly relations for a long time. If to-day's affair be successfully concluded, it will be a matter of relief for the State. Should it not be so, the bones of our soldiers will lie on the field. Tze-yun gives the words of the two States without any private admixture of his own, while you are continually changing them. Those who serve our ruler treacherously, I have power to keep back." And with this he shook his robe and followed him, till some parties came and separated them. Duke Ping said, "Tsin cannot be far from being well governed! That about which my ministers quarrel is great." The music-master Kwang said, "I am afraid the duke's House will be reduced low. The ministers do not contend together with their minds, but quarrel with their strength; they do not make virtue their object, but strive to be [thought] excellent. When each selfish desire is rampant, can it escape being reduced low?"]

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"Duke Hien of Wei wanted to send [his brother] Tze-sen [to the capital] on the subject of his restoration, but Tze-sen declined the mission; and when [their mother], King Sze, tried to force him to go, he replied, "The ruler will not keep his

word. I am afraid I shall not escape the consequences." She said, "It may be so, but go on my account;" and he then agreed to go. Before this, the duke had opened a communication with Ning He, who said, "Tze-sen must come here. If he do not do so, the attempt is sure to be defeated." It was on this account that the duke [now] sent Tze-sen, who, not having succeeded in getting a [contrary] command from King Sze, [went and] told Ning He the duke's message. "If I return, the government shall be in your hands, and the sacrifices in mine." Ning informed K'ou Pih-yuh [of the negotiation], and that officer said, "I would not listen to the matter of the ruler's expulsion (See the Chuen on xiv. 4); dare I listen to his entrance again?" and he immediately went away, and left the State by the nearest gate upon the borders.

Ning then told Kuh, the administrator of the Right, who said, "Do not. You [Nings] will have been criminals in the case of two rulers. Who under heaven will bear you?" But Tsou-tze (He) replied, "I received a charge [to do this] from my father (See the Chuen at the end of the 20th year), and I cannot avert from it." Kuh then said, "Let me go [first] to E-e and see the duke." He accordingly did so, had an interview, and told He on his return, "The ruler has been long in sorrow abroad, even for 12 years; but there is no sadness in his looks, nor generosity in his speech. He is the same man that he was. If you do not abandon the enterprise, the day of your death is not distant." Tsou-tze urged, "There is Tze-sen." "And what will be the advantage of Tze-sen?" replied Kuh. "At the most he will have to go into exile;—what can he do for us?" Tsou-tze replied, "Notwithstanding that, I cannot abandon the thing."

[At this time], Sun Wen-tze was in Ts'eh, and [his son] Sun K'ea was on a friendly mission to Ts'e, leaving [only] Sun Seang in



charge [at the capital]. In the 3d month, on K'ang-yin, Ning He and Kuh, administrator of the Right, made an unsuccessful attack on [the house of] the Sons, but wounded Pih-k'woh (S'ang). Ning-tze left the city and lodged [with his family] in the suburbs (To be ready for flight), but Pih-k'woh died [of his wound]; and while they were lamenting during the night in his house, the people called for Ning He, when he and Kuh again attacked it, and took it. On Sin-maou, [He] put to death Tze-shuh (P'een; the marquis de facto), and his eldest son K'eh.

The words of the text, "Ning He murdered his ruler P'iaou," show how the crime belonged to Ning He.

Par. 2. Lin-foo was already in T'ei-h, and did not need to enter it. The par. must be read as a whole, without any stop at 賊 the emphasis being on the concluding 以叛. Accord-

ing to Two, Lin-foo now also transferred his allegiance to Tsin. He says:—"Sun Lin-foo [now] went [over] to Tsin with T'ei-h. The words of the text, "entered into T'ei-h to revolt" are condemnatory of his crime. The emolument of a minister (in this case derived from the revenues of T'ei-h) really belongs to the ruler. When righteous relations obtain between them, the minister comes forward and discharges his duties. When such relations do not obtain, he should retire with his single person. If he asserts a right to his emolument in order to meet his necessities, he deserves death."

Par. 3. 復歸.—see II. xv. 5, et al. The Chuen here is a continuation of the two preceding:—"On K'eh-woo, the marquis of Wei entered the capital. The words, "returned to his dignity," intimate that it was the State which restored him (?). Of the great officers who met him at the borders, he took the hands, and spoke with them. To those who met him [afterwards] on the road, he bowed, [saluting them with his hands]. To those [who were waiting] at the gate, he only nodded. When he arrived, he went to reprove Tze-shuh Wan-tze, saying, "While I have been [thus] long in sorrow outside, one and another officer let me hear, morning and evening, what was passing in Wei. It was only you who were not for me. The ancients had a saying, 'Do not be angry where you ought not to be angry.' I have reason to be angry [with you]." Wan-tze replied, "I know my offences. In my incompetency I was not able to carry a halter and tether, and follow you to play the part of a herd and a groom;—this is my first offence. There were you who had left the State, and there was he who was in it; I was not able to play a double part, and keep up a communication between the outside and inside of the State;—this is my second offence. With these two offences, I dare not forget my duty to die." He was then leaving the State by the nearest barrier-gate, when the duke met and stopped him.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives:—1st. The people of Wei made an incursion into the eastern borders of T'ei-h, when Sun Lin-foo complained of them to Tsin, which sent a garrison to Maou-eh. Chih Ch'oh (He had fled from T'ei-h to Wei) attacked the place, and killed 300 of the garrison. Sun Kwae pursued him, but did not dare to attack him, on which

[his father] Wan-tze said to him, "You are not equal to that devil." In consequence of this [Kwae] resumed the pursuit, and defeated the enemy at Yu, Yung T'ao capturing Chih Ch'oh. [Sun tze] again sent a complaint to Tsin."

2d. The earl of Ch'ing was rewarding the good services done in entering the capital of Ch'in, and in the third month, on K'eh-yin, he feasted Tze-shen, and gave him a first [-class] carriage, and the robes of a minister of three degrees, along with 8 cities. He [also] gave Tze-ch'an a second [-class] carriage, and the robes of a minister of two degrees, along with 6 towns. Tze-ch'an declined the towns, saying, "The rule is that from the highest rank downwards the amount of gifts conferred should diminish by two each rank; and my place is only the 4th. The merit, moreover, belonged to Tze-shen. I dare not assume that I ought to be rewarded. Allow me to decline the towns." The earl, however, pressed them upon him, and he accepted three. Kung-sun Hway said, "Tze-ch'an will yet administer the government [of Ch'ing], while declining [the earl's favours], he did not fall in courtesy."

Par. 4. Seun Woo was a son of Seun Yau, and appears as the Chung-hang Muh-tze (中行穆子). The Chuen says:—"The people of Tsin, in consequence of [the complaints of] Sun Lin-foo, called out the States, intending to punish Wei. This summer, Chung-hang Muh-tze came to Loo on a friendly mission, and called the duke [to the meeting]."

[We have here the following narrative with reference to Ch'ing:—"The viscount of T'oo, and an officer of Tsin, made an incursion into Woo, as far as Yu-low; but hearing that Woo was prepared for them, they returned, and proceeded to make an incursion into Ch'ing. In the 5th month they arrived at Shing-kean, the garrison of which was commanded by Hwang K'eh, who went out and fought with the army of T'oo. He was defeated, and taken prisoner, by Ch'uen-fung Seuh, with whom, however, King [Kung's] son Wei disputed the right of his possession. They referred their claims to Pih Chow-le, who said, "Let us ask the prisoner." Accordingly he set Hwang K'eh [before them], and said to him, "These disputants are both men of high degree; you must know which of them [is in the right]." Then holding up his hand, he said, "That gentleman is Wei, a son of our king [Kung], and the honourable brother of our ruler." Flanking it down, he said, "This gentleman is Ch'uen-fung Seuh, director of the district outside our wall of defence. Which of them took you?" The prisoner said, "It was when I met with the king's son that I became weak." Seuh was enraged at this, took his spear, and pursued Wei, but could not overtake him. The people of T'oo then took Hwang K'eh back with them. They had also made prisoner Yin Kin-foo, who had been associated with Hwang K'eh in guarding the city, and him they presented to Tsin."

The people of Ch'ing received property from Yin's family, with which to ask that he might be restored to them; and Tze-t'ao-shuh who had the superintendence of the government-manifestoes, agreed to make application for them [to Tsin]. Tze-ch'an said to him, "You will



not get him. [Ts'in] received him as a trophy of Ts'oo, and if it should take property for him from Ch'ing, it would not deserve to be called a State. It will not do so. If you say, 'We acknowledge your lordship's diligent service for the State of Ch'ing. If it had not been for your lordship's kindness, the army of Ts'oo would still have been at the foot of the wall of our capital;—that will succeed.' The other did not take his counsel, and a messenger proceeded to Ts'in, but there they would not give up [their prisoner]. Tse-t'ao-shuh then changed the money into offerings of silk, took the counsel of Tse-ch'uan, and obtained [Kin-foo's release].

Par. 5. Shen-yuen,—see xx. 2. The Chuen says:—In the 6th month, the duke had a meeting with Chao Woo of Ts'in, Hsiao Seuh of Sung, Liang Seans of Ch'ing, and an officer of Ts'ao, in Shen-yuen,—to [arrange for] the punishment of Wei. They defused the boundaries of the lands of Ts'ieh, and took 60 [towns] belonging to E-shie in the western borders of Wei, and gave them to the Sun. Chao Woo is not mentioned in the text,—out of honour to the duke (?); nor is Hsiao Seuh,—because he arrived late. [The representative of Ch'ing] arrived before that of Sung, and so has a place before him in the list.

'At this meeting the marquis of Wei [also] made his appearance, [but he was not admitted to it]. The people of Ts'in seized Ning. He and Pih-kung E. and sent Joo Ts'ao back with them to [Ts'in], before doing anything else about them. The marquis of Wei then went to Ts'in, where he was seized, and given in charge to Sze Joh as a prisoner. In autumn, in the 7th month, the marquis of Ts'ao and the earl of Ch'ing went to Ts'in in the interest of the marquis of Wei. The marquis entertained them at the same time, and sang the K'ao loh (Shu, III. li ode V.). Kwok King-tze was in attendance on the marquis of Ts'ao, and sang the Luh shao (Shu, II. li ode IX.). Tse-chien was in attendance on the earl of Ch'ing, and sang the Tse-e (Shu, I. vii. ode I.). Shuh-hsiao instructed the marquis to acknowledge [the compliment paid by] the two princes, and then said, "My ruler ventures to thank the ruler of Ts'ao for the rest which he secures to the ancestral tablets of our former princes. He ventures also to thank the ruler of Ch'ing for his unswerving adherence."

'Kwok-tze made Gau P'ing-chung say privately to Shuh-hsiao, "The ruler of Ts'in displays his brilliant virtue to the States, compassionating their distresses, repairing their defects, correcting their errors, and relieving their troubles. In this way he is the lord of covenants; but how is it that he has now in the behalf of a subject seized the ruler?" Shuh-hsiao told this to Chao Wan-tze, who reported it to the marquis. The marquis explained to him the offence of the marquis of Wei [The slaughter of the garrison of Maou-shue; see the first narrative appended to par. 3], and made Shuh-hsiao inform the two princes of it. Kwok-tze on this sang the Pe che jow (A lost ode), and Tse-chien sang the Ts'ang Chung-tze ho (Shu, I. vii. ode II.). After this the marquis granted the return of the marquis of Wei. Shuh-hsiao said, "Of the [descendants of the] seven sons of duke Mu of Ch'ing, the Han will be the last to perish. Tse-chien is moderate and single-hearted."

Par. 6. K'uh-hsiao has 座 for 瘞. The Chuen says:—Before this, Jui, minister of Instruction in Sung, had a daughter born to him, who was so red and hairy, that he made her be thrown away under a bank. A concubine belonging to the harem of Kung Ke (The duke of Sung's mother) found her, and took her to the palace, where she was named K'e (Cast-away). As she grew up, she became beautiful; and one evening, when duke Ping paid the customary visit to his mother, and was detained by her to supper, he saw the young lady, and looked at her intently. His mother in consequence introduced her to his bed. She became a favourite with him, and bore a son called Tao (左; not the Tao in the text), who was ugly but winning. [The duke's] eldest son, Tsao, was beautiful, but quarrelsome. [Hsiao Seuh] of Hoh, the master of the Left, was afraid of him, and hated him. The head of the eunuchs, Hwuy-ts'ang E-le, was his master in the palace, but had no favour with him.

'This autumn, a visitor from Ts'oo, who was going on a friendly mission to Ts'in, passed by [the capital of] Sung, and as the prince knew him, he asked leave to go out and give him an entertainment in the country. The duke commissioned him to go, when E-le asked leave to follow him. "Does he not hate you?" asked the duke. The eunuch replied, "When a small man like me serves a superior man like him, though hated, he does not presume to keep far from him, and though loved he does not presume to keep too near him. I will respectfully wait for his commands;—dare I have a double mind? There may be people to supply his outer wants, but there are none to supply his inner. Please allow me to go." The duke sent him after the prince. But when he arrived at the place, he took the blood of an animal as if for a covenant, placed a writing [on the vessel containing it], to attest what he meant to say, and then hurried away and told the duke that the prince was going to raise an insurrection, and had made a covenant with the visitor from Ts'oo. "He is my [eldest] son," said the duke; "what more does he want?" "He wishes your speedy [death]," was the reply. The duke sent to see [the place], and certainly there was [the pre-arranged evidence]. He then asked his wife, and the master of the Left, who both declared that they had heard of the thing. On this he imprisoned the prince, who said, "None but Tsao can get me off." He called his brother, and sent him to intercede for him, saying, "If you do not come by midday, I shall know that I must die." The master of the Left heard of the arrangement, and kept up a [ceaseless] talk with the brother, till it was past time, and the prince strangled himself, after which his brother was declared successor to his father. By-and-by the duke ascertained that the prince had not been guilty, and boiled E-le.

'[One day], the master of the Left saw a man exercising the horses of [the duke's] lady, and asked him [whom they were]. "They belong," said the man, "to the duchess." "Who is the duchess?" asked the other; "how is it that I do not know?" The groom went home and told the lady, who thereupon sent to the master a piece of jade, followed by some embroidered silk, and a horse. The messenger said, "The



ruler's concubine K'o has sent me to present these things." The master of the Left made him say "The duchess." Instead, then bowed twice with his head to the ground, and received the gifts.

Par. 7. The seizure was made at the meeting in Shen-yuen; but Tso Yu supposes that the announcement of it to the States was not made till after the return of the officers of Tsai from that place, and hence it is entered here as taking place in the autumn. From the account which we have of the death of He in Wei in the next year, we must suppose that Tsai released him when it released the margrave of that State of the seizure of whom the text makes no mention.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives.—1st. "When the earl of Ch'ing returned from Tsai, he sent Tse-se to that State on a mission of friendly inquiries, and to make the following speech:—"My ruler came and troubled your ministers, so that he is afraid he must have incurred the charge of offending you, and has sent me to apologize for his want of intelligence." The superior man will say that he knew well how to serve a great State."

2d. "Before this, Woo Ts'an of Ts'oo and Tse-chaou, the grand-master of Ts'oo, were friends, and Ts'an's son Woo Ken was [also] attached to [Tse-chaou's son], Shing-tse. Woo Ken married [?] a daughter of [?] king [Kung's son, Mow, who was duke of Shin, and obliged to flee from the State. The people of Ts'oo said that he had been escorted away by Woo Ken, who then fled to Ch'ing, intending to continue his flight from thence to Tsai. Shing-tse was going at the time on a mission to Tsai, and met him in the suburbs of Ch'ing. They spread some king branches on the ground, ate together, and talked about [whether Ken could] return [to Ts'oo]. Shing-tse said, "Go your way now. I will be sure to procure your return."

"When Hsiao Seuh of Sung was trying to reconcile Tsai and Ts'oo, Shing-tse was sent to communicate with Tsai; and on his return, he went to Ts'oo. The chief minister, Tse-nung, talked with him, and asked about things in Tsai. He asked him also whether the great officers of Tsai or those of Ts'oo were the superior. "The high ministers of Tsai," replied Shing-tse, "are not equal to those of Ts'oo, but the great officers are superior. Every one of them has the abilities of a minister. And like the wood of the *tsu* and the *tsu*, like skins and leather, they go from Ts'oo. The materials are Ts'oo's, but the using of them is Tsai's."

"And is Tsai alone," asked the minister, "without its clans [connected with its ruling House], and its families in the relation of affinity?"

"It has these," the other replied, "but it makes much use of the materials supplied to it by Ts'oo."

I (His name was Kwel-sing, 歸生) have heard this, that the skillful administration of a State is seen in rewarding without error and punishing without excess. If rewards be conferred beyond what is proper, there is a danger of some reaching bad men; and if punishments be inflicted in excess, there is a danger of some reaching good men. If unfortunately mistakes cannot be avoided, it is better to err in the matter of rewards than of punishments. It is better that a bad man get an advantage

than that a good man be lost. If there be not good men, the State will follow them [to ruin]. The words of the ode (She, III. iii. ode X. 5),

'Men there are not,  
And the kingdom is sure to go to ruin,'

are descriptive of the consequences of there being no good men. And so in one of the Books of Hsia it is said, 'Rather than put to death an innocent person, you run the risk of irregularity,' indicating the fear that should be entertained of losing the good. In the sacrificial odes of Hsia (She, IV. iii. V. 4) it is said,

'He erred not in rewarding or punishing;  
He dared not to be idle.  
So was his appointment established over the States,  
And his happiness was made grandly secure.'

"It was thus that T'ang obtained the blessing of Heaven. The ancient rulers of the people encouraged themselves in rewarding, and stood in awe of punishing, and their compassion for the people was untrifling. They rewarded in spring and summer; they punished in autumn and winter. Thus it was that when they were going to reward, they increased the number of their dishes, and in doing so they gave abundantly [to their ministers]:—showing us by this how they rejoiced in rewarding. But when they were going to punish, they would not take a full meal, and at the same time silenced their music:—showing us by this how they shrank from punishing. Early they rose and went to sleep late; morning and evening they were occupied with the government:—showing us how anxious they were for [the welfare of the people. These three things are the great points of propriety [in a government]; and where there is such propriety, there will be no such thing as overthrow."

"Now in Ts'oo there are many wrongful punishments, through which its great officers fly from it, and die everywhere in the other States, to which they become councillors to the injury of Ts'oo; and this error cannot be cured:—this is what I mean by saying that [Ts'oo] cannot use its materials. In the insurrection raised by Tse-se (See the Chuen after V. xiv. 7), the duke of Seih fled to Tsai, the people of which placed him in the rear of their chariots, and employed him to direct their counsels. In the campaign of Jao-koh (See the Chuen on VIII. vi. 1), Tsai was going to retreat, when he said, 'The army of Ts'oo is excitable, and may be easily dispersed. If you beat many drums all at once, and attack it by night, it will be sure to retire.' The commanders of Tsai took his advice, and the army of Ts'oo dispersed in the night. (The army of) Tsai in consequence made an incursion into Ts'oo, surprised Shin, and took its ruler captive (See the Chuen on VIII. viii. 2), defeated the armies of Shin and Seih at Sang-ang, captured Shin Lo, and returned to its own State. On this Ching-ku [longer] ventured to turn its face to the south, and Ts'oo lost [its influence with] the States [of the north]:—all was the doing of the duke of Seih.

"The uncle and brother of Yang-tse slandered him, and your ruler and the great officers did not accept his explanations. On this he fled to Tsai, where they gave him [the city of] Ch'uh, and employed him to direct their counsels. In



the campaign of P'ang-shing (See VIII. xviii. 5), Ts'oo and Tsin met in the valley of Mei-k'eh; and the army of Tsin was about to fly, when Yung-tze sent orders through it, saying, 'Let the old and the young return home. Send back single sons and the sick. Where there are two soldiers of one family, let one of them return. Select your weapons, and examine your carriages. Feed your horses, and take a good meal. When the army has been marshalled, burn your resting places. To-morrow we shall fight.' [Immediately after], they sent off those who were to return, and let loose their Ts'oo prisoners. [In consequence], the army of Ts'oo disappeared in the night; Tsin obliged P'ang-shing to surrender and restored it to Sung; and carried Yu Shih, back with his army to Tsin. That Ts'oo lost the E States of the east, and the death of Tze-shin (See v. 6), were both the doing of Yung-tze.

'Tze-fen had a contention with Tze-ling about Hsa Ke (See the 1st narrative in the Chuen after VIII. ii. 6), and injuriously defeated his intentions, so that Tze-ling fled to Tsin, where they gave him [the city of] Hing, and employed him to direct their counsels. He made head for them against the Teih of the north, brought about a communication between Woo and Tsin, and made Woo revolt from Ts'oo. He taught its people how to use carriages, to shoot, to drive, to make headlong charges, and to make incursions. He placed his son Hoo Yung in Woo to direct its communications with other States. Woo then invaded Ch'ao, took K'ia, subdued Keih, and took Chow-lao. Ts'oo was wearied with fighting about at the instance of the various States, and still suffers the distress of it;—all through the doing of Tze-ling.

'In the insurrection of the Joh-gaou (See the Chuen at the end of VII. iv.) Fun-hwang, the son of Pih-fan fled to Tsin, where they gave him Miao, and employed him to direct their counsels. In the campaign of Yen-ling (VIII. xvi. 6), Ts'oo came close up in battle array to the army of Tsin, which was about to flee. Then Fun-hwang of Miao said, 'The best troops of Ts'oo are in their centre army, which contains only the royal clans. If we close up the wells, and level the cooking places, we can marshal our host to meet the enemy. Let Lwan and Fan change their ranks in order to deceive them, and then Chung-hang, with the two K'eh, will be sure to vanquish the two Mu. Collecting them on every side of them, and attacking the royal clans, we shall give them a great defeat.' The people of Tsin followed his counsel, and the army of Ts'oo was severely defeated. The king was wounded, and the army suffered as from a conflagration. Tze-fan died in consequence of the defeat (See VIII. xvi. 7). Ch'ing revolted. Woo put itself in motion, and Ts'oo lost all the States;—through the doing of Miao Fan-hwang.' 'This is all correct,' said Tze-muh. 'And there is now something worse than this,' rejoined Shing-tze, 'T'aoou Ken (F. Ken of T'aoou) married a daughter of Tze-mow, duke of Shin; and when Tze-mow was driven into exile for some offence, the great officers of your ruler said that Ken had sent him away. Ken became frightened and fled to Ch'ing, but kept looking with outstretched neck to the south, thinking that

perhaps he might be forgiven. But you have not given him a thought, and now he is in Tsin. There they mean to give him a district, considering that he is equal to Shuh-héang. If he give them counsel to the injury of Ts'oo, will it not be a matter of sorrow?' Tze-muh was afraid, and spoke on the subject to the king, who increased Ken's revenue and rank, and brought him back, Shing-tze sending T'aoou Ming to meet him.]

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'Duke Ling of Hsu went to Ts'oo, and begged that it would invade Ch'ing, saying that he would not return [to Hsu] till the army was in motion; and in the 8th month, he died in Ts'oo.' Hsu's wish that Ch'ing should be invaded, dates from the invasion of Hsu in xvi. 7.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Ts'oo said, "If I do not invade Ch'ing, on what ground can I seek [the submission of] the States?" [Accordingly], in winter, in the 10th month, he invaded that State. The people of Ch'ing wished to resist him, but Tze-shan said, "Tsin and Ts'oo are about to become friends, and the States will be in harmony. The king of Ts'oo has blindly erred therefore in this attack on us. Our best plan is to let him have his way and return. Things will then be easily settled. As to those small men whose nature it is to be moved to deeds of daring, and to like times of confusion, thereby gratifying their nature and seeking for fame, [their schemes] will not be for the advantage of the State;—why should we follow them?" Tze-shan was pleased, and did not resist the enemy. In the 12th month, on Yih-yew, [the troops of Ts'oo] entered Nen-le, and threw down the wall of it. They then crossed at [the ford of] Yoh-sha, and attacked the gate Sze-che-hiang, when nine men were captured by letting the port-cullis down. They [finally] crossed the Yan, and returned to Ts'oo, after which [the viscount] buried duke Ling of Hsu.'

Par. 10. [We have here three narratives:—1st. 'The people of Wei presented a daughter of their house to [the marquis of] Tsin, on which he liberated the marquis of Wei. The superior man knows from this what a failure the government of duke P'ing was.'

2d. 'Han Souen-tze went on a friendly mission to Chow. The king sent to ask his business, when he said, "A [humble] officer of Tsin, I wish to present the dues of the season to the subordinates of the prime minister. I have no other business." When the king heard his reply, he said, "This Han will flourish and be great in Tsin. In his speeches he does not fail to observe the old rules."

3d. 'In the summer of the year that the people of Ts'oo walled K'eh (In the 24th year), Woo Yu of Ts'oo fled to Tsin, making over to it [the city of] Lin-k'ew. [Afterwards], he surprised Yang-k'eh of Wei, and took it, and then took by surprise our Kaou-yu. There was then a great calm, and he managed to enter by the drains, plundered the military store, mounted the wall, his men having armed themselves from the store, conquered and took the city. He also took a city from Sung. At this time Fan Souen-tze was dead, and the States were not able to deal [with this marauder]; but when the government came into the hands of Chao Wan-tze, he was dealt with



at last. Wan-tze said to the marquis, "Tsin is lord of covenants. If any of the States encroach on one another, we punish them, and make them restore the lands they have taken. Now all the cities of Woo Yu are of the kind for which punishment should in this way be inflicted. If we

covet them, we are not fit to be lords of covenants. Let them be returned." The duke agreed and said, "Who is proper to be sent on such a mission?" Wan-tze said, "Ssu Léng-tai can execute it without any military force." The duke sent him on the duty.]

*Twenty-seventh year.*

二十有七年春，齊侯使慶封來聘。夏，叔孫豹會晉趙武、楚屈建、蔡公孫歸生、衛石惡、陳孔奐、鄭良霄、許人、曹人于宋。衛殺其大夫甯喜。衛侯之弟鱄出奔晉。秋七月辛巳，豹及諸侯之大夫盟于宋。冬十有二月乙亥朔，日有食之。

①左傳曰：二十七年春，齊梁帶使諸喪邑者具車徒以受地，必周使烏餘具車徒以受封。烏餘以其衆出，使諸侯僞效烏餘之封者，而遂執之，盡獲之，皆取其邑而歸諸侯。諸侯是以睦於晉。

齊慶封來聘，其車美。孟孫謂叔孫曰：慶季之車不亦美乎？叔孫曰：豹聞之，服美不稱，必以惡終。美車何爲？叔孫與慶封食，不敬，爲賦相鼠，亦不知也。

宋向戌善於趙文子，又善於令尹子木，欲弭諸侯之兵，以爲名。如晉告趙孟，趙孟謀於諸大夫。韓宣子曰：兵民之殘也，財用之盡，小國之大蓄也。將或弭之，雖曰不可，必將許之。弗許，楚將許之，以召諸侯，則我失爲盟主矣。晉人許之。如楚，楚亦許之。如齊，齊人難之。陳文子曰：晉楚許之，我焉得已？且人曰弭兵，而我弗許，則固攜吾民矣。將焉用之？齊人許之。告於秦，秦亦許之。皆告於小國，爲會于宋。五月，



甲辰，晉趙武至於宋。丙午，鄭良霄至。六月，丁未朔，宋人享趙文子。叔向爲介，司馬置折俎，禮也。仲尼使舉是禮也，以爲多文辭。戊申，叔孫豹齊慶封，陳須無衛石惡至。甲寅，晉荀盈從趙武至。丙辰，邾悼公至。壬戌，楚公子黑肱先至，成言於晉。丁卯，宋向戌如陳，從子木成言於楚。戊辰，滕成公至。子木謂向戌，請晉楚之從，交相見也。庚午，向戌復於趙孟。趙孟曰：「晉楚齊秦，匹也。晉之不能於齊，猶楚之不能於秦也。楚君若能使秦君辱於敝邑，寡君敢不固請於齊。」壬申，左師復言於子木。子木使鄢謁諸王。王曰：「釋齊秦，他國請相見也。」秋，七月，戊寅，左師至。是夜也，趙孟及子皙盟，以齊言。庚辰，子木至自陳。陳孔奐、蔡公孫歸生至。曹許之大夫皆至，以藩爲軍。晉楚各處其偏。伯夙謂趙孟曰：「楚氛甚惡，懼難。」趙孟曰：「吾左還入於宋，若我何？」

衛甯喜專公患之。公孫免餘請殺之。公曰：「微甯子，不及此。吾與之言矣。」事未可知，祇成惡名，止也。對曰：「臣殺之，君勿與知。」乃與公孫無地。公孫臣謀，使攻甯氏，弗克，皆死。公曰：「臣也無罪，父子死余矣。」夏，免餘復攻甯氏，殺甯喜及右宰穀。尸諸朝，石惡將會宋之盟，受命而出，衣其尸，枕之股而哭之，欲斂以亡，懼不免。且曰：「受命矣。」乃行。子鮮曰：「逐我者出，納我者死，賞罰無章，何以沮勸？君失其信，而國無刑，不亦難乎？且鱣實使之，遂出奔晉。」公使止之，不可及河。又使止之，止使者而盟於河，託於木門，不鄉衛國而坐。木門，大夫勸之仕，不可。曰：「仕而廢其事，罪也。」從之。昭吾所以出也，將誰愬乎？吾不可以立於人之朝矣。終身不仕，公喪之如稅服，終身。公與免餘邑六十，辭曰：「唯卿備百邑，臣六十矣。下有上祿，亂也。」臣弗敢聞。且甯子唯多邑，故死。臣懼死之速及也。公固與之，受其半，以爲少師。公使爲卿，辭曰：「犬叔儀不貳，能贊大事，君其命之。」乃使文子爲卿。

辛巳，將盟于宋西門之外。楚人衷甲。伯州犂曰：「合諸侯之師，以爲不信，無乃不可乎？夫諸侯望信於楚，是以來服。若不信，是棄其所以服諸侯也。」固請釋甲。子木曰：「晉楚無信久矣，事利而已。苟得志焉，焉用有信？犬宰退，告人曰：『令尹將死矣，不及三年，求逞志而棄信，志將逞乎？』」志以發言，言以出信，信以立志，參以定之，信亡，何以及？



三趙孟患楚衷甲以告叔向叔向曰何害也匹夫一爲不信猶不可單斃其死若合諸侯之卿以爲不信必不捷矣食言者不病非子之患也夫以信召人而以僭濟之必莫之與也安能害我且吾因宋以守病則夫能致死與宋致死雖倍楚可也子何懼焉又不及是曰弭兵以召諸侯而稱兵以害我吾庸多矣非所患也季武子便謂叔孫以公命曰視邾滕既而齊人請邾宋人請滕皆不與盟叔孫曰邾滕人之私也我列國也何故視之宋衛吾匹也乃盟故不書其族言違命也晉楚爭先晉人曰晉固爲諸侯盟主未有先晉者也楚人曰子言晉楚匹也若晉常先是楚弱也且晉楚狎主諸侯之盟也久矣豈專在晉叔向謂趙孟曰諸侯歸晉之德只非歸其尸盟也子務德無爭先且諸侯盟小國固必有尸盟者楚爲晉細不亦可乎乃先楚人書先晉晉有信也壬午宋公兼享晉楚之大夫趙孟爲客子木與之言弗能對使叔向侍言焉子木亦不能對也乙酉宋公及諸侯之大夫盟于蒙門之外子木問於趙孟曰范武子之德何如對曰夫子之家事治言於晉國無隱情其視史陳信於鬼神無愧辭子木歸以語王王曰尙矣哉能歆神人宜其光輔五君以爲盟主也子木又語王曰宜晉之偁也有叔向以佐其卿楚無以當之不可與爭晉荀盈遂如楚蒞盟鄭伯享趙孟於垂隴子展伯有子西子產子大叔二子石從趙孟曰七子從君以寵武也請皆賦以卒君貺武亦以觀七子之志子展賦草蟲趙孟曰善哉民之主也抑武也不足以當之伯有賦鶉之賁賁趙孟曰牀第之言不踰闕况在野乎非使人之所得聞也子西賦黍苗之四章趙孟曰寡君在武何能焉子產賦隰桑趙孟曰武請受其卒章子大叔賦野有蔓草趙孟曰吾子之惠也印段賦蟋蟀趙孟曰善哉保家之主也吾有望矣公孫段賦桑扈趙孟曰匪交匪敖福將焉往若保是言也欲辭福祿得乎卒享文子告叔向曰伯有將爲戮矣詩以言志志誦其上而公怨之以爲賓榮其能久乎幸而後亡叔向曰然已侈所謂不及五稔者夫子之謂矣文子曰其餘皆數世之主也子展其後亡者也在上不忘降印氏其次也樂而不荒樂以安民不淫以使之後亡不亦可乎宋左師請賞曰請免死之邑公



與之邑六十。以示子罕。子罕曰：凡諸侯小國，晉楚所以兵威之，畏而後上下慈和，慈和而後能安靖其國家，以事大國，所以存也。無威則驕，驕則亂生，亂生必滅，所以亡也。天生五材，民並用之，廢一不可，誰能去兵？兵之設久矣，所以威不軌而昭文德也。聖人以典，亂人以廢，廢興存亡，昏明之術，皆兵之由也。而子求去之，不亦誣乎？以誣道蔽諸侯，罪莫大焉。縱無大討，而又求賞，無厭之甚也。創而投之，左師辭邑，向氏欲攻司城，左師曰：我將亡，夫子存我，德莫大焉。又可攻乎？君子曰：彼己之子，邦之司直，樂喜之謂乎？何以恤我，我其收之，向戌之謂乎。

齊崔杼生成及彊而寡，娶東郭姜，生明。東郭姜以狐入，曰：棠无咎與東郭偃相崔氏，崔成有疾而廢之，而立明，成請老於崔。崔子許之，偃與无咎弗子，曰：崔宗邑也，必在宗主，成與彊怒，將殺之，告慶封曰：夫子之身，亦子所知也，唯无咎與偃是從，父兄莫得進矣，大恐害夫子，敢以告。慶封曰：子姑退，吾圖之。告盧蒲癸，盧蒲癸曰：彼君之讐也，天或者將棄彼矣，彼實家亂，子何病焉？崔之薄，慶之厚也，他日又告。慶封曰：苟利夫子，必去之，難吾助汝。九月庚辰，崔成、崔彊殺東郭偃，棠无咎於崔氏之朝。崔子怒而出，其衆皆逃，求人使駕，不得，使圉人駕寺人御而出，且曰：崔氏有福，止余猶可，遂見慶封。慶封曰：崔，慶一也，是何敢然？請爲子討之。使盧蒲癸帥甲以攻崔氏，崔氏壞其宮而守之，弗克，使國人助之，遂滅崔氏，殺成與彊，而盡俘其家，其妻縊。娶復命於崔子，且御而歸之，至則無歸矣，乃縊。崔明夜辟，諸大墓，辛巳，崔明來奔，慶封富國。楚薳罷如晉，泄盟，晉侯享之，將出，賦既醉，叔向曰：遷氏之有後於楚國也，宜哉！承君命，不忘敏，子將將知政矣，敏以事君，必能養民，政其焉往。

十一月乙亥朔，日有食之，辰在申，司歷過也，再失閏矣。



- 2 In summer, Shuh-sun P'ao'u had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Ts'in, K'eh K'een of Ts'oo, Kung-sun Kwei-sang of Ts'ae, Shih Goh of Wei, K'ung Hwan of Ch'in, L'ang S'ao'u of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, and an officer of Ts'aou, in Sung.
- 3 Wei put to death its great officer Ning He.
- 4 Chuen, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, left the State, and fled to Ts'in.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-sze, P'ao'u and the great officers of the States made a covenant in Sung.
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

[There follows here the conclusion of the narrative at the end of last year:—This spring, Sen L'ang-tao called all who had lost cities to come, prepared secretly with chariots and mun, to receive their lands; he also called Woo Yu to come, prepared in the same way to receive investiture. Yu appeared accordingly with all his people, and Sen made the prince assume an appearance as if they were going to invest him [with the cities]. He then took the opportunity to seize Yu, and make prisoners of all his followers, after which he took all the cities, and returned them to their owners. This event made the States all well-affected to Ts'in].

Par. 1. The object of this visit was to introduce, as it were, the new marquis of Ts'e to Loo. The Chuen says:—'K'ing Fung of Ts'e came to Loo on a friendly mission. His carriage was handsome, and M'ang-sun said to Shuh-sun, "Is not K'ing Ke's carriage handsome?" Shuh-sun replied, "I have heard that when a man's robes are finer than befits him, he will come to an evil end. What is the use of the fine carriage?" Shuh-sun gave the envoy an entertainment, at which he did not behave himself respectfully. The host sang with reference to him the S'ang shoo, (She, I. iv. ode VIII.), but K'ing Fung did not understand his meaning.'

Par. 2, 5. Here and afterwards, for 孔奐.

Kung has 孔環. By 'Sung' we are to understand here the capital of that State. The Chuen says:—H'eng Seuh of Sung was on good terms with Chaou Wan-tze [of Ts'in], and also with Tze-muh, the chief minister [of Ts'oo]. Wishing to stop the [constant] wars of the States, and thereby get a name, he went to Ts'in, and told his object to Chaou-ming (Chaou Woo, or Wan-tze), who consulted with the great officers upon it. Han S'ouen-tze said, "War is destructive to the people, an insect that eats up the resources [of a State], and the greatest calamity of the small States. If any one try to put an end to it, though we may think it cannot be done, we must sanction his proposal. If we do not, Ts'oo will do so, and proceed to call the States together, so that we shall lose the presidency of covenants." They then agreed in Ts'in [to Seuh's proposals]. He next went to Ts'oo, where they also did the same.

He went to Ts'e, and there they were raising difficulties; but Ch'in Wan-tze said, "Since

Ts'in and Ts'oo have agreed, how can we decline? And men will say that we refused to sanction the stoppage of wars, which will certainly make our people disaffected. Of what use will it be for us to decline?" So they agreed in Ts'e. He sent word [of his plan] to Ts'in which also agreed. He then sent word to all the smaller States, and arranged for a meeting at [the capital of] Sung.

In the 5th month, on K'eah-shih, Chaou Woo of Ts'in arrived at that city, and on Ping-woo, L'ang S'ao'u of Ch'ing arrived. In the 6th month, on Ting-wa, the 1st day of the moon, they feasted Chaou Wan-tze in Sung, with Shuh-h'eng as subordinate to him, when the marshal caused the dishes to be set forth with the meat in pieces upon them;—which was proper. Chung-ho made [I me introduce here] this ceremony, because it afforded opportunity for many speeches. On Mao-shih, Shuh-sun P'ao'u, K'ing Fung of Ts'e, Sen Woo of Ch'in, and Shih Goh of Wei arrived. On K'eah-yin, Sen Ying of Ts'in arrived, subsequent to the arrival of Chaou Woo. On Ping-shih, duke Ch'oh of Choo arrived. On Jio-seuh, the Kung-tze Hih-kuang of Ts'oo arrived before [the prime minister], and settled the words [of the covenant] on the part of Ts'in. On Ting-mao, H'eng Seuh went to Ch'in, following Tze-muh, to settle the words on the part of Ts'oo. Tze-muh said to him that he had to request that the States which followed Ts'in and Ts'oo respectively should be required—those of the one side to appear at the court of the other. On Kang-woo, H'eng Seuh returned to report this to Chaou-ming, who said, "Ts'in, Ts'oo, Ts'e, and Ts'in are equals; Ts'in can do nothing more with Ts'e than Ts'oo can do with Ts'in. If Ts'oo can make the ruler of Ts'in condescend to come to our capital, our ruler will earnestly request [the ruler of] Ts'e to go to Ts'oo." On Jiu-shih, the master of the Left (H'ang Seuh) went to report this answer to Tze-muh, who despatched a courier to lay it before the king [of Ts'oo]. The king said, "Leave Ts'e and Ts'in out, and let the other States be required to appear at both our courts."

In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mao-yin, the master of the Left arrived [from Ch'in]; and that night, Chaou-ming and Tze-seih (The Kung-tze Hih-kuang) made a covenant about the terms to be adopted. On Kang-shih, Tze-



muh arrived from Ch'in, and at the same time K'ung Hwan of Ch'in and Kung-sun Kwei-ling of Ts'ao. When the great officers of Ts'ao and Hsien were also arrived, they made an encampment with fences, Tsin and Ts'oo each occupying one side of it. Pih Suh said to Chao-mang, "The spirit of Ts'oo is very bad. I fear there will be trouble;" but Chao-mang replied, "We are on the left, and can turn and go into the city. What can they do to us?"

On Shu-ze they were about to covenant outside the western gate, when the men of Ts'oo wore their armour under their outer clothes. Pih Chow-le said [to Tsze-muh], "The multitude of the States are assembled here, and is it not undesirable [now] to show them our want of good faith? The States expect good faith from Ts'oo, and on that account they come to [indicate] their submission to it. If we do not keep faith, we are throwing away that by which we must effect the submission of the States." He then earnestly begged that the armour might be put off; but Tsze-muh said, "There has been no good faith between Tsin and Ts'oo for long. We have to do merely with getting the advantage. If we get our will, what is the use of having good faith?" The grand-administrator on this retired, and told [some people] that the chief minister would die in less than 8 years. "When he is seeking to get his will," he said "and casts away his faith, how can his will be got in that way? It is from the purpose in the mind that words come forth; it is by words that good faith is declared; and it is by good faith that the purpose in the mind is realized. The three are necessary in order to the stability of man. Having lost his good faith, how can he continue for three [years]?" Chao-mang was troubled by the men of Ts'oo wearing their armour, and told Shuh-hsiang of it, who said to him, "What harm can it do? It will not do for even an ordinary man to violate his faith;—the end of it is sure to be his death. If they, at this meeting of the ministers of the States, commit a breach of faith, they will not be successful by it. He who is false to his word is sure to suffer for it. You need not be troubled about this. If they call men together by [assurances of] their good faith, and go on to accomplish their purpose by violating it, there will be some who will adhere to them. How can they injure us? And moreover, we have [the capital of] Sung to depend on, to guard against any injury. Thus we should be able to resist to the death, and with Sung doing the same, we should be twice as strong as Ts'oo;—what are you afraid of? But it will not come to this. Having called the States together to put a stop to war, if they should commence hostilities to injure us, our advantage would be great. There is no ground for being troubled."

"K'ue Woo-tze sent to say to Shuh-sun, [as if] by the duke's command, that Loo should be considered in the same rank as Choo and T'ang. But Ts'oo had requested [that] Choo [should be considered as attached to it], and Sung had done the same in regard to T'ang, so that neither of these States took part in the covenant. Shuh-sun replied, "Choo and T'ang are like the private possessions of other States. We are a State among them. Why should we be put on the same footing as those? Sung and Wei are [only] our peers." And accordingly he cove-

nanted. On this account the text [of par. 3] does not give his clan-name, intimating that he had disobeyed orders.

"Tsin and Ts'oo disputed about the precedence [at the covenant]. On the side of Tsin they said, "Tsin certainly is the lord of covenants. No State has ever taken precedence of it." On the side of Ts'oo they said, "You have allowed that Tsin and Ts'oo are peers. If Tsin always take the precedence, that is a declaration that Ts'oo is weaker than it. And moreover, Tsin and Ts'oo have presided in turns over the covenants of the States for long. How does such presidency belong exclusively to Tsin?" Shuh-hsiang said to Chao-mang, "The States acknowledge Tsin because of the virtue [of its government], and not because it presides over their covenants. Let that virtue be your chief concern, and do not quarrel for the point of precedence. Moreover, at the covenants of the States, it is understood that the smaller States should superintend the instruments of the covenanting. If Ts'oo will act this smaller part for Tsin, is it not proper that it should do so?" Accordingly the precedence was given to Ts'oo. The text, however, mentions Tsin first, because of its good faith (1).

"On Jin-woo, the duke of Sung entertained the great officers of Tsin and Ts'oo at the same time, Chao-mang being the [chief] guest. When Tsze-muh conversed with him, he was not able to reply to him [suitably], on which he made Shuh-hsiang sit by him and maintain the conversation, when Tsze-muh could not reply [suitably]. On Yih-yew, the duke of Sung and the great officers of the States covenanted outside the Mung gate. Tsze-muh asked Chao-mang of what kind had been the virtue of Fan Woo-tze (See Hwuy), and was answered "The affairs of his family were all well-regulated; in conversing [with his ruler] about the State, he concealed nothing; his officers of prayers set forth the truth before the Spirits, and used no speeches he could be ashamed of." When Tsze-muh returned to Ts'oo, he told this to the king, who said "This was admirable! He was able to find favour both with Spirits and men. Right was it he should distinguish and aid five rulers of Tsin, and make them the lords of covenants." Tsze-muh also said to the king, "Well-deserved is the presidency of Tsin. With Shuh-hsiang to aid its ministers, Ts'oo has no man to match him. We cannot contend with it." Seun Yin of Tsin shortly went to Ts'oo to ratify the covenant.

"The earl of Ch'ing entertained Chao-mang [returning from Sung] in Chuy-lung. Tze-chen, Pih-yew, Tze-ss, Tze-ch'an, Tze-t'ao-shuh, and the two Tze-shih, were all in attendance on the earl. Chao-mang said to them, "You seven gentlemen are all here with the earl, a [great] distinction and favour to me. Let me ask you all to sing, which will complete your ruler's beneficence, and likewise will show me your several minds. Tze-chen then sang the Ts'ao ch'ung (She, I. II. ode III), and Chao-mang said, "Good for a lord of the people, but I am not sufficient to answer to it." Pih-yew sang the Shun che pan pun (She, I. IV. ode V.), and Chao-mang said, "Words of the couch should not go across the threshold; how much less should they be heard in the open country! This is what I cannot listen to." Tze-ss sang



the 4th stanza of the Shoo miao (She, II. iii. ode III.), and Chao-ming said, "There is my ruler; how can I [accept this]?" Tze-ch'an sang the Sih sang (She, II. viii. ode IV.); and Chao-ming said, "Allow me to accept the last stanza of that ode." Tze-t'ao-shuh sang the Yay yew man ts'ao (She, I. vii. ode XX.); and Chao-ming said, "This is your kindness." Yin T'wan (The 1st Tze-shih) sang the Sih tsuh (She, I. x. ode I.); and Chao-ming said, "Good! a lord who preserves his family! I have hope [of being such]." Kung-sun T'wan (the 2d Tze-shih) sang the Sang hoo (She, II. vii. ode I.); and Chao-ming said,

'While the cup passes round, they show  
no pride;  
Where should blessing and revenue go  
but to them?'

If one can verify these words, though he should wish to decline blessing and revenue, would it be possible for him to do so?

When the entertainment was ended, Wan-tze (Chao-ming) said to Shuh-hiang, "Pih-yew will yet be put to death. We use poetry to express what is in our minds. He was calumniating his ruler in his mind; and though the earl would resent [the lines which indicated] that, he used them in honour of their guest. Can he continue long? He will be fortunate if exile precede his death." Shuh-hiang said, "Yes; and he is extravagant. The saying about not lasting five harvests is applicable to him." Wan-tze added, "The rest of them will all continue for several generations; and the family of Tze-ch'en will be the last to perish. Though his rank be high, he has not forgotten to be humble. Yin [T'wan] is next to him. He can enjoy himself without wild indulgence. Using [his love of] pleasure to give rest to the people, and not exacting services from them to an excessive degree, is it not right he should long perpetuate his family?"

[H'ang Seuh], Song's master of the Left, asked that he might be rewarded, saying, "Please grant me some towns for arresting the occasion of death." The duke gave him sixty towns, and he showed the grant to Tze-han, who said to him, "It is by their arms that Tsin and Ts'oo keep the small States in awe. Standing in awe, the high and low in them are loving and harmonious; and through this love and harmony they can keep their States in quiet, and thereby serve the great States. In this is the way of preservation. If they were not kept in awe, they would become haughty. That haughtiness would produce disorder; that disorder would lead to their extinction. This is the way of ruin. Heaven has produced the five elements which supply men's requirements, and the people use them all. Not one of them can be dispensed with;—who can do away with the instruments of war? They have been long in requisition. It is by them that the lawless are kept in awe, and accomplished virtue is displayed. Sages have risen to their eminence by means of them; and men of confusion have been removed. The courses which lead to decline or to growth, to preservation or to ruin, of blindness on the one hand, of intelligence on the other, are all to be traced to these instruments; and you have been seeking to do away with them:—is not your scheme a delusion? No

offense can be greater than to lead the States astray by such a delusion. You have escaped without a great punishment, and yet you have sought for reward;—with an extreme inextinguishableness." With this he cut [to pieces the document], and cast it away. The master of the Left on this declined the towns, [in consequence of which] members of his family wished to attack the minister of Works (Tze-han). Seuh, however, said to them, "I was on the way to ruin, when he preserved me. I could not have received a greater service;—and are you to attack him?" The superior man will say, "May we not consider [the lines (She, I. vii. ode VI. 2)]

"That officer  
In the country ever holds to the right,"

as applicable to Yoh He (Tze-han)? and [those other lines, (She, IV. I. [I. ode II.]]

"How shall he show his kindness?  
We will receive [his favour]."

as applicable to H'ang Seuh?"

I have thrown the Chuen on these two paragraphs together, because they relate to the same transaction, the details of which extended over several months, and because we cannot reconcile the latter par. and the narrative under it, without having recourse to the narrative under the second.

From the Chuen under par. 2, we learn that the representatives of 14 States (including Sung), came to the capital of that State, as if to be present at the meeting; but the text mentions only 9 of them as taking part in it (Not including Sung); but we learn also from it that the States of T'e and Tsin were exempted from it because of its peculiar nature and their own greatness. Then from the narrative under par. 5, we learn that the States of Choo and Ts'ang were exempted because of their weakness, and through T'e and Sung taking the opportunity to have them publicly declared as being respectively under their jurisdiction. Ts'oo was willing, no doubt, to accede to the application of T'e and Sung, because the power of Tsin was thereby weakened.

With regard to the meeting and covenants themselves, they mark a revolution (大變) in the kingdom. Heretofore, for more than a hundred years, one State had struggled to maintain a presidency over the others;—avowedly in the interest of the Chow king. T'e first exercised it, and then Tsin. Nearly all the time Ts'oo had disputed their right and power; and now Tsin was obliged to agree to a presidency divided between it and Ts'oo, while both of them acknowledged their inability to control the great States of Tsin and T'e. Evidently, the scheme of a presidential State had become an impracticability. A process of disorganization must go on, till some one Power should become supreme. An invigoration of Chow was out of the question; and whether Tsin, Ts'oo, Tsin or T'e was to found the dynasty of the future, the future only could show.

Again, as the power of the Chow king had waned before the growth of the princes of the great States, the power of those princes was waning in the same way before the growing influence of their ministers and great officers. It might be expected, as actually occurred, that



the great States would nearly all be broken up, or the Houses which now ruled them give place to others.

As to Hseng Shuh, with whom the scheme of a general pacification to be secured by this covenant occurred, he appears to have been a restless dreamer, vain and selfish withal. The scheme itself was, as another officer of Sung pronounced it, a delusion. The time had not come then in China to dispense with the arbitrament of arms, as, alas! it has not yet come in China, or anywhere else in the world.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—Ning He of Wei assumed to himself the whole administration of the government, and the duke was vexed about it. Kung-sun Msen-yu asked leave to put He to death, but the duke said, "But for Ning-tze, I should not have got to my present position, and I gave him my word. The issue [of any attempt], moreover, cannot be known, and I should only make a bad name [for myself]. Stop." The other replied, "I will kill him. Your lordship need know nothing about it." He then consulted with Kung-sun Woo-te and Kung-sun Shin, and made them attack the Ning. They were unsuccessful, and both died. The duke said, "Shin was guilty of no crime; and [now] both he and his father have died through me." In summer, Msen-yu again attacked the Ning, when he killed Ning He, and Kih, the administrator of the Right, and exposed their bodies in the court. [At that time], Shih Goh was about to go to take part in the covenant at Sung. He had received his commission, and was coming out of the court. He threw a garment over [He's] body, pillowed it on his thigh and wept. It occurred to him that he would put it in a coffin, and then flee into exile, but he was afraid he should not escape. He said also to himself that he had received [the State's] commission, and so went on his way.

Par. 4. For 𠄎 Kung and Kuh have 𠄎 Chuen was the Tze-shen of the narrative under xxvi. 1. The Chuen says:—Tze-shen said, "He who drove us out (Sun Lin-foo) has [merely] left the State, and he who received us back (Ning He) is dead. Without the clear [and right application of] rewards and punishments, how is it possible to deter [from evil] and to encourage [to good]? When the ruler has broken his faith, and there is no law in the State, is it not difficult [to carry on the government]? And it was really I who brought this about." With this he left the State to flee to Tsin. The duke sent to stop him, but in vain. When he had got to the Ho, a second messenger came to stop him, whom he detained till he had made an oath [that he would not return]. He then took up his residence in Muh-mun, where he would never sit with his face towards Wei. The commandant of that city advised him to take office [in Tsin], but he refused, saying, "If I took office, and failed in the business of it, I should be an offender; if I succeeded, I should [seem to] show that it was for the sake of office that I had left Wei:—to whom could I make my case clear? I must not stand in the court of any prince." And all his life he did not take office. The duke was mourning for him all his life.

"The duke offered Msen-yu 50 towns, but he refused them, saying, "It is only a high minister who has the complete number of 100 towns. If I would take these 50, I should in my low position be having the revenue of a higher one. The thing would be disorderly and irregular. I dare not hear of it. And moreover it was Ning-tze's many towns which caused his death. I am afraid lest death should quickly overtake me." The duke pressed them upon him, when he accepted the half, and became the Junior-tutor. The duke wished to make him minister, but he declined the office, saying, "Tse-shuh E does not waver in his fidelity, and can help you in [all] great affairs. Give the appointment to him." Wan-tze accordingly was made minister."

Par. 5. [The Chuen appends here three narratives:—1st. "Before Ts'uy Ch'oo of Tse became a widower, he had two sons, Ch'ing and K'ang. After his marriage with Tung-kwoh K'ang (See on xxv. 2), she bore to him Ming, and also brought into his family T'ang Woo-k'ew, her son by her former husband, who, with Tung-kwoh Yen, took the management of Ts'uy's family. In consequence of some disease which he had, Ts'uy Ch'ing was degraded from his position [as the eldest son], and Ming appointed in his place, after which he begged that he might be put in possession till his old age of Ts'uy. Ts'uy-tze granted him that city, but Yen and Woo-k'ew would not give it to him, saying, "Ts'uy is the ancestral city, and must be in the hands of the lord of the ancestral temple." Ch'ing and K'ang were enraged, and, having resolved to kill them, they told K'ing Fung, saying, "You know all about our father. He follows [now] only Woo-k'ew and Yen. None of our uncles or cousins of the clan can get him to listen to a word. The state of things, we are greatly afraid, will be injurious to him, and we presume to tell you of it." K'ing told them to retire for a time, while he considered the matter, which he laid before Loo-p'oo P'eh. P'eh said, "He showed himself the enemy of his ruler, and Heaven perhaps is now going to abandon him: but why should you feel any distress at disorder in his House? The thinner Ts'uy is, the thicker grows K'ing."

When the sons of Ts'uy came to K'ing Fung another day, he said to them, "If it be profitable for your father, you can remove the two men; and if you get into difficulties, I will assist you." In the 9th month, on K'ang-shia, Ts'uy Ch'ing and Ts'uy K'ang killed Tung Kwoh Yen and T'ang Woo-k'ew, while they were at the court of Ts'uy-tze. In a rage he issued from the gate, but his people were all scattered. He sought for men to get his carriage in readiness, but it could not be done. [At last] he got a groom to yoke a carriage for him, and with a eunuch to drive him, he went forth, saying to himself, "It will be fortunate for the Ts'uy family, if only I perish." He then drove to see K'ing Fung, who said, "The Ts'uy and the K'ing are one. Who dared to act thus? Allow me to punish them for you." He then sent Loo-p'oo P'eh with a body of men-at-arms to attack the palace of Ts'uy. It was held, however, by men behind the parapets, who made a successful resistance, till the people were sent to assist the assailants. P'eh then extinguished the House of Ts'uy, killed Ch'ing and K'ang, and carried off all in the



house, the wife of Ts'uy-tze having strangled herself. This done, he returned with a report to that officer, and then drove him back to his palace, where he found that he had nothing to come to, and strangled himself. Ts'uy Ming laid him at night in his fathers' grave;—and on Sin-ze he fled himself to Loo. King Fung took the administration of the State.

2d. Wei P'ei of Ts'oo went to Tsin to confirm the covenant, when the marquis entertained him. As he was leaving the feast, he sang the *Ka tsuy* (She, III. II. ode III.). Shah-hiang said, "Right is it that this Wei should perpetuate his family in Ts'oo. Charged with his ruler's commission, he is not unmindful to show his intelligence. Tze-tang will yet have the government of his State. Active and intelligent in serving his ruler, and thereby able to nourish the people, to whom should the government go but to him?"

3rd. When Shin Ssen-yu came a fugitive to Loo, in consequence of the troubles occasioned by Ts'uy Ch'oo (See the Chuen on xxv. 2), he hired a house for himself and servants in the suburbs, and there mourned for duke Chwang. This winter, an officer from Ts'oo came to invite him to that State. He went there accordingly, and became director of the Left.

Par. 6. This eclipse took place on the 7th Oct. a.c. 545, and was visible in Loo in the morning; but that was the 12th cycle day of the text. The Chuen is correct, therefore, in assigning the eclipse to the 11th month; but Tso-shu is in error when he goes on to say, "This was really the 9th month, through the error of the officers of the calendar. They had now omitted two intercalations." For the grounds which have been attempted to be made out for this remark, see on the 1st par. of next year.

*Twenty-eighth year.*

二十八年春無冰。  
夏衛石惡出奔晉。  
邾子來朝。  
秋八月大雩。  
仲孫羯如晉。  
冬齊慶封來奔。  
十有一月公如楚。  
十有二月甲寅天王  
崩。  
乙未楚子昭卒。

左傳曰：二十八年春，無冰，梓慎曰：今茲宋鄭其饑乎？歲在星紀，而淫於玄枵，以有時，蔭陰不堪。陽蛇乘龍，龍，宋鄭之星也。宋鄭必饑，玄枵，虛中也。枵，耗名也。土虛而民耗，不饑何為？  
夏，齊侯、陳侯、蔡侯、北燕伯、杞伯、胡子、沈子、白狄，朝於晉。宋之盟故也。齊侯將行，慶封曰：我不與盟，何為於晉？陳文子曰：先事後貺，禮也。小事大，未獲事焉，從之如志，禮也。雖不與盟，敢叛晉乎？重丘之盟，未可忘也。子其勸行。  
衛人討甯氏之黨，故石惡出奔晉。衛人立其從子伋，以守石氏之祀，禮也。  
邾悼公來朝，時事也。



秋八月大雩旱也。

⑤蔡侯歸自晉入於鄆鄭伯享之不敬子產曰蔡侯其不免乎日其過此也君使子展廷勞於東門之外而傲吾曰猶將更之今還受享而惰乃其心也君小國事大國而惰傲以爲己心將得死乎若不免必由其子其爲君也淫而不父僑聞之如是者恒有子禍

孟孝伯如晉告將爲宋之盟故如楚也。

⑥蔡侯之如晉也鄭伯使游吉如楚及漢楚人還之曰宋之盟君實親辱今吾子來寡君謂吾子姑還吾將使駟奔問諸晉而以告子大叔曰宋之盟君命將利小國而亦使安定其社稷鎮撫其民人以禮承天之休此君之憲令而小國之望也寡君是故使吉奉其皮幣以歲之不易聘於下執事今執事有命曰汝何與政令之有必使而君棄而封守跋涉山川蒙犯霜露以逞君心小國將君是望敢不唯命是聽無乃非盟載之言以闕君德而執事有不利焉小國是懼不然其何勞之敢憚子大叔歸復命告子展曰楚子將死矣不修其政德而貪昧於諸侯以逞其願欲久得乎周易有之在復之頤曰迷復凶其楚子之謂乎欲復其願而棄其本復歸無所是謂迷復能無凶乎君其往也送葬而歸以快楚心楚不幾十年未能恤諸侯也吾乃休吾民矣裨竈曰今茲周王及楚子皆將死歲棄其次而旅於明年之次以害鳥帑周楚惡之。

⑦九月鄭游吉如晉告將朝於楚以從宋之盟子產相鄭伯以如楚舍不爲壇外僕言曰昔先大夫相先君適四國未嘗不爲壇自是至今亦皆循之今子草舍無乃不可乎子產曰大適小則爲壇小適大苟舍而已焉用壇僑聞之大適小有五美宥其罪戾赦其過失救其萬患賞其德刑教其不及小國不困懷服如歸是故作壇以昭其功宣告後人無怠於德小適大有五惡說其罪戾請其不足行其政事共其職貢從其時命不然則重其幣帛以賀其福而弔其凶皆小國之禍也焉用作壇以昭其禍所以告子孫無昭禍焉可也。



齊慶封好田而嗜酒，與慶舍政，則以其內實，遷於盧蒲癸氏，易內而飲酒，數日，國遷朝焉。使諸亡人得賊者，以告而反之。故反盧蒲癸。癸，臣子之有寵妻之。慶舍之士謂盧蒲癸曰：「男女辨姓，子不辟宗，何也？」曰：「宗不余辟，余獨焉辟之。」賦詩斷章，余取所求焉。惡識宗。癸言王何而反之，二人皆嬖，使執寢戈而先後之。公膳，日雙雞。襄人竊更之以鶩，御者知之，則去其肉，而以其泊饋。子雅、子尾怒，慶封告盧蒲癸。盧蒲癸曰：「譬之如禽獸，吾寢處之矣。」使析歸父告晏平仲。平仲曰：「嬰之衆不足用也，知無能謀也。」言弗敢出。有盟可也。子家曰：「子之言云，又焉用盟？」告北郭子車。子車曰：「人各有以事君，非佐之所能也。」陳文子謂桓子曰：「禍將作矣，吾其何得？」對曰：「得慶氏之木百車於莊。」文子曰：「可慎守也。」已，盧蒲癸、王何卜攻慶氏，示子之兆曰：「或卜攻，讐敢獻其兆。」子之曰：「克見血，冬十月，慶封田於萊。」陳無宇從丙辰，文子使召之，請曰：「無宇之母疾病，請歸。」慶季卜之，示之兆曰：「死。」奉龜而泣，乃使歸。慶嗣聞之，曰：「禍將作矣。」謂子家速歸。禍作必於嘗，歸猶可及也。子家弗聽，亦無懷志。子息曰：「亡矣，幸而獲在。」吳越陳無宇濟水，而戕舟發梁。盧蒲姜謂癸曰：「有事而不告我，必不捷矣。」癸告之。姜曰：「夫子懷莫之止，將不出，我請止之。」癸曰：「諾。」十一月乙亥，嘗於大公之廟。慶舍蒞事，盧蒲姜告之，且止之。弗聽。曰：「誰敢者？」遂如公。麻嬰爲尸，慶妻爲上獻。盧蒲癸、王何執寢戈。慶氏以其甲環公宮。陳氏鮑氏之國人爲優。慶氏之馬善驚，士皆釋甲束馬而飲酒，且觀。優至於魚里，樂高陳鮑之徒。介慶氏之甲，子尾抽桷擊扉三。盧蒲癸自後刺子之。王何以戈擊之，解其左肩，猶援廟桷動於薨，以俎壺投殺人而後死。遂殺慶繩、麻嬰、公懼。鮑國曰：「羣臣爲君故也。」陳須無以公歸稅服，而如內宮。慶封歸，遇告亂者。丁亥，伐西門，弗克。還伐北門，克之。入伐內宮，弗克。反陳於嶽，請戰，弗許。遂來奔。獻車於季武子。美澤可以鑑，展莊叔見之，曰：「車甚澤，人必瘁，宜其亡也。」叔孫穆子食慶封，慶封汜祭，穆子不說，使工爲之誦茅鷗，亦不如。旣而齊人來讓，奔吳。吳句餘子之朱方，聚其族焉而居之，富於其舊。子服惠伯謂叔孫曰：「天殆富淫人，慶封又富矣。」穆子曰：「善人富，謂之實；淫人富，謂之殃。天其殃之也，其將聚而殲旃。」



⊙癸巳，天王崩，未來赴，亦未書禮也。

⊙崔氏之亂，慶羣公子故鉏在魯，叔孫還在燕，賈在句瀆之丘，及慶氏亡，皆召之，具其器用，而反其邑焉。與晏子抵殿，其鄙六十，弗受。子尾曰：「富人之所欲也，何獨弗欲？」對曰：「慶氏之邑足欲，故亡。吾邑不足欲也，益之以抵殿，乃足欲，足欲亡無日矣。在外，不得宰吾一邑，不受抵殿，非惡富也，恐失富也。且夫富如布帛之有幅焉，爲之制度，使無遷也。夫民生厚而用利，於是乎正德以幅之，使無黼黻，謂之幅利，利過則爲敗，吾不敢貪多，所謂幅也。與北郭佐邑六十，受之。與子雅邑，辭多受少。與子尾邑，受而稍致之，公以爲忠，故有寵。釋廬蒲，嬖於北，竟求崔杼之尸，將戮之，不得。叔孫穆子曰：「必得之，武王有亂，臣十人，崔杼其有乎？」不十人，不足以葬。既，崔氏之臣曰：「與我其拱璧，吾獻其柩，於是得之。」十二月乙亥朔，齊人遷葬莊公，殯於大寢，以其棺尸崔杼於市，國人猶知之，皆曰：「崔子也。」

爲宋之盟，故公及宋公、陳侯、鄭伯、許男如楚。公過鄭，鄭伯不在，伯有廷勞於黃崖，不敬。穆叔曰：「伯有無戾於鄭，鄭必有大咎，敬民之主也，而棄之，何以承守？鄭人不討，必受其辜。濟濕之阿，行潦之蘋藻，寘諸宗室，季蘭尸之，敬也，敬可棄乎？」

王人來告喪，問崩日，以甲寅告，故書之，以徵過也。

及漢，楚康王卒，公欲反。叔仲昭伯曰：「我楚國之爲，豈爲一人行也？子服惠伯曰：『君子有遠慮，小人從邇。饑寒之不恤，誰遑其後？不如姑歸也。』叔孫穆子曰：『叔仲子專之矣。子服子始學者也。』榮成伯曰：『遠邇者，忠也。公遂行。』宋向戌曰：『我一人之爲，非爲楚也。饑寒之不恤，誰能恤楚？姑歸而恤民，待其立君而爲之備。』宋公遂反。

⊙楚屈建卒，趙文子喪之如同盟禮也。

XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, there was no ice.

2 In summer, Shih Goh of Wei fled from that State to Tain.



- 3 The viscount of Choo came to the court of Loo.
- 4 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 5 Chung-sun K'eh went to Tsin.
- 6 In winter K'ing Fung of Ts'e came a fugitive to Loo.
- 7 In the eleventh month, the duke went to Ts'oo.
- 8 In the twelfth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
- 9 On Yih-we, Ch'aou, viscount of Ts'oo, died.

Par. 1. This would seem to be an extraordinary phenomenon, according to the general rule for such entries in the text; but if intercalations had been omitted, so that the calendar was at least two months in advance of the proper time, then the first month of the Chou year began at this time really in our October or perhaps September, when the absence of ice was quite natural. Hence to bring things right, and make the phenomenon extraordinary and ominous, Tso Yu introduces in his scheme of the calendar two intercalary months, one immediately after the other at the end of the previous year! The Chuen here says:—“There being no ice this spring, Tso Shin said, ‘This year there will be famine, it is to be feared, in Sung and Ch'ing. The year [-star] (Jupiter) fought to be] in Sing-ke (Sagittarius-Capricorn), and it has licentiously advanced into Hsuen-hsiao (Capricorn-Aquarius). Hence this ominous character of the season, the six not being able to overcome the yang. The Snake is mounted on the Dragon which contains the stars of Sung and Ch'ing. Those States will have famine. The middle star in Hsuen-hsiao is Hsu. But Hsuo denotes consumption and waste. The land empty, and the people with their resources consumed:—what can this mean but famine?’”

[The Chuen appends here:—“In summer, the marquises of Tse, Ch'in, and Ts'ao, the earls of north Yen and Ke, the viscounts of Hoo and Shin, and the northern Teih, went to appear at the court of Tsin,—in accordance with the covenant of Sung. When the marquis of Ts'e was about to go, K'ing Fung said, ‘We took no part in the covenant. What have you to do with Tsin?’ Ch'in Wan-tse said to him, ‘Business first and then gifts, is the rule. A small State, in serving a great one, before it has discharged the business [which is required], should first comply with its request [to go to it], in accordance with its wishes;—this [also] is the rule. Although we took no part in the covenant, dare we revolt from Tsin? Let us not forget the covenant of Ch'ung-k'ew (XXV. 6). Do you advise the marquis to go.’”]

Par. 2. See the narrative under par. 3 of last year for the conduct of Shih Goh after the death of Ning He.

The Chuen here says:—“The people of Wei were punishing the partisans of the Ning, and Shih Goh fled in consequence to Tsin. In Wei they appointed his nephew, Foo, to take charge of the sacrifices of the Shih family;—which was according to rule.”

Par. 3. Tso-she says that this appearance of duke Tsin of Choo at the court of Loo was ‘the usual affair,’ meaning that it was not in consequence of the covenant of Sung, but a

discharge of the usual duty which Choo owed to that State.

Par. 4. “This,” says Tso-she, “was because of drought.”

[The Chuen appends here:—“When the marquis of Ts'ao was returning from Tsin (See the narrative after par. 1), he entered the capital of Ch'ing, where the earl entertained him, and he behaved disrespectfully. Tso-ch'ao said, ‘The marquis of Ts'ao will not escape an evil death. When he was passing this [On his way to Tsin], our ruler sent Tso-chen to go and compliment him outside the east gate, and then he carried himself arrogantly. I thought that he might still change his way; but now, when being feasted thus on his return, he is so remiss, such, it appears, is his nature. Ruler over a small State, and in his service of a great one thus so remiss and arrogant as to show that such is his nature, shall he die a natural death? If he do not escape an evil end, it will be sure to come from his son. He has played the ruler in a lustful and unfatherly way (He had debauched his son's wife), and I have heard that such persons always meet with calamity at the hand of their sons.’”

Par. 5. Tso-she says:—“Mang Hsiao-pih [now] went to Tsin to inform that court, that, in accordance with the covenant of Sung, [the duke] was going to Ts'oo.”

[We have here two narratives:—1st “When the marquis of Ts'ao went to Tsin, the earl of Ch'ing sent Yeh K'eh to Ts'oo. When he had got to the Han, the people of Ts'oo sent him back, saying, ‘According to the covenant of Sung, your ruler ought to come in person; but here are you come. Our ruler says to you, ‘Please return for the present. I will send a courier with all speed to ask Tsin, and then lay the matter before you.’” Tso-ch'ao-shuh (Yeh K'eh) replied, “In the covenant of Sung, your lordship's commands were for the benefit of the small States, and you also ordered us to seek the repose and stability of our altars, and the protection and comfort of our people, and thus by the observance of all proper rules we might enjoy the blessing of Heaven. These were your lordship's orders, and in accordance with them was the hope of our small State. On this account my ruler sent me with robes and silks, in consideration of the difficulties of the year (A famine), on a [merely] friendly visit to your ministers. But now I have their commands, saying, ‘What have you to do with governmental matters? You must send your ruler. Let him leave his charge in his own State, travel over the hills and cross the streams, encounter the bear-frost and the dew.’ This [only] will satisfy your lordship. The hope of our small State is in you, and we dare not but listen to your commands,



though they are not in the engagements of the covenant, and will reflect on your lordship's virtue, and be disadvantageous to your ministers. This our small State was afraid of; but since it is not so, what labour is there from which we will shrink?" Tse-t'ae-shuh then returned and gave a report of his commission, saying to Tse-chen, "The viscount of Ts'oo will [soon] die. Instead of cultivating his government and virtue, he is blindly eager to command the States, and so gratify his ambition. If he wished to continue long, would it be possible for him to do so? The thing is contained in the Chow Tih. When the diagram Fuh (復, ䷗) becomes E (頤, ䷚), we have, in reference to it, the words, 'Deceived as to return;—evil,' which we may well apply to the viscount of Ts'oo. Wishing after all to obtain what he desired, and abandoning what was essential to that, there is no place to return to:—this is what is taught in those words, 'Deceived as to return.' Is it possible evil should not come? Let our ruler go. He will accompany the [viscount's] funeral, and come back,—thus satisfying the wish of Ts'oo. It will not be ten years before Ts'oo is not able to think about the States, and we shall then seek the repose of our people." P'o Tseou said, "At this time the king of Chow and the viscount of Ts'oo will both die. The year-star has left its proper place, and is sojourning in its place for next year, to the injury of the tail of *abao*. Both Chow and Ts'oo may well hate this."

2d. 'In the 9th month, Yew Keih of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to inform that court, that the earl was going to the court of Ts'oo in compliance with the covenant of Sung. Tse-ch'an attended the earl to Ts'oo, and [when they approached the capital of that State], he caused a booth to be erected [for the earl], without rearing any high structure. The servants of the mission said, "Anciently, when our great officers attended their rulers to any other State, they always reared a high structure; and from that time till now the practice has been followed. Is it not improper in you now to make this booth upon the grass?" Tse-ch'an told them, "When a great State goes to a small one, it rears a high structure. When a small State goes to a great one, it should only construct a booth. I have heard this:—When a great State visits a small one, it should do five good things:—be indulgent to its offences, pardon its errors and failures, relieve its calamities, reward it for its virtuous laws, and teach it where it is deficient. There is thus no pressure on the small State. It cherishes [the great] State's virtue and submits to it, fondly as one goes home. On this account a high structure is reared, to display the merit [of the great State], and to make it known to posterity, that they may not be idle in the cultivation of virtue. When a small State goes to a great one, it has five bad things to do. It must explain its trespasses, beg [forgiveness] for its deficiencies, perform its governmental services, contribute its proper dues, and attend to its seasonal commands. And not [only so]:—it has to double its various offerings, to solicitate [the great State] on its happiness, and show its condolence with it in its misfortunes. Now all these things are the sad fate of a small State. Why should it rear a high structure to display its sad fate?

It is enough for it to do that which tells its posterity not to display their sad fate."

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"King Fung of Ts'oo was fond of hunting and drinking. He gave over the government to [his son] K'ing Shay, and then removed with his harem and valuables to the house of Loo-p'oo P'ieh, with whom he drank, while they exchanged wives at the same time. For several days together, [the great officers] would have to go there, as he held his court in it. He gave orders that all the exiles who were held to be traitors should be restored on their application to him; and in this way he brought back Loo-p'oo Kwei, who became minister to Tse-che (Fung's son Shay), and became such a favourite, that Shay gave him his own daughter to wife. Some of Shay's officers spoke to Kwei about this, saying, "Husband and wife should be of different surnames; how is it that you have not avoided taking a wife descended from the same ancestor as yourself?" He replied, "[Another representative of] that ancestor (Meaning Shay) would not avoid me; how should I alone have avoided the thing? I am as if you break off from the whole ode one stanza of it, and sing it. I have taken what I desired to get; how should I have recognised the [common] ancestry?"

Kwei spoke [to Shay] about Wang Ho, and procured his return, who became a favourite as well as himself. Shay made them keep—one before and the other behind him, carrying spears as if guarding his bed.

Every day two fowls were provided for the public meal at the palace, [under the superintendence of K'ing Fung]. The cook one day stealthily changed them for ducks, and the servants who knew it took away the fowl, and served [the bones up] with the broth. Tse-ya and Tse-we were enraged [at the stinginess and insult]; and when K'ing Fung reported that they were so to Loo-p'oo P'ieh, the latter said, "They are like beasts;—I will sleep upon their skins." He then made Seih Kwei-foo tell Gan P'ing-chung about the matter. P'ing-chung said, "My numbers are not sufficient to be employed [on such a service] (Against Tse-ya and Tse-we), nor have I wisdom to help in such a plan; but I will not dare to speak a word about it. But there should be a covenant." Tse-keä (Seih Kwei-foo) replied "Your words are enough. What is the use of a covenant?" He then spoke to Pih-kwoh Tse-ken whose answer was "Every one is able in some way to serve his ruler, but this is not in the range of my ability."

Ch'in Wan-tse said to [his son] Hwan-tse, "The overthrow [of the K'ing] is approaching. What shall we get [out of their property]?" "The hundred carriages of wood that are in the Chwang [street]," was the answer; and the father rejoined, "You can maintain a careful guard over yourself." Loo-p'oo Kwei and Wang Ho counselled the tortoise-shell about attacking the K'ing, and showed Tse-che the indication which they had got, saying, "A man was consulting the tortoise-shell about attacking his enemy, and we venture to present to you the indication." Tse-che observed, "He will be successful. I see the blood."

In winter, in the 10th month, K'ing Fung went to Loo to hunt. Ch'in Woo-ya being in attendance upon him. On P'ing-shin, [Chin's



father] Wan-tse sent to call him home. He asked leave from Fung to return, saying that his mother was very ill. Fung consulted the tortoise-shell, and showed him the indication, saying, "She is dead." [Woo-yu] took the shell in his hand, and wept. He was then sent back, and when K'ing Tse heard of it, he said, "The calamity is about to commence," and then urged Tse-kia (Fung's designation) to return immediately. "The calamity," said he, "will be sure to happen at the autumnal sacrifice. An immediate return may still prevent it." It was in vain, and Fung manifested no regret or change of purpose, which made Tse-seih (K'ing Tse) say, "We must fly. We shall be fortunate if we reach Woo or Yueh." [In the meantime], Ch'in Woo-yu [was on his way back], and whenever he crossed a stream, he scuttled the boat, and destroyed the bridge.

"Loo-p'oo K'ang (K'ing Shai's daughter) said to her husband, "You have some business in hand; and if you do not tell me what it is, it will not succeed." Kwei then told her, when she said, "My father is self-willed. If some one do not ask him to stay at home, he will not come out. Let me go and ask him." "Very well," replied Kwei.

"In the 11th month, on Tih-hae, was the autumnal sacrifice in the temple of T'ue Kung, under the superintendence of K'ing Shai. Loo-p'oo K'ang went and told him [of what was intended], and begged him to stay at home, but he would not listen to her, saying, "Who will dare [to make an attempt on me]?" and with this he went to the temple. Ma Ying was the personator of the dead, and K'ing Hieh had offered the first cup. Loo-p'oo Kwei and Wang Ho were in attendance with their spouses, and the men at arms of the K'ing surrounded the palace. The grooms of the Ch'in and Paou families began to get up a play, and the horses of some of the K'ing got frightened, on which [many of] the men at arms threw off their buffcoats, and secured them. They then fell drinking, and [were drawn off to] see the players to [the street of] Yu-fo, the followers of the Lwan, the Kaon, the Ch'in, and the Paou mixing themselves among them. [At this point], Tse-we struck one of the leaves of the door with a mallet, when Kwei stabbed Tse-che from behind, and Wang Ho struck him with his spear. The blow cut off his left arm, but still he got hold [with the other] of a pillar of the temple, and shook it so that the rafters quivered. Then he hurled a stand and a vase, killed a man [with each of them], and died himself. [The conspirators] then killed K'ing Shing (Hieh) and Ma Ying. The duke was frightened, but Paou Kwok said to him, "We are all acting in your interest." Ch'in Sen-woe took the duke away, when he threw off his robes, and went to the inner palace.

"King Fung, on his way back from Loo, was met by parties who told him of the rising. On Tih-hae he attacked the western gate unsuccessfully, after which he turned to the northern, which he took, and entered, proceeding to attack the inner palace. Unsuccessful there, he withdrew, and arranged his forces in the Yeh [street]. There he challenged his enemies to battle, but they would not meet him. He then came to Loo a fugitive, and presented a chariot to Ke Woo-rue, so beautiful and polished that men could see themselves in it. When Chen Chwang-shuh

saw it, he said, "When the carriage is highly polished, its owner is sure to come to distress. It was right he should come to exile." Shuh-sun Muh-tse gave Fung an entertainment, at which he scattered the sacrificial thank-offerings about. Muh-tse was displeased, and made the musicians sing for him the Maon ch'e (a lost ode), but he did not perceive the meaning.

"By-and-by the people of T'e sent to reproach [Loo for sheltering him], on which he fled to Woo, where Kow-yu gave him [the city of] Choo-fang. There he collected the members of his clan and settled them, becoming richer than he had been before. Tse-fah Hway-pih said to Shih-sun, "Heaven would seem to enrich bad men. K'ing Fung is rich again." Muh-tse replied, "Riches may be called the reward of good men, and the ruin of bad men. Heaven will bring him to ruin. He will be destroyed utterly with all that are his."

[Appended here, we have two narratives:—  
1st. "On Kwei-ang, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died. No word was yet sent of the event, and therefore no record was made of it. This was according to rule." See below on the last par.

2d. "In the disorder occasioned by Ts'uy-tseu, all dukes [Chwang's] sons had disappeared. Ts'oo had gone to Loo; Shuh-sun Sen-woe to Yen, and K'ia to the hill of Kow-tow. Now that K'ing Fung was driven into exile, they were all recalled, the furniture which they required supplied, and their cities restored to them. The duke conferred P'ei-tien on Gan-tse, in whose circuit there were 60 towns; but he would not receive it. Tse-we said to him, "Riches are what men desire; how is it that you alone do not desire them?" He replied, "The towns of the K'ing were enow to excite men's desires, and hence he is now in exile. My cities are not enow to do that; but if I were to receive P'ei-tien, they would be so, and the day of my exile would not be distant. Abroad, I should not have one town to preside over. My not receiving P'ei-tien is not because I hate riches, but because I am afraid of losing my riches. Moreover, riches should be like pieces of cloth or silk, which are made up in lengths of a definite measurement, which cannot be altered. When the people have the means of sustentation abundant and conveniences of life, there must be the rectification of virtue (See the Shoo, II. II. T) to act as a limit or border to them. Let them not become abandoned and insolent, and you have what may be called a protecting border to their advantages. If those go beyond that, ruin will ensue. My not coveting to have more than I have is what is called the protecting limit." The duke gave Pih-kwok Tso 60 towns, and he received them. He gave [muny] to Tse-ya, but he only accepted a few. He gave the same to Tse-we, and he accepted them, but afterwards returned some. The duke considered the conduct [of these two] a proof of their fidelity, and showed them favour.

"He liberated Loo-p'oo P'ieh and [banished him] to the northern border. He sought for the body of Ts'uy Ch'oo, intending to take the head off, but could not find it. When Shuh-sun Muh-tse heard of this he said, "They are sure to find it. King Woo had ten capable ministers; and did not Ts'uy Ch'oo have as many servants? Less than ten would not have been



enow to bury him." By-and-by one of Ts'uy's servants said, "Give me his *peñ* which took the two arms to hold it, and I will give up his coffin." Thus they found [the body]. In the 12th month, on Yih-han, the 1st day of the moon, the people of Ts'ue removed duke Chwang from his grave, and put him in proper grave-clothes into a new coffin in the grand chamber, and in the [old] coffin they exposed Ts'uy Ch'oo's body in the market place. The people could all still recognize it, and said, "This is Ts'uy-tze."]

PAR. 7, 9. The Chuen says:—In consequence of the covenant of Sung, the duke, and the duke of Sung, the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Heu, went to Ts'oo. When the duke passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing, the earl was not in it, [but had already gone]. Pih-yü, however, came out on a complimentary visit to the banks of the Hwang, and was not respectful. Muh-shuh said, "If Pih-yü be not dealt with as an offender by Ch'ing, he will do that State great injury. Respectfulness is an essential thing for the people. If a man cast it away, how shall he keep [the family] he has received from his ancestors? If the people of Ch'ing do not punish him, they are sure to suffer through him. The duckweed and pondweed, gathered by the banks of shallows and marshes and about standing pools, placed in the ancestral temple, and superintended by the young and elegant ladies, [are accepted] because of the reverence [in the thing] (See the *She*, L. li. ode IV.). When the duke had reached the Han, king K'ang of Ts'oo was dead, and he wished to return. Shuh-chung Ch'ao-pih said, "We are going for the sake of the State of Ts'oo, and

not on account of one man." Tze-fuh Hwuy-pih said, "The superior man is solicitous about what is remote; smaller men act from the impression of what is near. Who has leisure to attend to the future, without considering the [present] hunger and cold? Let us return for the present." Shuh-sun Muh-tze said, "Shuh-chung is to be entirely followed. Tze-fuh's opinion is that of one commencing his learning." Yung Ching-pih [also] said, "He who considers the remote is the faithful counsellor." On this the duke went on.

Hsäng-sueh said, "[Our journey was] on account of the one man, and not on account of Ts'oo. Who can think of Ts'oo, and not think of the [present] hunger and cold? Let us return for the present and rest our people. When they have settled the question of a new ruler, we can make the necessary preparations." On this the duke of Sung returned.

PAR. 8. The king really died on Kwei-ze, 21 days before K'ieh-yin;—see, to the 1st narrative after p. 6. Tze-shu says:—An officer from the court came to announce the king's death. Being asked the day of it, he said it was K'ieh-yin; and so it was recorded, to show the fault [of the late announcement] (P.).

If K'ieh-yin was in the 12th month, Yih-we when the viscount of Ts'oo died, separated from K'ieh-yin by 41 days could not be in it. This is held to prove that there was an intercalary month at the end of this year, to which Yih-we belonged.

[There is appended here:—K'ueh K'ien of Ts'oo died, and Chao Wän-tze wore mourning for him according to the rule for those who had covenanted together;—which was right.]

Twenty-ninth year.

二十<sup>二</sup>年有九年春王正月公  
在楚夏五月公至自楚  
庚午衛侯衎卒  
閼弑吳子餘祭  
仲孫羯會晉荀盈齊高止  
宋華定衛世叔儀鄭公孫  
段曹人莒人滕人薛人小  
邾人城杞  
杞子來盟  
晉侯使士鞅來聘



吳子使八章札來聘。秋九月，葬衛獻公。十章齊高止出奔北燕。十章冬，仲孫羯如晉。

左傳曰：二十九年春，王正月，公在楚，釋不朝正於廟也。楚人使公親榼，公患之。穆叔曰：祓殯而榼，則布幣也。乃使巫以桃茢先祓殯。楚人弗禁，既而悔之。

○二月癸卯，齊人葬莊公於北郭。

○夏四月，葬楚康王。公及陳侯、鄭伯、許男送葬。至於西門之外，諸侯之大夫皆至於墓。楚郊敖

即位。王子圍爲令尹。鄭行人子羽曰：是謂不宜，必代之昌。松柏之下，其草不殖。

公還及方城。季武子取卞，使公治間。盟書迫而與之曰：聞守卞者將叛，臣帥徒以討之。既得之

矣，敢告。公治致使而退，及舍而後聞取卞。公曰：欲之而言叛，祇見疏也。公謂公冶曰：吾可以入

乎？對曰：君實有國，誰敢違君？公與公冶冕服，固辭，強之而後受。公欲無入，榮成伯賦式微，乃歸。

五月，公至自楚。公治致其邑於季氏，而終不入焉。曰：欺其君，何必使余？季孫見之，則言季氏如

他日不見，則終不言季氏及疾，聚其臣曰：我死，必無以冕服斂，非德賞也。且無使季氏葬我。

○葬靈王。鄭上卿有事，子展使印段往。伯有曰：弱不可。子展曰：與其莫往，弱不猶愈乎？詩云：王

事靡盬，不遑啟處。東西南北，誰敢寧處？堅事晉楚，以蕃王室也。王事無曠，何常之有？遂使印段

如周。

吳人伐越，獲俘焉，以爲闕，使守舟。吳子餘祭觀舟，闕以刀弑之。

○鄭子展卒，子皮即位。於是鄭饑而未及麥，民病。子皮以子展之命，餽國人粟，戶一鍾。是以得

鄭國之民。故罕氏常掌國政，以爲上卿。宋司城子罕聞之曰：鄰於善民之望也。宋亦饑，請於平

公，出公粟以貸，使大夫皆貸。司城氏貸而不書，爲大夫之無者貸。宋無饑人，叔向聞之曰：鄭之

罕，宋之樂，其後亡者也。二者其皆得國乎？民之歸也，施而不德，樂氏加焉，其以宋升降乎？



晉平公杞出也。故治杞。六月。知悼子合諸侯之大夫以城杞。孟孝伯會之。鄭子大叔與伯石往。子大叔見大叔文子。與之語。文子曰。甚乎其城杞也。子大叔曰。若之何哉。晉國不恤周宗之闕。而夏肆是解。其棄諸姬。亦可知也已。諸姬是棄。其誰歸之。吉也。聞之。棄同即異。是謂離德。詩曰。協比其鄰。昏姻孔云。晉不鄰矣。其誰云之。○齊高子容與宋司徒見知伯。安齊相禮。賓出。司馬侯言於知伯曰。二子皆將不免。子容專。司徒侈。皆亡家之主也。知伯曰。何如。對曰。專則速及。侈將以其力斃。專則人實斃之。將及矣。

范獻子來聘。拜城杞也。公享之。展莊叔執幣射者三耦。公臣不足。取於家臣。家臣展瑕。展玉父。爲一耦。公臣公巫召伯仲。顏莊叔爲一耦。鄧鼓父。黨叔爲一耦。

晉侯使司馬汝叔侯來治杞田。弗盡歸也。晉悼夫人愠曰。齊也取貨。先君若有知也。不尙取之。公告叔侯。叔侯曰。虞。虢。焦。滑。霍。楊。韓。魏。皆姬姓也。晉是以大。若非侵小。將何所取。武獻以下。兼國多矣。誰得治之。杞。夏餘也。而卽東夷。魯。周公之後也。而睦於晉。以杞封魯。猶可。而何有焉。魯之於晉也。職貢不乏。玩好時至。公卿大夫。相繼於朝。史不絕書。府無虛月。如是可矣。何必瘠魯以肥杞。且先君而有知也。毋寧夫人。而焉用老臣。杞文公來盟。書曰。子賤之也。

吳公子札來聘。見叔孫穆子。說之。謂穆子曰。子其不得死乎。好善而不能擇人。吾聞君子。務在擇人。吾子爲魯宗卿。而任其大政。不慎舉。何以堪之。禍必及子。請觀於周樂。使工爲之歌。周南。召南。曰。美哉。始基之矣。猶未也。然勤而不怨矣。爲之歌。邶。鄘。衛。曰。美哉。淵乎。憂而不困者也。吾聞衛康叔。武公之德如是。是其衛風乎。爲之歌。王曰。美哉。思而不懼。其周之東乎。爲之歌。鄭。曰。美哉。其細已甚。民弗堪也。是其先亡乎。爲之歌。齊。曰。美哉。泱泱乎。大風也哉。表東海者。其大乎。國未可量也。爲之歌。幽。曰。美哉。蕩乎。樂而不淫。其周公之東乎。爲之歌。秦。曰。此之謂夏聲。夫能夏則大。大之至也。其周之舊乎。爲之歌。魏。曰。美哉。渢渢乎。大而婉。險而易行。以德輔此。則明



主也。爲之歌。唐曰：思深哉！其有陶唐氏之遺民乎？不然，何憂之遠也？非令德之後，誰能若是？爲之歌。陳曰：國無主，其能久乎？自卽以下，無譏焉。爲之歌。小雅曰：美哉！思而不貳，怨而不言，其周德之衰乎？猶有先王之遺民焉。爲之歌。大雅曰：廣哉！熙熙乎！曲而有直體，其文王之德乎？爲之歌。頌曰：至矣哉！直而不倨，曲而不屈，迥而不偏，遠而不攜，遷而不淫，復而不厭，哀而不愁，樂而不荒，用而不匱，廣而不宣，施而不費，取而不貪，處而不底，行而不流，五聲和，八風平，節有度，守有序，盛德之所同也。見舞象箏南籥者，曰：美哉！猶有憾。見舞大武者，曰：美哉！周之盛也。其若此乎？見舞韶護者，曰：聖人之弘也，而猶有慙德，聖人之難也。見舞大夏者，曰：美哉！勤而不德，非禹其誰能修之？見舞韶箾者，曰：德至矣哉！大矣！如天之無不幘也，如地之無不載也，雖甚盛德，其蔑以加於此矣。觀止矣！若有他樂，吾不敢請已。其出聘也，通嗣君也，故遂聘於齊，說晏平仲，謂之曰：子速納邑與政，無邑與政，乃免於難。齊國之政將有所歸，未獲所歸，難未歇也。故晏子因陳桓子以納政與邑，是以免於難。高之難聘於鄭，見子產如舊相識，與之縞帶，子產獻紵衣焉。謂子產曰：鄭之執政侈，難將至矣。政必及子，子爲政慎之以禮，不然，鄭國將敗。適衛說遷緩，史狗、史鰌、公子荆、公叔發、公子朝曰：衛多君子，未有患也。自衛如晉，將宿於戚，聞鐘聲焉，曰：異哉！吾聞之也，辯而不德，必加於戮。夫子獲罪於君，以在此，懼猶不足，而又何樂？夫子之在此也，猶燕之巢於幕上，君又在殯，而可以樂乎？遂去之。文子聞之，終身不聽琴瑟。適晉，說趙文子、韓宣子、魏獻子，曰：晉國其萃於三族乎？說叔向將行，謂叔向曰：吾子勉之，君侈而多良，大夫皆富，政將在家，吾子好直，必思自免於難。

秋九月，齊公孫彊、公孫臧放其大夫高止於北蘇。乙未，出，書曰：出奔，罪高止也。高止好以事自爲功，且專，故難及之。

冬，孟孝伯如晉，報范叔也。



猶可以戾不然將亡矣。辟之天禍鄭久矣其必使子產息之乃  
 也。天又除之奪伯有魄子西卽世將焉  
 舉不踰等則位班也擇善而舉則世隆  
 謀曰善之代不善天命也其焉辟子產  
 必三年而後能紓然明曰政將焉往禪  
 亂是用長今是長亂之道也禍未歇也  
 諺曰是盟也其與幾何詩曰君子屢盟  
 之十二月己巳鄭大夫盟於伯有氏禪  
 將強使之子皙怒將伐伯有氏大夫和  
 子皙曰可則往難則已何世之有伯有  
 惡而使余往是殺余也伯有曰世行也  
 ⑤鄭伯有使公孫黑如楚辭曰楚鄭方  
 晉晉人城綿而寘旃  
 敬仲也十一月乙卯高豎致廬而出奔  
 有後請致邑齊人立敬仲之曾孫鄆其  
 實閭丘嬰帥師圍廬高豎曰苟使高氏  
 ④爲高氏之難故高豎以廬叛十月庚

- XXIX. 1 In his twenty-ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Ts'oo.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo.
- 3 On K'ang-woo, K'an, marquis of Wei, died.
- 4 A gate-keeper murdered Yu-chae, viscount of Woo.
- 5 Chung-sun K'eh joined Sün Ying of Tsin, Kaou Che of Ts'e, Hwa Ting of Sung, She-shuh E of Wei, Kung-sun Twan of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aou, Keu, T'ang, S'eh, and little Choo, in walling [the capital of] Ke.
- 6 The marquis of Tsin sent Sze Yang to Loo on a friendly mission.
- 7 The viscount of Ke came and made a covenant.
- 8 The viscount of Woo sent Chah to Loo on a friendly mission.
- 9 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was the burial of duke H'een of Wei.
- 10 Kaou Che of Ts'e fled from that State to north Yen.
- 11 In winter, Chung-sun K'eh went to Tsin.

Par. 1. Tso-she says this notice is intended to explain how the duke did not welcome in the new year by repairing to the shrines in the ancestral temple on the first day of it. But there is probably more significance in it. Both duke S'ang and duke Ch'ing had been absent from Loo at the time of the new year on visits to Tsin; but this episode contains no par. like this in reference to those years. To be obliged to go to Ts'oo was an indignity to the marquis of Loo; while there, he was obliged to submit to peculiar indignities; and during his absence Ke Woo-tzu had encroached upon his authority in the government of the State, so that he was even afraid to enter his capital on

his return. All these things are hidden under the apparently innocent words of the text, in which many have traced the *style* of the sage himself. The Chuen says:—The people of Ts'oo required the duke to bring grave-clothes with his own hand [for king K'ang]. He was troubled about it, but Muh-shuh said to him, "Have all about the coffin sprinkled, and then take the grave-clothes there. They will be but so much cloth or silk set forth [at court]." Accordingly a sorcerer was employed, who first executed the sprinkling with a branch of a peach tree and some reeds. The people of Ts'oo did not prevent him, but they afterwards regretted it.



[We have here two notices about the burials of the princes of Ts'ao and Ts'oo:—

1st. 'In the 2d month, on Kwei-mao, the people of Ts'ao buried duke Chwang in the northern suburbs.

2d. 'In summer, in the 4th month, at the burial of king K'ang of Ts'oo, the duke, with the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Hsu, all accompanied it to the outside of the western gate, and the great officers of the States went to the grave. K'ang-gau (See at the end of the 1st year of duke Ch'ao) then took the vacant seat, and king [Kung's] son Wei became chief minister. Tse-yu, the intendant of Ch'ing, said, "This may be called incongruous. [Wei] will take the [king's] place, and flourish in his room. Beneath the pine and the cypress the grass does not flourish."

Par. 2. The duke arrived from Ts'oo, but it was with some hesitancy that he ventured to enter his own State again.

The Chuen says:—"When the duke on his return had got [to the barrier-wall of Ts'oo], Ke Woo-tze had taken P'ien, [and appropriated it to himself]. He sent, however, Kung-yay to [meet the duke, and] inquire after his welfare, sending a messenger after him, who overtook him, with a sealed letter [for the duke], in which it was said, "The officer in charge of P'ien was intending to revolt. I led my followers to punish him, and have got the place. I venture to inform you of it." Kung-yay discharged his commission, and withdrew; and when [the duke] came to his resting place, he learned that Ke Woo-tze had taken P'ien. "He wished to get it," said the duke, "and pretends that it was revolting. This makes me feel that I am treated very distantly." He then asked Kung-yay whether it would be safe for him to enter [the State]. "The State," replied Kung-yay, "is your lordship's; who will dare to resist you?" On which the duke gave him the cap and robes [of a minister]. That officer firmly declined them, and only received them after he was hard pressed to do so. The duke wished not to enter the State, till Yung Ch'ing-pih sang to him the Shih-wu (Shu, I. iii. ode XL), after which he took his way back to the capital. He arrived from Ts'oo in the 3th month, and Kung-yay resigned the city which he held from Ke Woo-tze, and never afterwards entered his house, saying that he would not be in the employment of such a deceiver of his ruler. If Ke-sun went to see him, he would speak of his business as in former days. If he did not go to see him, he never spoke of the affairs of the family. When he was ill, he assembled his servants, and said to them, "When I am dead, be sure and not put me in my coffin with my ministerial cap and robes. They were not a reward of virtue. And do not let the Ke bury me."

Par. 3. [The Chuen appends here:—] At the burial of king Ling, the highest ministers of Ch'ing being [otherwise] occupied, Tse-chen proposed that Yin T'wan should go [to the capital]. Pih-yew objected on the ground that T'wan was too young; but Tse-chen said, "Is it not better that a young man should go than that no one at all should go?" The ode (Shu, II. I. ode II. 2) says,

"The king's business was not to be slackly performed;  
I had no leisure to kneel or to sit."

East, west, south and north, who dares to dwell at ease? We steadily serve Tsin and Ts'oo, in order to protect the royal House. The king's business must not be undischarged, but there is no regular rule as to the person." Accordingly, he sent Yin T'wan to Chow."

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"The people of Woo, in an invasion of Yueh, took a prisoner, whom they made a door-keeper (*i.e.*, after cutting off his feet), and then appointed him to the charge of the [viscount's] boat. The viscount, Yu-chao, was inspecting the boat [on one occasion], when the door-keeper murdered him with a knife."

There is no doubt as to the meaning of 閹; but how the murder should be the act of a 'door-keeper' seems to need some explanation. Both Kung-yang and K'uh-hsiang say that the person in question was 刑人, 'mutilated,' and K'uh-hsiang further says the mutilation consisted in his being a eunuch (寺). But we need not suppose this. Persons mutilated in their feet were in those times often employed as gate-keepers; and officers were so punished, and then that occupation was given to them. This must be the meaning, I think, of the 以爲閹 in Tse-chen, and we can understand how the man should revenge himself by the murder of the viscount.

[We have here the following narrative:—] Tse-chen of Ch'ing died, and [his son], Tse-p'e, succeeded to his place. At this time the State was suffering from famine, and as the wheat crop was not yet ripe, the people were very badly off. Tse-p'e then, (as if) by his father's command, presented each family with a *sheep* of millet, thereby winning the attachment of the people; and in consequence of this the government of the State regularly continued in the hands of the Han family, its chiefs being the highest ministers.

When Tse-han, minister of Works in Sung, heard what Tse-p'e had done, he said, "As we are neighbours to [the State where such] good [is done], our people will expect the same from us." Sung was also suffering from famine, and he begged duke Ping to lend [to the people] out of his public stores of grain, and made the great officers all lend in the same way. He himself kept no record of what he lent, (saying that he did it) for the great officers who had none. The consequence was that none in Sung suffered from want. Shuh-hsiang heard of it and said, "Many families will perish before the Han of Ch'ing, and the Yeh of Sung. They two are likely to have the chief sway in their States. The people will be attached to them. But in giving, and not considering it an act of virtue, the Yeh has the advantage. His descendants will rise and fall along with Sung."

Par. 5. For 世叔儀, Kung-yang has

世叔齊; and both he and K'uh-hsiang have 邾人 after 莒人. The Chuen says:—

"The mother of duke Ping of Tsin was a daughter of the House of Ke, in consequence of



which he took the management of that State. In the 8th month, Che Tao-tze (Seun Ying) assembled the great officers of the States to fortify its capital. Mäng Hsün-pih (Chung-sun Kieh) was among them; and from Ch'ing Tseu-t'ao-shuh and Pih-shih (Kung-sun T'wan) went. The former of these visited T'ao-shuh Wän-tze (T'ao-shuh of Wei), and spoke with him [about the undertaking]. "Very great" said Wän-tze, "is this walling of Ke." Tseu-t'ao-shuh said, "How is it that Tsin has no thought about the wants of the States that are connected with the house of Chow, and sets itself to protect this branch of Hsia? We can well know from it how Tsin has abandoned all its Ke (States of the 姓 or Chow surname). But if it abandon them, who will remain attached to it? I have heard that to abandon one's own, and seek to strangers, is a proof of estrangement from virtue." The ode (She, II. iv. ode VIII. 12) says,

'They assemble their neighbours,  
And their kinsfolk are full of their praise.'

As Tsin does not play a neighbour's part, who will praise it?"

'Kao Tse-yung (Kao Che) of Te'e and the minister of Instruction of Sung (Hwa Ting), visited Che Pih (Shün Ying), when Joo Te'e was master of the ceremonies. When the guests were gone, the marshal How (Joo Te'e) said to Che Pih, "Neither of those gentlemen will escape an evil end. Tse-yung is self-sufficient, and the minister of Instruction is extravagant. They are both men who will ruin their families." Che Pih said, "[As between them], how will it be?" The reply was, "Self-sufficiency brings its fate on more rapidly. Extravagance comes to ruin along with [the exhaustion of] its means; but other men deal ruin to self-sufficiency. In this case it will [soon] come."

It was certainly ill-advised in the marquis of Tsin to call out the States to an undertaking like the walling of Ke. The partiality displayed in it did much to shake the supremacy which Tsin had maintained so long. Loo, and other States probably as well, were made to restore to Ke lands which they had taken from it.

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—"The visit of Pan Hsün-tze (Sze Yang) was in acknowledgment of the walling of Ke. The duke entertained him, when Chen Chwang-pih held the silks [presented to him], and three pairs of archers displayed their skill. The duke's own officers, however, were not sufficient to supply that number, and it was necessary to get some from one of the clans. That supplied Chen Hsia and Chen Yuh-foo, who formed one pair. Of the duke's officers, Kung-woo Shao-pih-chung and Yen Chwang-shuh formed a pair, and the other consisted of Tsang Koo-foo and Tang Shuh."

Par. 7. The marquis sent the marshal Joo Shuh-how to Loo to manage the matter about the lands of Ke, when we did not restore all [that we had taken]. Tao, the marquis's mother, was indignant, and said that Te'e (Shuh-how) had taken bribes, and that if their former rulers could know it, they would not approve of his doing so. The marquis told this to Shuh-how, who replied, "The princes of Yu, Kwö, Tsöou, Hwah, Hoh, Yang, Han, and Wei were Ke (姓), and Tsin's greatness is

owing to [its absorption of] them. If it had not encroached on the small States, where should it have found territory to take? Since the times of Woo and Hsün, we have annexed many of them; and who can call us to account for the encroachments? Ke is a remnant of [the House of] Hsia, and has assimilated to the wild tribes of the east. [The princes of] Loo are the descendants of the duke of Chow, and are in most friendly relations with Tsin; if we should confer all Ke on Loo, we should not be doing anything strange, so that there is nothing to make to do about [in the present matter]. In its relations with Tsin, Loo contributes its dues without fail; its valuable curiosities are always arriving; its princes, ministers, and great officers come, one after another, to our court. Our historiographers do not cease recording; our treasury is not left empty a month. Let such a state of things alone. Why should we make Loo thin in order to fatten Ke? If, moreover, our former rulers could know of the case, would they not be angry with the lady, rather than find occasion to reprove me?"

'Duke Wän of Ke [now] came to Loo, and made a covenant [With reference to the restored lands]. The text calls him viscount, in contempt for him (?).'

Par. 8. The Chah introduced here appears in an honourable way in the narrative appended to xiv. 1. The difficulties connected with his present mission will be touched on after the long narrative in the Chuen:—"The Kung-tze Chah of Woo, having come to Loo on a complimentary mission, visited Shuh-sun Muh-tze, and was pleased with him. He said to him, however, "You will not, I am afraid, die a natural death! You love good men, and yet are not able to select such [for office]. I have heard that it is the object of a superior man, high in office, to select [good men]. You are a minister of Loo, and a scion of its House. You are entrusted with a great part of its government, and yet you are not careful in the men you raise to office;—how will you bear the consequences? Calamity is sure to come upon you." He then begged that he might hear the music of Chow; and [the duke] made the musicians sing to him the [odes of the] 'Chow Nan and the Shao Nan (She, I. i. 5.) [with all the accompaniments]. "Admirable!" he said; "here was the beginning and foundation [of king Wan's transforming influence], yet still it was not complete. Notwithstanding, there is [the expression of] earnest endeavour, without any resentment."

'They sang to him the [odes of] P'ei, Yung, and Wei (She, I. iii. iv. v.) "Admirable!" he said. "How deep [was the influence]! Here are those who sorrow, and yet are not distressed." I hear [and I know];—it was the virtue of Kwang-shuh and duke Woo, which made these odes what they are,—the odes of Wei."

'They sang to him the [odes of] Wang (She, I. vi.) "Admirable!" he said. "Here is thought without fear, as befitted Chow after its removal to the east!"

'They sang to him the [odes of] Ch'ing (I. vii.). He said, "Admirable! But the minutiae in them are excessive, and the people could not endure them. It is this which will make Ch'ing the first to perish."

'They sang to him the [odes of] T'ie (I. viii.). He said, "Admirable! How loudly sound



these odes of a great State! It was T'ao-kung who made such an object of distinction by the east sea. The destinies of this State are not to be measured."

"They sang to him the [odes of] Pin (L. xv.). He said, "Admirable! [Their sound] is grand. They are expressive of enjoyment without licence,—as befitting the duke of Chow in the east!"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ts'in (I. xi.). He said, "Here are what we call the sounds of the cultivated States! Ts'in was able to become one of these, and so is great, very great. Was it not because it occupies the old seat of Chow?"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Wei (I. ix.). He said, "Admirable! What harmony! There is grandeur and delicacy, like a dangerous defile yet easily traversed! To this let there be added the aids of virtue, and [Wei] should produce intelligent lords."

"They sang to him the [odes of] T'ang (I. x.). He said, "How expressive of thought and deep [anxiety]! Did not T'ang possess the people that came down from [the rule of] the prince of] T'ao and T'ang? But for that how should there have been here an anxiety so far-reaching? But for the remaining influence of his excellent virtue, who could have produced anything like this?"

"They sang to him the [odes of] Ch'in (I. xii.). He said, "A State without [proper] lords!—how can it continue long?" On [the music of] Kwei and Ts'ao (L. xlii. xiv.), he made no remarks.

"They sang to him the [odes of the] Shao Ya, (She, II.). He said, "Admirable! Here is thoughtfulness, but no disaffection; resentful feeling, but not the expression of it. Is there not indicated some decay in the virtue of Chow? But still there were the people that had come down from the early kings."

"They sang to him the [odes of the] Ta Ya (She, III.). He said, "How wide! How harmonious and pleasant! Amid all the winding [of the notes], the movement is straight-onward. Is there not here the virtue of king Wan?"

"They sang to him the Sacrificial Odes (She, IV.). He said, "This is perfect! Here are straight-forwardness without rudeness; winding but no bending; nearness without pressure; distance without estrangement; changes without licence; repetitions without satiety; disconsolateness without deep sorrow; joy without wild indulgence; the use of resources without their ever failing; while [virtue] without display; beneficence without waste; appropriation without covetousness; conservation without obstruction; and constant exercise without any dissipation. The five notes are harmonious; the [six of the] eight winds are equally blended; the parts [of the different instruments] are defined; all is maintained in an orderly manner; the complete virtue [of Chow and Shang and of Lo] appears united here."

"When he saw the dancers with the ivory pipes, and those with the southern flageoles, he said, "Admirable! And still we must regret [that Wan's sway was not universal]."

"When he saw the dancers of the Ta-woo (the dance of king Woo), he said, "Admirable! Chow was now complete! Here is the witness of it!"

"When he saw the dancers of the Shao-hoo (The dance of Tang of Yin), he said, "The singularity of the angel and still there was something to be ashamed of [in Tang];—his position was hard [even] for a sage."

"When he saw the dancers of the Ta-hia (the music of Yu), he said, "Admirable! Zealous labour without any assumption of merit!—who but Yu could have accomplished this?"

"When he saw the dancers of the Shao-shao (the music of Shun), he said, "Virtue was here complete. This is great. It is like the universal overshadowing of heaven, and the universal sustaining of the earth. The most complete virtue could add nothing to this. Let the exhibition stop. If there be any other music, I shall not presume to ask to hear it."

"Chieh had come out to pay complimentary visits, to introduce the new ruler of Woo to the other princes; so he now went on to Ts'ao, where he was pleased with Gau Ping-chung, and said to him, "Quickly return [to the State] your towns and your share in the government. If you are without towns and charge, you will escape the troubles [that are coming]. The government of Ts'ao will come into the hands of the right person; but until that happens, its troubles will not cease." Gau-tze on this resigned his share in the government and his towns through Ch'in Hwan-tze; and in this way he escaped the troubles of Lwan and Kao."

"[From Ts'ao] Chieh went on to Ch'ing, where he visited T'ao-ch'an, as if they had been old acquaintances, presenting him with a sack of the plain, white silk [of Woo], and receiving from him a robe of the grass-cloth [of Ch'ing]. He said to T'ao-ch'an, "The [acting] chief minister of Ch'ing is extravagant, and troubles will [soon] arise. The government is sure to fall to you, and you must be careful to observe the rules of propriety in the conduct of it. If you are not so, the State will go to ruin."

"He went on to Wei, where he was pleased with Kuo T'ao, Ssu Kow, Ssu Ts'ao, the Kung-tze King, Kung-shuh Fah, and the Kung-tze Chao, and said, "There are many superior men in Wei, and it will not yet have any sorrows."

"From Wei he went to Ts'in, and [on the way] was going to pass the night in Ts'ieh. Hearing the sound of bells in it, however, he said, "This is strange! I have heard that he who strives, and does so not virtuously, is sure to be executed. It is because he offended against his ruler that he is here. If to live in apprehension were not enough for him, why should he go on to have music? He lives here like a swallow which has built its nest in a tent. When his ruler is still in his coffin in the ancestral temple, is it a time to have music?" With this he left the place; but when [Sun] Wan-tze heard his words, he never afterwards listened to a lute all his life.

"Arrived at Ts'in, he was pleased with Chao Wan-tze, Han Shen-tze, and Wei Hsien-tze, and said, "The [rule of the] State of Ts'in will be concentrated in the families of these three." He was pleased [also] with Shih-hiang; and when he was going away, he said to him, "You must do your best. Your ruler is extravagant, and there are many [deemed to be] good men [about the court]. The great officers are wealthy, and the government will come into their families. You love what is straightforward, and will take



thought how to escape yourself from calamities [that are coming]."

There is considerable difficulty in connexion with this mission of Ke-chah. Acc. to Tao-she, it was in open communications between the new ruler of Woo and the other princes. But the former ruler of Woo was murdered only in the 5th month; and that same month, Chah must have been dispatched;—a thing irreconcilable with the proprieties of China. Too Yu supposes that he was sent away by Yu-chah before his murder, and went on his mission, without hearing of it. But as the news of that event soon reached Loo, it could not but also reach him. This is one of those questions which cannot be satisfactorily solved, and which there is therefore little use in discussing.

In his history of Woo, (Historical Records, bk. XXXI.) Sze-ma Ts'ien gives Yu-chah 17 years of rule, and a natural death, so that the Chun Ts'ew and his Work here contradict each other.

Par. 10. This is the first appearance of North Yen in the classic. It was a Ke State, held by the descendants of Shih, the duke of Shao, famous in the Shoo, as early, or, acc. to Sze-ma Ts'ien, merquises. Its capital was in Kw (南), in the pres. dis. of Ta-hing, one of the districts in which Peking is. There is still a Ke-chow in the dep. of Shan-t'uen.

The Chun says:—"In autumn, in the 9th month, Kung-sun Ch'ao and Kung-sun Tsao of Tse drove the great officer Kaou Che to north Yen. He went from the capital on Yih-wa. The words of the text, that he left the State and fled, are condemnatory of him (?). He was fond of assuming the merit of anything that was done, and acting on his own authority; and hence trouble came upon him."

Par. 11. This visit was, acc. to Tao-she, in return for that to Loo of Pau Shuh (Sze Yang) in the summer.

(We have here two narratives:—

1st. "In consequence of the troubles about Kaou Che, [his son] Kaou Shoo held [the city of Loo in revolt. In the 10th month, on Kang-

yin, Leu-k'ew Ying led a force, and invested Loo, when Shoo said that he would surrender it, if they agreed that the Kaou family should continue to have its representative. The people then appointed to that position Yen the great-grandson of King-chung (The Kaou He in the Chun in III. ix. 6) out of their esteem for King-chung. In the 11th month, on Yih-maou, Kaou Shoo surrendered Loo, and fled to Tsin, where they walled M'een, and placed him in it."

2d. "Pih-yew of Ch'ing wished to send Kung-sun Hih on a mission to T'oo, but he declined to go, saying, "T'oo and Ch'ing are now offended with each other;—to send me there is to kill me." Pih-yew urged that such missions were hereditary in his family; but he replied, "When it is possible, we go; when there are difficulties, we do not;—what hereditary duty is there in the case?" Pih-yew wanted to force him to go, which enraged him—T'ao-seih—so that he arranged to attack the family of Pih-yew; but the great officers reconciled them. In the 12th month, on Ke-sze, the great officers made a covenant with the Pih-yew, when P'ei Chin said, "How long will this covenant be adhered to? The ode (She, II. v. ode IV. 3) says,

"The superior is continually making covenants,  
And the disorder is thereby increased."

The present is the way to prolong disorder; our misery will not yet cease. It will take 3 years before we are relieved from it." Jen-ming said, "To whom will the govt. go?" and Chin replied, "It is the rule of Heaven that good men should take the place of bad. To whom should it go but to T'ao-ch'an? His elevation will not be out of order, but what is due to his position. His elevation as a good man will be approved by all. Heaven is destroying Pih-yew, and has taken away his reason. When T'ao-se is dead, T'ao-ch'an cannot escape being chief minister. Heaven has long been afflicting Ch'ing, and will make T'ao-ch'an give it rest. Through him the State may still be settled; if it be not so, it will go to ruin."

Thirtieth year.

三十年春王正月  
楚子使薳罷來聘  
夏四月蔡世子般  
弑其君固  
五月甲午宋災宋  
伯姬卒  
天王殺其弟佖夫  
王子瑕奔晉  
秋七月叔弓如宋  
葬宋共姬



鄭良霄出奔許。  
 自許入于鄭。鄭  
 人殺良霄。  
 冬十月葬蔡景  
 公。九晉人齊人  
 宋人衛人鄭人  
 曹人莒人邾人  
 滕人薛人杞人  
 小邾人會于澶  
 淵。宋災故。

左傳曰三十年春王正月楚子使薳罷來聘通嗣君也。穆叔問王子之爲政何如對曰吾儕小人食而聽事猶懼不給命而不免於戾焉與知政固間焉不告。穆叔告大夫曰楚令尹將有大事子蕩將與焉助之匿其情矣。

①子產相鄭伯以如晉叔向問鄭國之政焉對曰吾得見與否在此歲也。駟良方爭未知所成若有所成吾得見乃可知也。叔向曰不旣和矣乎對曰伯有侈而愎子皙好在人上莫能相下也。雖其和也猶相積惡也惡至無日矣。

②二月癸未晉悼夫人食與人之城杞者絳縣人成年長矣無子而往與於食有與疑年使之年曰臣小人也不知紀年臣生之歲正月甲子朔四百有四十有五甲子矣其季於今三之一也。吏走問諸朝師曠曰魯叔仲惠伯會卻成子於承匡之歲也是歲也。狄伐魯叔孫莊叔於是乎敗狄於鹹獲長狄僑如及虺也。豹也而皆以名其子七十三年矣。史趙曰亥有二首六身下二如身是其日數也。士文伯曰然則二萬六千六百有六旬也。趙孟問其縣大夫則其屬也。召之而謝過焉曰武不才任君之大事以晉國之多虞不能由吾子使吾子辱在泥塗久矣武之罪也敢謝不才遂仕之使助爲政辭以老與之田使爲君復陶以爲絳縣師而廢其輿尉於是魯使者在晉歸以語諸大夫季武子曰晉未可始也有趙孟以爲大夫有伯瑕以爲佐有史趙師曠而咨度焉有叔向女齊以師保其君其朝多君子其庸可始乎勉事之而後可。

③夏四月己亥鄭伯及其大夫盟君子是以知鄭難之不已也。



蔡景侯爲犬子般娶於楚，通焉。犬子弑景侯。或叫於宋，犬廟曰：「譴譴出出，鳥鳴於臺社，如曰譴譴。」甲午，宋大災。宋伯姬卒，待姆也。君子謂宋共姬女而不婦，女待人，婦義事也。

初，王儋季卒，其子括將見王而歎。單公子愆期，爲靈王御士，過諸廷，聞其歎而言曰：「烏乎！必有此夫。」入以告王，且曰：「必殺之，不感而顧大，視躁而足高，心在他矣，不殺必害。」王曰：「童子何知？」及靈王崩，儋括欲立王子佞夫，佞夫弗知。戊子，儋括圍蔣，遂成愆，成愆奔平時。五月癸巳，尹言多，劉穀單蔑甘過，鞏成殺佞夫，括瑕蓼奔晉。書曰：「天王殺其弟佞夫，罪在王也。」

⑤六月，鄭子產如陳，蒞盟，歸復命，告大夫曰：「陳亡國也，不可與也。聚禾粟，繕城郭，恃此二者而不撫其民，其君弱植。公子侈，大夫卑，大夫敖，政多門，以介於大國，能無亡乎？不過十年矣。」秋七月，叔弓如宋，葬共姬也。

鄭伯有誓酒爲窟室，而夜飲酒，擊鐘焉。朝至，未已，朝者曰：「公焉在？」其人曰：「吾公在壑谷，皆自朝布路而罷，旣而朝，則又將使子皙如楚，歸而飲酒。」庚子，子皙以驪氏之甲伐而焚之。伯有奔雍梁，醒而後知之，遂奔許。大夫聚謀，子皮曰：「仲虺之志云：『亂者取之，亡者侮之。』推亡固存，國之利也。罕驪豐同生，伯有汰侈，故不免。人謂子產就直助彊，子產曰：『豈爲我徒？國之禍難，誰知所敝？或主彊直，難乃不生。』姑成吾所辛丑，子產斂伯有氏之死者而殯之，不及謀而遂行，印段從之。子皮止之，衆曰：『人不我順，何止焉？』子皮曰：『夫子禮於死者，況生者乎？遂自止之。壬寅，子產入，癸卯，子石入，皆受盟于子皙氏。乙巳，鄭伯及其大夫盟於犬宮。盟國人於師之梁之外，伯有聞鄭人之盟已也，怒，聞子皮之甲不與攻己也，喜，曰：『子皮與我矣。』癸丑，晨自墓門之潰入，因馬師頡，介於襄庫，以伐舊北門，驪帶帥國人以伐之，皆召子產。子產曰：『兄弟而及此，吾從天所與。』伯有死於羊肆，子產縫之，枕之股而



哭之，斂而殯。諸伯有之臣在市側者，既而葬諸斗城。子驪氏欲攻子產，子皮怒之曰：「禮，國之幹也，殺有禮，禍莫大焉。」乃止。於是游吉如晉，還聞難，不入，復命於介。八月，甲子，奔晉，驪帶追之，及酸棗，與子上盟，用兩珪質于河，使公孫臧入盟大夫，己巳，復歸。書曰：「鄭人殺良霄，不稱大夫，言自外入也。」於子驪之卒也，將葬，公孫揮與裨竈晨會事焉。過伯有氏，其門上生莠，子羽曰：「其莠猶在乎？」於是歲在降婁，降婁中而旦，裨竈指之曰：「猶可以終歲，歲不及此大也已。」及其亡也，歲在阞嘗之口，其明年乃及降婁，僕展從伯有與之皆死。羽頡出奔晉，爲任大夫，雞澤之會，鄭樂成奔楚，遂適晉，羽頡因之與之比，而事趙文子，言伐鄭之說焉，以宋之盟故，不可。子皮以公孫鉏爲馬師。

⑤楚公子圍殺大司馬蔣掩，而取其室，申無宇曰：「王子必不免。」善人，國之主也，王子相楚國，將善是封殖，而虐之，是禍國也。且司馬，令尹之偏，而王之四體也，絕民之主，去身之偏，艾王之體，以禍其國，無不祥大焉，何以得免。

爲宋災故，諸侯之大夫會，以謀歸宋財。冬，十月，叔孫豹會晉趙武、齊公孫羣、宋向戌、衛北宮佗、鄭罕虎及小邾之大夫，會于澶淵。旣而無歸於宋，故不書其人。君子曰：「信其不可不慎乎。」澶淵之會，卿不書，不信也。夫諸侯之上卿，會而不信，寵名皆棄，不信之不可也。如是，詩曰：「文王陟降，在帝左右。」信之謂也。又曰：「淑慎爾止，無載爾偽。」不信之謂也。書曰：「某人某人會于澶淵。」宋災故，尤之也，不書魯大夫諱之也。

⑥鄭子皮授子產政，辭曰：「國小而偏，族大寵多，不可爲也。」子皮曰：「虎帥以聽，誰敢犯子？」子善相之，國無小，小能事大，國乃寬。子產爲政，有事，伯石略與之邑。子大叔曰：「國皆其國也，奚獨略焉？」子產曰：「無欲實難，皆得其欲，以從其事，而要其成，非我有成，其在人乎？」何愛於邑？邑將焉往？子大叔曰：「若四國何？」子產曰：「非相違也，而相從也，四國何尤焉？」鄭書有之曰：「安定國家，必大焉先。」姑先安大，以待其所歸。旣伯石懼而歸邑，卒與之，伯有旣死，使



大史命伯石爲卿。辭。大史退。則請命焉。復命之。又辭。如是三乃受策入拜。子產是以惡其爲人也。使次已位。子產使都鄙有章。上下有服。田有封洫。廬井有伍。大人之患儉者。從而與之。泰侈者。因而斂之。豐卷將祭。請田焉。弗許。曰。唯君用鮮。衆給而已。子張怒。退而徵役。子產奔晉。子皮止之。而逐豐卷。豐卷奔晉。子產請其田里。三年而復之。反其田里。及其入焉。從政一年。輿人誦之。曰。取我衣冠而褚之。取我田疇而伍之。孰殺子產。吾其與之。及三年。又誦之。曰。我有子弟。子產誨之。我有田疇。子產殖之。子產而死。誰其嗣之。

- XXX. 1 In the [duke's] thirtieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Ts'oo sent Wei P'e to Loo on a mission of friendly inquiries.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, Pan, heir-son of Ts'ae, murdered his ruler Koo.
- 3 In the fifth month, on K'eah-woo, there was a fire in [the palace of] Sung, [in which] the eldest daughter [of our duke Ch'ing], [who had been married to duke Kung] of Sung, died.
- 4 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] put to death his younger brother, Ning-foo.
- 5 The king's son H'ea fled to Tsin.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, Shuh Kung went to the burial of Kung Ke of Sung.
- 7 Liang S'eaou of Ch'ing fled from that State to Heu. From Heu he entered [again] into [the capital of] Ch'ing, when the people of Ch'ing put him to death.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke King of Ts'ae.
- 9 Officers of Tsin, Ts'e, Sung, Wei, Ch'ing, Ts'aou, Keu, Choo, T'ang, S'eh, Ke, and Little Choo, had a meeting at Shen-yuen, in consequence of the calamity of fire in Sung.

Par. 1. For 罷 Kung-yang has 頗. This visit from Ts'oo was to open communications between the court of Loo, and the new ruler of Ts'oo, whose accession is mentioned in the Chun in the last par. of the 28th year. The Chun here says:—Muh-shih asked the envoy how king [Kung's] son was going on in his government, and was answered, "We little men eat, and receive instructions as to the business to be done by us, always apprehensive lest we do not fulfil our duties aright, and do not escape being charged with some transgression; how can we have anything to do with taking knowledge of the government?" Muh-shih pressed for a more definite reply, but did not obtain it, on

which he said to the great officers, "The chief minister of Ts'oo is going to make a *coup d'état*, and Tze-tang (Wei P'e) will take a part in it. He is sifting him, and considers the matter."

[There are appended here three narratives:—1st. Tze-ch'an attended the earl of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin, when Shuh-h'ang asked him how [it was going to go] with the government of Ch'ing. He replied, "Whether I can see it, or cannot see it, the thing will be determined this year. S'ao (The Kung-sun Hih, Tze-s'eh;—see the Chun at the end of the last year) and Liang (Pih-yew) were quarrelling, and I do not know the issue. If the issue were come, and I see it, then [what you ask about] may be known." Shuh-h'ang said, "Have they not



been reconciled?" "Pih-yêw," answered Tze Ch'uan, "is extravagant and self-willed; and Tze-seh likes to be above others. The one of them cannot be below the other. Although they were reconciled, they are still gathering evil against one another; and it will come to a head at no [distant] day."

2d. 'In the 2d month, on Kwei-we, the [dowager-]marquioness Taou of Tsin entertained all the men who had been engaged in the walling of Ke. Belonging to the district of K'ang was a childless old man who went and took his place at the feast. Some who were present doubted about his age, and would have him tell it. He said, "A small man like me does not know how to keep a record of the years. Since the year of my birth, which began on a K'iahsze, the 1st day of the moon (The Hsü year, not the Chow), there have been 445 K'iahsze, and to-day is the 30th day of the cycle now running (20 days—) of 60)." The officers [of the feast] ran to the court to ask [the year of his birth]. The music-master Kwang said, "It was the year when Shuh-chung Hwuy-pih of Loo had a meeting with K'ieh Ching-tze in Shing-k'wang (See VI. xi. 2). In that year, the Tei invaded Loo, and Shuh-sun Ch'wang-shih defeated them at Hsien, taking their giants K'iao-foo, Hwuy, and P'ao, after whom he named his sons. It is 73 years ago." The historiographer Ch'ao said, "The character 亥 (亥, anciently, in the seal character 𠄎) is composed of 𠄎 at the head and 𠄎 in the body of it. If you take the 𠄎 and place it alongside the 𠄎 of the body (𠄎), you get the number of the man's days." Suo Wan-pih said, "Then they are 26,680."

\* Ch'ao-ming asked the commandant of the district, and found that it belonged to his own jurisdiction, on which he called the [old] man, and apologized for the error [that had been committed]. "In my want of ability," said he, "and occupied with [all] the great business of our ruler, through the many subjects of anxiety in connection with the State of Tsin, I have not been able to employ you, (as you ought to be employed), but have made you be occupied with earth and plaster too long. It was my fault, and I apologize for my want of ability." He then made the man an officer, and wanted him to assist in the government. The man declined this on the ground of his age, when he gave him some lands, and made him keeper of the marquis's wardrobe. He also made him one of the [land-] masters for the district of K'ang, and degraded the commissary [who had employed him].

\* At this time the commissioner of Loo (Chung-sun K'ieh) was in Tsin, and he told this circumstance to the other great officers on his return. Ke Woo-tze observed, "Tsin is not to be slighted. With Ch'ao-ming as [the chief of its] great officers, and Pih-hsü (Suo Wan-pih) as his assistant, with the historiographer Ch'ao, and the music-master Kwang, to refer to; and with Shuh-hsüang and Joo Ts'e, as tutor and guardian to its ruler, there are many superior men in its court. It is not to be slighted. Our proper course is to exert ourselves to serve it."

3d. 'In summer, in the 4th month, on Ke-hao, the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant with his great officers. The superior man can know from this that the troubles of Ch'ing were not yet at an end.'

Par. 2. See the remarks of Tze-ch'uan in the narrative appended to xxviii. 4. The Chuen here says:—'The marquis King of Tsin had taken a wife for his eldest son from T'oo, and debauched her. The son [now] murdered the marquis.' 般 is also found 班.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Some one called out in the grand temple of Song. "Ah! ah! come out, come out." A bird [also] sang at the altar of Poh, as if it were saying, "Ah! Ah!" On K'iahsze-woo there occurred a great fire in Sung, when duke [Ch'ing's] eldest daughter who had been married to the ruler of Song, died;—through her waiting for the instructress of the harem. The superior man may say that Kung Ke acted like a young lady, and not like a woman of years. A girl should wait for the instructress [in such a case]; a wife might act as was right in the case.'

The lady of Loo who died in this fire was the same whose marriage occurred in the 9th year of duke Ch'ing, so that she must now have been not less than 60, and might very well have made her escape from the flames without being exposed to the charge of immodesty. Tso-shé's remark on the case may well excite a smile. A superior woman might dispense with the help of the deacon in a case of fire. The critics are wroth with Tso-shé for the modified reflection which he makes on the lady, who covered herself, they say, with imperishable glory (足以風勵千古).

Par. 4. For 倭夫 Kung-yang has 年夫.

The Chuen says:—'Before this, after king [K'ien's] son Chen Ke's death, his son Kwoh was going to have an audience of [his brother] king [Ling] and sighed. K'ien-k'e, son of the duke of Shen, who was the king's charioteer, was passing through the court, and heard the sigh, with the words, "Ah! this shall be mine;" so he went in, and reported the thing to the king, saying, "You must put him to death. He shows no sorrow [for his father's death], and has great ambitions. His looks are fierce, and he lifts his feet high,—his thoughts elsewhere. If you do not kill him, he will do harm." The king replied, "He is a boy; what does his knowledge extend to?"'

\* When king Ling died, Chen Kwoh wished to raise his brother Ning-foo to the throne, that prince knowing nothing of it; and on Mow-tze he laid siege to Wei, and drove out Ch'ing K'ien, who fled to Ping-che. In the 5th month, Yin Yen-tó, Léw E, Shou M'oh, Kan Kwo, and Kung Ch'ing, put Ning-foo to death. Kwoh, Hsü, and Léwou fled to Tsin. The text says that "The king put his younger brother to death," thereby condemning the king. (1).

Par. 5. This Hsü must have been another son of king Ling, and a brother of Ning-foo. His flight is mentioned in the preceding narrative. We have here simply 奔, 'fled,' and not 出奔, 'went out and fled,' because all the kingdom was Chow.



[We have here the following narrative:—In the 6th month, Taze-ch'an of Ch'ing went to Ch'in to superintend the business of a covenant. When he reported the execution of his commission, he said to the great officers, "Ch'in is a doomed State, with which we should have nothing to do. [Its government] is collecting rice and millet, and repairing the walls of its capital and suburbs, relying on these two things, without doing anything for the comfort of the people. The ruler is too weak to stand to anything; his brothers and cousins are extravagant; his eldest son is mean; the great officers are proud; the government is in the hands of many families:—in this condition, and so near to the great State [of T'ao], can it avoid perishing? It will perish within ten years."']

Par. 6. K'uh-Rang omits the 宋 before 共. Shih Kung was a son of Shih Laon, mentioned xlv. 1, *et al.* The lady has the name of Kung, being so called from the posthumous title of her husband. The sad death which had overtaken her, and what was considered her heroic conduct in it, made Loo pay her this extraordinary honour.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—Pih-yew of Ch'ing, in his fondness for drinking, made a chamber under ground, where he would drink all night, with bells beating around him. [On one occasion], when parties came to wait on him in the morning, [his debauch] was not over; and when they asked where he was, the servants told them that he was in the valley, on which they all retired, and went their different ways. After this he repaired to the [earl's] court, and again insisted that Taze-seih should go to T'ao (See the 3d narrative at the end of last year). Then on his return home, he fell to drinking.

On K'ang-tzu, Taze-seih, with the men-at-arms of the See family, attacked and burned his house, when he fled (—was carried off by his servants) to Yung-l'ang, only becoming aware of what had happened, when he awoke. He then fled to Hen.

'The great officers collected to take counsel (as to what should be done). Taze-p'e said, "We read in the Book of Chung-hway (Shoo, IV. li 7), "Take what they have from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those who are going to ruin. Overthrow the perishing, and strengthen what is being preserved"—this will be profitable for the State. The founders of the Han, See, and Kung families were the sons of one mother. Pih-yew [belongs to a different mother, and] is so excessively extravagant that he could not escape [his fate]." People said that Taze-ch'an would take the part of the right and help the strong. Taze-ch'an, however, said, "How should I be made a partizan? It is hard to know who should die for the miseries and troubles of the State. Suppose I took my stand with these, the strong and upright, would trouble not arise? I must be allowed to occupy my proper place."

On Shih-chow, Taze-ch'an shrouded those belonging to Pih-yew's household who had died, and placed them in their coffins for burial; and then, without having taken part in the councils [of the other officers], proceeded to leave. Yin Twan and Taze-p'e followed him, to stop him, but [the majority] said, "Why should you detain a man who will not act along with us?" Taze-

p'e replied, "He has behaved properly to the dead: how much more will he do so to the living!" With this he went himself and induced him to remain."

On Jin-yin, Taze-ch'an entered the capital, and, on Kwei-mang, Taze-shih (Yin Twan); and both accepted a covenant with Taze-seih. On Yih-sze, the earl and the great officers made a covenant in the grand temple, and they bound [also] the people of the State, outside the gate Sze-ch'iao-l'ang. When Pih-yew heard that they had made a covenant in Ch'ing with reference to himself, he was enraged; and when he heard that Taze-p'e's men-at-arms had not been present at the attack on him, he was glad, and said, "Taze-p'e is for me." On Kwei-ch'ow, early in the morning, he entered the city by the drain at the Moo gate; by means of K'ieh, the master of the horse, procured arms from the repository of S'ung; and proceeded to attack the old north gate. Sze Tse led the people to attack him; and both parties called out for Taze-ch'an. "You are both," said Taze-ch'an, "my brethren, and since things have come to this pass, I will follow him whom Heaven favours." Pih-yew then died in the Sheep-market. Taze-ch'an covered him with a shroud, pillowed his body on his thigh, and wept over it. He then had it dressed and put into a coffin, which was deposited in the house of an officer of Pih-yew, who lived near to the market, burying it afterwards in T'ao-shing.

'The head of the See family wanted to attack Taze-ch'an, but Taze-p'e was angry with him, and said, "Propriety is the bulwark of a State. No misfortune could be greater than to kill the observer of it." On this the other desisted from his purpose.

'At this time Yew Kieh, who had been on a mission to T'ao, was returning; but when he heard of the troubles, he did not enter the capital. Entrusting to his assistant-commissioner the report of his mission, in the 8th month, on K'ieh-tze, he fled to Tain. Sze Tat pursued him as far as Swan-t'ao, and there Kieh made a covenant with him.—Taze-shang,—dropping two batons of jade into the Ho, in attestation of his sincerity. He then sent Kung-sun Heih into the city to make a covenant with the great officers, after which, on K'e-sze, he returned himself, and took his former position.

'The text simply says that "The people of Ch'ing put to death Liang S'iao," not designating him a great officer of the State, because he entered it from abroad.

'After the death of Taze-k'ao (Kung-sun Ch'ao; in the 19th year) when he was about to be buried, Kung-sun Hway and P'e T'ao came together early in the morning to be present. As they passed the gate of Pih-yew's house, there were some weeds growing on the top of it; and Taze-yu (Kung-sun Hway) said, "Are those weeds still there?" At this time the year-star was in H'ang-low; and when that reached the meridian, it was morning. P'e T'ao pointed to that constellation, and said, "The year-star may still complete a revolution, but it will not arrive at this point where it now is. When Pih-yew died, the year-star was in the mouth of T'ao-tze; and the year after, it again reached H'ang-low."

'Fuh Chen had followed Pih-yew, and died along with him. Yu K'ieh left the State and fled to Tain, where he became commandant of Jin.



At the meeting of Ke-tsh, Yoh Ch'ing of Ch'ing had fled to T'ao, and thence gone to Tsin. Yu Kieh sought his help, and they were friendly. He served Chao Wai-tzu, and spoke with him about invading Ch'ing; but that could not be done, in consequence of the covenant of Sung. Tze-p'ei made Kung-sun T'ao master of the horse.

Par. 8. [The Chuen appends here:—] The Kung-tze Wei of T'ao put to death the grand-marshal Wei Yen, and took to himself all his property. Shin Woo-yu said, "The king's son (Wei) is sure not to escape an evil death. Good men are the reliance of the State. As chief minister of the State, he ought to promote and support the good, but he oppresses them,—to the calamity of the State. The marshal moreover stands in as close proximity to the chief minister as his own side, and is the four limbs of the king. [Thus the king's son] has destroyed the reliance of the people, removed his own side, and injured the king's limbs:—there could be nothing worse or more inauspicious than this. How is it possible he should escape an evil death?"

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—In consequence of the fire in Sung, the great officers of the States assembled to consult about making contributions for the benefit of that State. In winter, Shuh-sun P'ao joined Chao Woo of Tsin, Kung-sun Ch'ao of T'ao, Hsiao Shuh of Sung, Pih-kung T'ao of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, and a great officer of Little Choo, in a meeting at Shen-yuen; but the issue was that no contributions were made to Sung. On this account the names of the parties who met are not given.

"The superior man will say that good faith is a thing about which men should be most careful. The ministers who met at Shen-yuen are not recorded because they did not keep good faith, and their rank and names were all thrown on one side;—such is the declaration of the will of the want of faith. The ode (Shu, III. i. ode I. 1) says,

"King Wan ascends and descends  
In the presence of God."

There is the declaration of [the value of] good faith. Another ode (One of those which are lost) says,

"Be wisely careful as to your conduct;  
Let nothing be done in hypocrisy."

That is spoken of the want of good faith. The words of the text that such and such men met at Shen-yuen, and that it was on account of the calamity of Sung, is condemnatory of them [all]. The great officer of Loo is not mentioned,—to conceal [the shame of that State] (?).

[There is here a narrative about Tze-ch'an in the government of Ch'ing:—] Tze-p'ei of Ch'ing wished to resign the government of that State to Tze-ch'an, who declined it, saying, "The State is small, and is near to [a great one]; the clans are great, and many [members of them] are favourites [with our ruler]. The government cannot be efficiently conducted." Tze-p'ei replied, "I will lead them all to listen [to your orders], and who will dare to come into collision with you? With your ability presiding over its administration, the State will not be small. Though it be small, you can with

it serve the great State, and the State will enjoy ease." On this Tze-ch'an undertook the government. Wishing to employ the services of Pih-shih (Kung-sun T'wan), he conferred on him a grant of towns. Tze-t'ao-ch'ieh said, "The State is the State of us all; why do you make such a grant to him alone?" Tze-ch'an replied, "It is hard for a man not to desire such things; and when a man gets what he desires, he is excited to attend to his business, and labours to compass its success. I cannot compass that; it must be done by him. And why should you grudge the towns? Where will they go?" "But what will the neighbouring States think?" urged Tze-t'ao-ch'ieh. "When we do not oppose one another," was the reply, "but act in harmony, what will they have to blame? It is said in one of our own Books, 'In order to giving rest and settlement to the State, let the great families have precedences.' Let me now for the present content them, and wait for that result." After this Pih-shih became afraid, and returned the towns; but in the end, [Tze-ch'an] gave them to him. And now that Pih-yew was dead, he sent the grand historiographer to Pih-shih with the commission of a minister. It was declined, and the historiographer withdrew, when Pih-shih requested that the offer might be repeated. On its being so, he again declined it; and this he did three times, when at last he accepted the tablet, and went to the court to give thanks for it. All this made Tze-ch'an dislike the man, but he made him take the position next to himself.

"Tze-ch'an made the central cities and border lands of the State be exactly defined, and enjoined on the high and inferior officers to wear [only] their distinctive robes. The fields were all marked out by their banks and ditches. The houses and sng were divided into five, responsible for one another. The great officers, who were faithful and temperate, were advanced to higher dignities, while the extravagant were punished and taken off. Fung K'uen, in prospect of a sacrifice, asked leave to go a-hunting, but Tze-ch'an refused it, saying, "It is only the ruler who uses venison. The officers use in sacrifice only the domestic animals." Tze-ch'ang was angry, withdrew, and got his servants ready, intending to attack Tze-ch'an, who thought of flying to Tsin. Tze-p'ei, however, stopped him, and drove out Fung K'uen, who fled to Tsin. Tze-ch'an begged his lands and villages from the duke, got K'uen recalled in three years, and then restored them all to him, with the income which had accrued from them.

"When the government had been in Tze-ch'an's hands one year, all men sang of him,

"We must take our clothes and caps, and  
hide them all away;  
We must count our fields by fives, and  
own a mutual way.  
We'll gladly join with him who this Tze-  
ch'an will slay."

But in three years the song was,

"Tis Tze-ch'an who our children train;  
Our fields to Tze-ch'an owe their gains.  
Did Tze-ch'an die, who'd take the reins?"



Thirty-first year.

<sup>二章</sup>三十有一年春王正

月。

<sup>三章</sup>夏六月辛巳公薨于

楚宮。

<sup>四章</sup>秋九月癸巳子野卒。<sup>五章</sup>己亥仲孫羯卒。<sup>六章</sup>冬十月滕子來會葬。<sup>七章</sup>癸酉葬我君襄公。

十有一月莒人弑其

君密州。

①左傳曰三十一年春王正月穆叔至自會見孟孝伯語之曰趙孟將死矣其語倫不似民主且年未盈五十而諄諄焉如八九十者弗能久矣若趙孟死爲政者其韓子乎吾子盍與季孫言之可以樹善君子也晉君將失政矣若不樹焉使早備魯既而政在大夫韓子懦弱大夫多貪求欲無厭齊楚未足與也魯其懼哉孝伯曰人生幾何誰能無倫朝不及夕將安用樹穆叔出而告人曰孟孫將死矣吾語諸趙孟之倫也而又甚焉又與季孫語晉故季孫不從及趙文子卒晉公室卑政在侈家韓宣子爲政不能圖諸侯魯不堪晉求讒慝弘多是以有平丘之會

②齊子尾害閭丘嬰欲殺之使帥師以伐陽州我聞師故夏五月子尾殺閭丘嬰以說于我師工偃灑消竈孔戾賈寅出奔莒出羣公子

公作楚宮穆叔曰犬豕云民之所欲天必從之君欲楚也夫故作其宮若不復適楚必死是宮也六月辛巳公薨于楚宮叔仲帶竊其拱璧以與御人納諸其懷而從取之由是得罪

立胡女敬歸之子子野次于季氏秋九月癸巳卒毀也立敬歸之弟齊歸之子公子稠穆叔不欲曰犬子死有母弟則立之無則立長年鈞擇賢義鈞則卜古之道也非適嗣何必弟之子且是人也



居喪而不哀，在慤而有嘉容，是謂不度。不度之人，鮮不爲患。若果立之，必爲季氏憂。武子不聽，卒立之。比及葬，三易衰，衰袵如故，哀於是。昭公十九年矣，猶有童心。君子是以知其不能終也。

己亥，孟孝伯卒。

冬，十月，滕成公來會葬，情而多涕。子服惠伯曰：「穆君將死矣，怠於其位，而哀已甚，兆於死所矣，能無從乎？」

癸酉，葬襄公。

⑤公薨之月，子產相鄭伯以如晉，晉侯以我喪故，未之見也。子產使盡曠其館之垣，而納車馬焉。士文伯讓之曰：「敝邑以政刑之不修，寇盜充斥，無若諸侯之屬辱在寡君者何？是以令吏人完客所館，高其閭閹，厚其墻垣，以無憂客使。今吾子壞之，雖從者能戒，其若異客何？以敝邑之爲盟主，繕完葺牆，以待賓客，若皆毀之，其何以共命？寡君使匄請命。」對曰：「以敝邑偏小，介於大國，誅求無時，是以不敢寧居，悉索敝賦，以來會時事，逢執事之不閒，而未得見，又不獲聞命，未知見時，不敢輸幣，亦不敢暴露，其輸之，則君之府實也，非薦陳之，不敢輸也。其暴露之，則恐燥濕之不時，而朽蠹，以重敝邑之罪。僑聞文公之爲盟主也，宮室卑庫，無觀臺榭，以崇大諸侯之館，館如公寢，庫廐繕修，司空以時平易道路，圻人以時墾館公室，諸侯賓至，甸設庭燎，僕人巡宮，車馬有所，賓從有代，巾車脂轄，隸人牧圉，各瞻其事，百官之屬，各展其物，公不留賓，而亦無廢事，憂樂同之事，則巡之，教其不知，而恤其不足，賓至如歸，無寧菑患，不畏寇盜，而亦不患燥濕。今銅鞮之宮數里，而諸侯舍於隸人門，不容車，而不可踰越，盜賊公行，而天禍不戒，賓見無時，命不可知，若又勿壞，是無所藏幣，以重罪也。敢請執事，將何所命之？雖君之有魯喪，亦敝邑之憂也。若獲薦幣，脩垣而行，君之惠也。敢憚勤勞，文伯復命。趙文子曰：「信，我實不德，而以隸人之垣，以羸諸侯，是吾罪也。」使士文伯謝不敏焉。晉侯見鄭伯，有加禮，厚其宴好，而歸之，乃築諸侯之館。叔向曰：「辭之不可以已也。」如是，夫子產有辭，諸侯賴之。若之何其釋辭也？詩曰：「辭之輯矣，民之協矣。」辭



之繹矣。民之莫矣。其知之矣。鄭子皮使印段如楚。以適晉告禮也。

莒犁比公生去疾。及展與。既立展與。又廢之。犁比公虐。國人患之。十一月。展與因國人以攻莒子。弑之。乃立去疾。奔齊。齊出也。展與。吳出也。書曰。莒人弑其君。買朱鉏。言罪之在也。

○吳子使屈狐庸聘於晉。通路也。趙文子問焉。曰。延州來季子。其果立乎。巢隕諸樊。闕蔑藏吳。天似啟之。何如。對曰。不立。是二王之命也。非啟季子也。若天所啟。其在今嗣君乎。甚德而度。德不失民。度不失事。民親而事有序。其天所啟也。有吳國者。必此君之子孫實終之。季子守節者也。雖有國不立。

○十二月。北宮文子相衛襄公。以如楚。宋之盟故也。過鄭。印段廷勞於斐林。如聘禮而以勞辭。文子入聘。子羽爲行人。馮簡子與子犬叔逆客。事畢而出。言於衛侯曰。鄭有禮。其數世之福也。其無大國之討乎。詩云。誰能執熱。逝不以濯。禮之於政。如熱之有濯也。濯以救熱。何患之有。子產之從政也。擇能而使之。馮簡子能斷大事。子犬叔美秀而文。公孫揮能知四國之爲。而辨於其大夫之族姓。班位。貴賤。能否。而又善爲辭令。裨諲能謀。謀於野。則獲。謀於邑。則否。鄭國將有諸侯之事。子產乃問四國之爲於子羽。且使多爲辭令。與裨諲乘。以適野。使謀可否。而告馮簡子。使斷之。事成。乃授子犬叔使行之。以應對賓客。是以鮮有敗事。北宮文子所謂有禮也。

鄭人游於鄉校。以論執政。然明謂子產曰。毀鄉校。如何。子產曰。何爲。夫人朝夕退而游焉。以議執政之善否。其所善者。吾則行之。其所惡者。吾則改之。是吾師也。若之何毀之。我聞忠善以損怨。不聞作威以防怨。豈不遽止。然猶防川。大決所犯。傷人必多。吾不克救也。不如小決使道。不如吾聞而藥之也。然明曰。蔑也。今而後知吾子之信可事也。小人實不才。若果行此。其鄭國實賴之。豈唯二三臣。仲尼聞是語也。曰。以是觀之。人謂子產不仁。吾不信也。

○子皮欲使尹何爲邑。子產曰。少。未知可否。子皮曰。愿。吾愛之。不吾叛也。使夫往而學焉。夫亦愈知治矣。子產



曰不可。人之愛人，求利之也。今吾子愛人，則以政，猶未能操刀而使割也，其傷實多。子之愛人，傷之而已，其誰敢求愛於子？子於鄭國，棟也。棟折榱崩，僑將壓焉，敢不盡言。子有美錦，不使人學製焉。大官大邑，身之所庇也，而使學者製焉，其爲美錦，不亦多乎？僑聞學而後入政，未聞以政學者也。若果行此，必有所害。譬如田獵，射御實則能獲禽，若未嘗登車射御，則取績厭覆是懼，何暇思獲？子皮曰：善哉！虎不敏。吾聞君子務知大者遠者，小人務知小者近者。我，小人也，衣服附在吾身，我知而慎之。大官大邑，所以庇身也，我遠而慢之。微子之言，吾不知也。他日我曰：子爲鄭國，我爲吾家，以庇焉，其可也。今而後知不足，自今請雖吾家，聽子而行。子產曰：人心之不同，如其面焉。吾豈敢謂子面如吾面乎？抑心所謂危，亦以告也。子皮以爲忠，故委政焉。子產是以能爲鄭國。

⑤衛侯在楚，北宮文子見令尹圍之威儀，言於衛侯曰：令尹似君矣，將有他志。雖獲其志，不能終也。詩云：靡不有初，鮮克有終。終之實難。令尹其將不免。公曰：子何以知之？對曰：詩云：敬慎威儀，惟民之則。令尹無威儀，民無則焉。民所不則，以在民上，不可以終。公曰：善哉！何謂威儀？對曰：有威而可畏，謂之威；有儀而可象，謂之儀。君有君之威儀，其臣畏而愛之，則而象之，故能有其國家。令聞長世，臣有臣之威儀，其下畏而愛之，故能守其官職。保族宜家，順是以下。皆如是，是以上下能相固也。衛詩曰：威儀棣棣，不可選也。言君臣上下父子兄弟內外大小皆有威儀也。周詩曰：朋友攸攝，攝以威儀。言朋友之道，必相教訓以威儀也。周書數文王之德曰：大國畏其力，小國懷其德。言畏而愛之也。詩云：不識不知，順帝之則。言則而象之也。紂囚文王七年，諸侯皆從之囚，紂於是乎懼而歸之，可謂愛之。文王伐崇，再駕而降爲臣，蠻夷帥服，可謂畏之。文王之功，天下誦而歌舞之，可謂則之。文王之行，至今爲法，可謂象之。有威儀也，故君子在位可畏，施舍可愛，進退可度，周旋可則，容止可觀，作事可法，德行可象，聲氣可樂，動作有文，言語有章，以臨其下，謂之有威儀也。



- XXXI. 1 In the [duke's] thirty-first year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Sin-sze, the duke died in the Ts'oo palace.  
 3 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Kwei-sze, the [duke's] son Yay died.  
 4 On Ke-hae, Chung-sun K'eh died.  
 5 In winter, in the tenth month, the viscount of T'ang came to be present at the [duke's] interment.  
 6 On Kwei-y'ew, we buried our ruler, duke Seang.  
 7 In the eleventh month, the people of Keu murdered their ruler, Meih-chow.

Par. 1. [We find here is the Chuen the two following narratives:—

1st. "This spring, in the 1st month, when Muh-shuh returned from the meeting [at Shen-yuen], he visited Mang Hsiao-pih, and said to him, "Chao-ming will [soon] die. His language was irrelevant, not becoming in a lord of the people. And moreover, though his years are not yet 50, he keeps repeating the same thing like a man of 80 or 90—he cannot endure long. If he die, the government, I apprehend, will fall into the hands of Han-tze. You had better speak to Ke-sun, so that he may establish a good understanding [with Han-tze], who is a superior man. The ruler of Ts'in will lose his [control of the] government. If we do not establish such an understanding, so that [Han-tze] may be prepared to act in behalf of Loo, then when the government [of Ts'in] comes to be with the great officers, and Han-tze turns out to be weak, we shall find those officers very covetous, and their demands upon us will be insatiable. We shall find [also] that neither T'ee nor T'oo is worth our adhering to it, and Loo will be in a perilous case." Hsiao-pih observed, "Man's life is not long; who can keep from that irrelevancy? The morning may not be followed by the evening; of what use would it be to establish that good understanding?" Muh-shuh went out from the interview, and said to a friend, "Mang-sun will [soon] die. I told him of the irrelevancy of Chao-ming, and his own language was still more irrelevant." He then spoke [himself] to Ke-sun about the affairs of Ts'in, but [that minister] did not follow [his counsel].

"When Chao Wao-tze died, the dotal House of Ts'in was reduced to a low State. The government was ruled by the ambitious families. Han Seuen-tze was chief minister, but could not deal with the cases of the States. Loo was unable to endure the requirements of Ts'in, and standous charges against it multiplied, till [at last] there came the meeting of Ping-k'ew (See below in the 13th year of duke Ch'au)."

2d. "Tze-we of T'ee hated L'ew-k'ew Ying; and, wishing to put him to death, he made him lose a force, and attack Yang-chow. We went to ask the reason of such an expedition; and in summer, in the 5th month, Tze-we put L'ew-k'ew Ying to death, to satisfy our army. Kung-lyow Sha, Sing Tason, K'ung Hwuy, and K'ea Yin, fled from T'ee to Keu. All the sons of the previous dukes were driven out."

Par. 2. Duke Seang was thus still a young man when he died, being only in his 35th year. The history of his rule much belies his name of Seang, for the conduct of affairs during it was the reverse of successful.

On his visit to Ts'oo, the duke had admired its palaces, and erected one on his return after their pattern, giving to it the name of that State.

The Chuen says:—"When the duke built the Ts'oo palace, Muh-shuh said, "We read in the Great Declaration (Shoo, V. 1. Pt. 1. 11), "What a man desires, Heaven is sure to gratify him in." Our ruler's desire is for Ts'oo, and therefore he has made this palace. If he do not again go to Ts'oo, he is sure to die here. [Accordingly], in the Ts'oo palace he did die, on Sin-sze in the 6th month.

"Shuh-chung Tso (The Shuh-chung Ch'au-pih of the Chuen on vii. 4) stole [on this occasion] the large peck, giving it [first] to his charioteer, who put it in his breast, and afterwards getting it from him again. In consequence of this he was deemed an offender [by the people]."

Par. 3. Comp. the 子般卒 in III. xxxii.

5. But the death of duke Chwang's son was a death of violence, and should have been so described, while the death of Yay in the text was from disease.

The Chuen says:—"On the duke's death, Yay, his son by King Kwei, a lady of the house of Hoo, was appointed his successor, and lived in the mansion of Ke-sun; but in autumn, in the 9th month, on Kwei-sze, having been pining away, he died. Ke-sun then declared the succession to be in the Kung-tze Chow, the duke's son by T'ee Kwei, the cousin of King Kwei, [who had accompanied her to the harem]. Muh-shuh was dissatisfied with the choice, and said, "When the eldest son [by the wife] dies, his own younger brother should have the succession. And if he have no own brother, then the eldest of his father's other sons [by concubines]. When there are two of the same age, the worthier should be chosen; where they do not differ in regard to their righteousness, the tortoise-shell should be consulted:—this was the ancient way. [Yay] was not the heir as being the wife's son, and it was not necessary to appoint the son of his mother's cousin. This man, moreover, has shown no grief in his mourner's place; in the midst of the sorrow he has looked pleased. It is what may be pronounced "a man without rule", and it is seldom that such an one does not occu-



sion trouble. If indeed he be appointed marquis, he is sure to give sorrow to the family of Ke." Ke Woo-tze would not listen to his remonstrance, and the issue was that Chow was appointed. By the time of the burial, he had thrice changed his mourning, and the flaps of his coat looked quite old. At this time, he—duke Ch'ao—was 19 years old, and he still had a boy's heart, from which a superior man could know that he would not go on well to the end.

Par. 4. This was Máng Hsiao-pih. He was succeeded by his son Hwoh (孟 子), known as Máng He-tze (孟 子), as Head of the Chung-sun clan, and minister.

Par. 5. This is the first instance we have of the lord of another State coming in person to Loo to the funeral of one of its marquises. It was an innovation on the rules which regulated the intercommunion of the States. Ch'in Poo-liang (陳 傅 良; Sung dyn.) says:—At the second burial of duke Hwuy, the marquis of Wei came and was present, but duke Yin did not see him (See the 2d narrative after I. 1. 5); for, in the beginning of the Ch'ün Ts'ew period, Loo still held fast the rules of propriety. On the death of duke King of Tsin, duke Ch'ing went to present his condolences (VIII. 2. 6). By that time Loo had been brought low, and they detained him in Tsin, and made him attend the burial. None of the other princes were present, and the people of Loo felt the disgrace, for up to that time no prince of another State had been present at the funeral of the president of the States even. At the burial of king K'ang of T'ao, the duke [of Loo], with the marquis of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, and the baron of Hsu, had attended it to the outside of the west gate. Thus the princes of the kingdom had been present at the funeral of [a lord of] T'ao; and now the viscount of T'ang came to the funeral of duke S'ang. In the end of the Ch'ün Ts'ew period, it became a sort of allowable thing for one prince to be present at the funeral of another, but to hurry away to the ceremonies immediately following after death was still too great a breach of rule. The rule was, according to the old regulations, that on the death of any prince, the other States should immediately despatch an officer to express their condolences, and then despatch a great officer to attend the funeral. The Chuen says:—Duke Ch'ing of T'ang came to be present at the burial, but he behaved rudely, while at the same time he shed many tears. Tze-fah Hwuy-pih said, "The ruler of T'ang will [soon] die. Rude in his place [of mourning] and yet showing an excessive grief, here is a pronouncement in the place of death:—must he not [soon] follow [our duke]?"

Par. 6. [We have here the following narrative:—In the month of duke S'ang's funeral, Tze-ch'an attended the earl of Ch'ing on a visit to Tsin. The marquis, on the pretence of the death of our duke, did not immediately give the earl an interview, on which Tze-ch'an made all the walls about their lodging-house be thrown down, and brought in their carriages and horses. See Wan-pih went to complain of the proceeding, and said, "Through want of proper attention in our State to the government and the administration of the penal laws, robbers have become quite rife. For the sake, however,

of the princes of the States and their retinues, who condescend to come to him, our ruler has made his officers put in good repair the reception-houses for guests, raising high their gates, and making strong the walls around, that they might be free from anxiety [on account of the robbers]. And now you have thrown these down, so that, though your followers may be able to guard you, how will it be in the case of other guests? Our State, as lord of covenants, has to keep the walls of those houses in good repair, with the tops of them safely covered to, be in readiness for its visitors; and if all were to throw them down, how should we be able to respond to the requirements on us? My ruler has sent me to ask what you have to say in the matter." Tze-ch'an replied, "Through the smallness of our State, and its position between great States, whose demands upon it come we know not when, we do not dare to dwell at ease, but collect all the contributions due from us, and come to consult about the business of the times. It has happened now that your ministers are not at leisure, and we have not obtained an interview with the marquis, nor have we received any instructions, so that we might know when we should do so. We did not dare, [without a previous interview], to send in our offerings, nor did we dare to leave them exposed. If we should send them in [without that interview], they would be [but the regular] appurtenances of your ruler's treasures:—without the display of them at it, we dare not send them in. If we should leave them exposed, then we were afraid that, through the sudden occurrence of [excessive] heat or rain, they might decay or be injured by insects, and our State be chargeable with a heavy offence.

"I have heard that when duke Wan was lord of covenants, his own palace was low and small, and he had no prospect-towers or terraces;—that he might make the reception-houses for the princes the more lofty and large. The chambers were as large as his own, and the repositories and stables belonging to them were kept in good order. The minister of Works saw at the proper seasons that the roads were made in good condition. The plasterers in the same way did their duty on the apartments. Then when the visiting princes arrived, the forsters supplied the torches for the courtyards; the watchmen made their rounds about the buildings; the followers of the guests were relieved of their duties by men supplied for the purpose; there were menials, herdsmen, and groom, to see what might be required of them to do; and the officers belonging to the various departments had the articles which they had to prepare for the guests ready for supply. The duke did not detain his guests, and yet there was nothing neglected. He shared with them their sorrows and joys. He examined any business [they had to lay before him], teaching them where their knowledge was deficient, and compassionating them where in anything they fell short. Guests [then] came to Tsin as if they were going home;—what calamity or distress had they to think of? They did not have to fear robbers, or to be troubled about the heat or the damp.

"But now the palace of T'ung-te extends over several li, and the princes have to occupy what seem the houses of menials. The gates will not admit their carriages, and they cannot



be taken over the walls. Robbers move about openly, and there is no defence against the evil influences [of heat and damp]. No time is fixed for the guests to have an interview, and they have no means of knowing when they will be summoned to it. If we are further required not to throw down the walls, we shall have nowhere to deposit our offerings, and may lie open to the charge of a grave offence. Allow me to ask what charge you have to give us. Although your ruler has to mourn the death of [the duke of Loo], that is also an occasion of sorrow to our State. If we shall be permitted to present our offerings, and to depart after repairing the walls, it will be a kindness on the part of your ruler—shall we presume to shrink from performing the labour diligently?"

Wan-pih reported the result of his commission, and Chao Wán-tze said, "It is true. We are verily wand'ring in virtue. That we cause the princes to take up their residences within walls only fit for very inferior officers is our crime." See Wan-pih was then sent to apologize for the want of attention. The marquis saw the earl, and showed him more than ordinary courtesy. He entertained him liberally, sent him away with proofs of his friendship, and built reception-houses for the princes. Shuh-hsiang said, "Thus indispensable is the gift of speech-making! Tze-ch'an has that gift, and all the States are under obligations to him. On no account may speeches be dispensed with. The words of the ode (Shu, III. ii. ode X. 2),

'Let your words be in harmony with the right,  
And the people will agree with them.  
Let your words be gentle and kind,  
And the people will be settled.'

show that the author knew this."

Tze-p'ie of Ch'ing sent Yin T'wan to Ta'oo, to report how [the earl] had gone to Tsai—which was proper."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—Duke Lo-p'e of K'eu had two sons, K'ou-tai and Chen-yu. He first declared that the succession would be in Chen-yu, and then disannulled that arrangement. He was tyrannical, and the people were distressed by their sufferings. In the 11th month, Chen-yu, with the help of the people, attacked and murdered him, and then took his place. K'ou-tai fled to Ta'e, to which State his mother belonged, while Chen-yu was the son of a daughter of the House of Woo. The text, in saying that the people of K'eu murdered their ruler, Mao-choo-t'ao, shows that he was a criminal (?).

[There follow here five narratives:—

1st. 'The viscount of Woo sent K'ieh Hoo-yung (The son of Woo-shin; see on VII. vii. 5) on a complimentary mission to Tsai, to keep the way [between the two States] open. Chao Wán-tze asked him, "Has Ke-tze of Yen and Chioh-lao (Ke-chieh) really become your ruler? At Ch'uan you lost Choo-fan (See xxv. 16); a door-keeper killed Tse-woo (See xlix. 4):—it would seem as if Heaven had been opening [the way] for him. How is it?" The envoy replied, "He has not been appointed our ruler. That was the fate of the two kings, and not any opening [of the way] for Ke-tze. If you speak of Heaven's opening the way, I should say it was for our present ruler, who has succeeded [to his brother]. He has great virtue, and takes [wise] measures.

Virtuous, he does not lose the [attachment of the] people. Taking [wise] measures, he does not err in [the conduct of] affairs. By this attachment of the people, and by his orderly conduct of affairs, Heaven has opened the way for him. The rulers of the State of Woo must be the descendants of this ruler,—yes, to the end. Ke-tze is one who maintains his purity. Although he might have had the State, he refused to be ruler."

2d. "In the 12th month, Pih-kung Wán-tze attended duke Seang of Wei on a visit to Ta'oo, undertaken in compliance with the covenant of Sung; and as they passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing, Yin T'wan went out to comfort them under the toils of the journey, using the ceremonies of a complimentary visit, but the speeches appropriate to such a comforting visit. Wán-tze entered the city, to pay a complimentary visit [in return]. Tze-yu was the intermedium. P'ing K'ien-tze and Tze-t'ao-shuh met the guest. When the business was over, and [Wán-tze] had gone out [again], he said to the marquis of Wei, "Ch'ing observes the proprieties. This will be a blessing to it for several generations, and save it, I apprehend, from any inflictions from the great States. The ode says (Shu, III. iii. ode III. 5),

'Who can hold anything hot?  
Must he not dip it [first] in water?'

The rules of propriety are to government what that dipping is to the consequences of the heat. With the dipping to take away the heat, there is no distress." Tze-ch'an, in the administration of his government, selected the able and employed them. P'ing K'ien-tze was able to give a decision in the greatest matters. Tze-t'ao-shuh was handsome and accomplished. Kung-sun Hwei told what was doing in the States round about, and could distinguish all about their great officers, their clans, surnames, order, positions, their rank whether noble or mean, their ability or the reverse; and he was also skilful in composing speeches. P'ie Chin was a skilful counsellor;—skilful when he concocted his plans in the open country, but not when he did so in the city. When the State was going to have any business with other States, Tze-ch'an asked Tze-yu what was doing round about, and caused him to compose a long speech. He then took P'ie Chin in his carriage into the open country, and made him consider whether the speech would suit the occasion or not. Next he told P'ing K'ien-tze, and made him give a decision in the case. When all this was done, he put the matter into the hands of Tze-t'ao-shuh to carry it into effect, replying to the visitors [from the other States]. In this way it was seldom that any affair went wrong. This was what Pih-kung Wán-tze meant in saying that Ch'ing observed the proprieties." Comp. Ana. XIV. ix.

3d. "A man of Ch'ing rambled into a village school, and fell discoursing about the conduct of the government.

"[In consequence], Jen-ming proposed to Tze-ch'an to destroy [all] the village schools; but that minister said, "Why do so? If people retire morning and evening, and pass their judgment on the conduct of the government, as being good or bad, I will do what they approve of, and I will alter what they condemn;—they



are my teachers. On what ground should we destroy [those schools]? I have heard that by loyal conduct and goodness enmity is diminished, but I have not heard that it can be prevented by acts of violence. It may indeed be hastily stayed for a while, but it continues like a stream that has been dammed up. If you make a great opening in the dam, there will be great injury done,—beyond our power to relieve. The best plan is to lead the water off by a small opening. [In this case] our best plan is to hear what is said, and use it as a medicine." Jen-tsing said, "From this time forth I know that you are indeed equal to the administration of affairs. I acknowledge my want of ability. If you indeed do this, all Ch'ing will be benefited by it, and, not we two or three ministers only."

"When Chung-no heard of these words, he said, "Looking at the matter from this, when men say that Tse-ch'an was not benevolent, I do not believe it."

4th. "Tse-p'e wanted to make Yin Ho commandant of his city. Tse-ch'an said, "He is young, and I do not know that he can be so employed." "He is honest and careful," replied Tse-p'e. "I love him. He does not go against me. Let him go and learn, and he will by-and-by know all the better how to rule." Tse-ch'an objected, "When a man loves another, he seeks to benefit him; but when you, in your love for [this man], wish to confer a post on him, it is as if you would employ a man to cut before he is able to handle a knife;—the injury done to him must be great. If your love for a man only leads in your injuring him, who will venture to seek your love? You are the main support of the State of Ch'ing. If the main support be broken, the rafters will tumble down. I shall be crushed beneath them, and I must therefore speak out all my mind. If you have a piece of beautiful embroidered silk, you will not employ a [more] learner to make it up. A great office and a great city are what men depend on for the protection of their persons; and you will employ a [more] learner to undertake them!—are they not much more important than your beautiful embroidery? I have heard that a man must first learn, and then enter on the conduct of government; I have not heard that one is to learn in the exercise of that conduct. If you do indeed do this, you are sure to do injury. Take the case of hunting;—when a man is accustomed to shoot and to drive, his hunting will be successful. If he have never mounted a chariot nor shot nor driven, he will be utterly unsuccessful; and could his fear lest he should be overturned, what leisure will he have to think of the game?" Tse-p'e said, "Good. I have shown myself unintelligent. I have heard that what the superior man makes it a point to know is the great and the remote, while the small man is concerned to know the small and the near. I am a small man. The garment which fits to my body I know and am careful about, but the great office and the great city, on which my body depends for protection, were far off and alighted by me. But for your words, I should not have known [my error]. On a former day I said that if you governed the State and I governed my family, and so preserved myself, it would do. Henceforth I know that I am insufficient even for this, and must be allowed even in the rule of my family to act

as I shall be instructed by you." Tse-ch'an said, "Men's minds are different just as their faces are. How should I presume to say that your face must be as mine? But if [I see] that which makes my mind, as we say, uneasy, I will tell you of it." Tse-p'e, impressed with his faithfulness, entrusted to him the government, and thus it was that Tse-ch'an was able to conduct the affairs of Ch'ing."

5th. "When the marquis of Wei was in Teioa, Pih-kung Wan-tze, perceiving the carriage and display of the chief minister Wei, said to the marquis, "The [pomp] of the chief minister is like that of the ruler; he must have his mind set on some other object. But though he may obtain his desire, he will not hold it to the end. The ode (She, III. iii. ode I. 1) says,

"All have their beginning,  
But there are few that can secure the end."

The difficulty is indeed with the end. The chief minister will not escape [an evil death]." The marquis said, "How do you know it?" Wan-tze replied, "The ode (She, III. iii. ode II. 2) says,

"Let him be reverently careful of his dignified manner,  
And he will be the pattern of the people."

But the chief minister has no dignified manner [such as becomes him], and the people have no pattern in him. Let him, in whom the people find no pattern, be placed above them, yet he cannot continue to the end." "Good!" said the duke. "What do you mean by a dignified manner?" The reply was, "Having majesty that inspires awe, is what we call dignity. Presenting a pattern which induces imitation is what we call manner. When a ruler has the dignified manner of a ruler, his ministers fear and love him, imitate and resemble him, so that he holds [firm] possession of his State, and his fame continues through long ages. When a minister has the dignified manner of a minister, his inferiors fear and love him, so that he can keep [sure] his office, preserve his clan, and rightly order his family. So it is with all classes downwards, and it is by this that high and low are made firm in their relations to one another. An ode of Wei (She, I. iii. ode I. 3) says,

"My dignified manner is mixed with ease,  
And cannot be made the subject of remark;"

showing that ruler and minister, high and low, father and son, elder and younger brother, at home and abroad, in great things and small, all have a dignified manner [which is proper to them]. An ode of Chow (She, III. ii. ode III. 4) says,

"Your friends assisting at the service  
Have done so in a dignified manner;"

showing that it is the rule for friends, in their instruction of one another, to exhibit a dignified manner. One of the books of Chow says, "The great States feared his strength, and the small States cherished his virtues," showing the union of awe and love. An ode (She, III. i. ode VII. 2) says,

"Unconscious of effort,  
He accorded with the example of God;"

showing the union of imitation and resemblance.



Chow imprisoned king Wán for 7 years, and then all the princes of the kingdom repaired to the place of his imprisonment, and on this Chow became afraid, and restored him [to his State]. This may be called an instance of how [king Wán] was loved. When he invaded Ts'ang, on his second expedition, [the lord of that State] surrendered and acknowledged his duty as a subject. All the wild tribes [also] led on one another to submit to him. These may be pronounced instances of the awe which he inspired. All under heaven praised his meritorious services with songs and dances, which may be pronounced an instance of their taking him as a pattern. To the present day, the actions of king Wán are acknowledged as laws, which may

be pronounced an instance of his power to make men resemble himself. The secret was his dignified manner. Therefore when the superior man, occupying a high position, inspires awe; and by his beneficence produces love; and his advancing and retiring are according to rule; and all his intercourse with others affords a pattern; and his countenance and steps excite the gaze [of admiration]; and the affairs he conducts serve as laws; and his virtuous actions lead to imitation; and his voice and air diffuse joy; and his movements and doings are elegant; and his words have distinctness and brilliancy:—when thus he brings himself near to those below him, he is said to have a dignified manner.”]



## BOOK X. DUKE CH'AOU.

First year.

## 昭公

元年<sup>一</sup>春，王正月，公即位。<sup>二</sup>叔孫豹會晉趙武、  
 楚公子圍、齊國弱、宋向戌、衛齊惡、陳公子招、  
 蔡公孫歸生、鄭罕虎、許人、曹人于虢。<sup>三</sup>  
 三月<sup>四</sup>取鄆。夏，秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉。<sup>五</sup>六月，  
 丁巳，邾子華卒。晉荀吳帥師敗狄于大鹵。<sup>六</sup>  
 秋<sup>七</sup>莒去疾自齊入於莒。莒展與出奔吳。<sup>八</sup>  
 叔弓帥師疆鄆田。<sup>九</sup>葬邾悼公。<sup>十</sup>冬<sup>十一</sup>十有一  
 月<sup>十二</sup>己酉，楚子麇卒。楚公子比出奔晉。

左傳曰：元年，春，楚公子圍聘於鄭，且娶於公孫段氏，伍舉爲介，將入館，鄭人惡之，使行人子羽與之言，乃館於外，既聘，將以衆逆，子產患之，使子羽辭曰：以敝邑褊小，不足以容從者，請以容從者，請命大宰伯州犂對曰：君辱貺寡大夫圍，



謂圍，將使豐氏撫有而室，圍布几筵，告於莊共之廟而來。若野賜之，是委君貶於草莽也。是寡大夫不得列於諸卿也。不寧唯是，又使圍蒙其先君，將不得爲寡君老，其蔑以復矣。唯大夫圖之。子羽曰：小國無罪，恃實其罪，將恃大國之安靖已，而無乃包藏禍心以圖之。小國失恃，而懲諸侯，使莫不憾者，距違君命，而有所壅塞不行，是懼，不然，敝邑，館人之屬也。其敢愛豐氏之祧，伍舉知其有備也，請垂囊而入，許之。正月乙未，入逆而出，遂會于虢，尋宋之盟也。祁午謂趙文子曰：宋之盟，楚人得志於晉，今令尹之不信，諸侯之所聞也。子弗戒，懼又如宋，子木之信，稱於諸侯，猶詐晉而駕焉，況不信之尤者乎？楚重得志於晉，晉之恥也。子相晉國，以爲盟主，於今年矣，再合諸侯，三合大夫，服齊狄，寧東夏，平秦亂，城淳于，師徒不頓，國家不罷，民無謗譴，諸侯無怨，天無大災，子之力也。有令名矣，而終之以恥，午也是懼。吾子其不可以不戒。文子曰：武受賜矣，然宋之盟，子木有禍人之心，武有仁人之心，是楚所以駕於晉也。今武猶是心也，楚又行僭，非所害也。武將信以爲本，循而行之，譬如農夫，是穰是獲，雖有饑饉，必有豐年。且吾聞之，能信不爲人下，吾未能也。詩曰：不僭不賊，鮮不爲則。信也，能爲人則者，不爲人下矣。吾不能是雖，楚不爲患。楚令尹圍請用牲，讀舊書，加於牲上而已。晉人許之。三月甲辰，盟。楚公子圍設服離衛，叔孫穆子曰：楚公子美矣。君哉。鄒子皮曰：二執戈者前矣。蔡子家曰：蒲宮有前，不亦可乎？楚伯州犂曰：此行也，辭而假之寡君。鄭行人揮曰：假不反矣。伯州犂曰：子姑憂子皙之欲背誕也。子羽曰：富璧猶在，假而不反，子其無憂乎？齊國子曰：吾代二子愍矣。陳公子招曰：不憂何成？二子樂矣。衛齊子曰：苟或知之，雖憂何害？宋合左師曰：大國令小國共，吾知共而已。晉樂王黹曰：小旻之卒章善矣。吾從之。退會。子羽謂子皮曰：叔孫絞而婉，宋左師簡而禮，樂王黹字而敬，子與子家持之，皆保世之主也。齊衛陳大夫其不免乎？國子代人憂，子招樂憂，齊子雖憂弗害，夫弗及而憂，與可憂而樂，與憂而弗害，皆取憂之道也。憂必及之，大誓曰：民之所欲，天必從之。三大夫兆憂，憂能無至乎？言以知物，其是之謂矣。



季武子伐莒，取郛。莒人告於會。楚告於晉曰：尋盟未退，而魯伐莒，潰齊盟，請戮其使。樂桓子相趙文子，欲求貨於叔孫，而爲之請，使請帶焉。弗與。梁其躍曰：貨以藩身，子何愛焉？叔孫曰：諸侯之會，衛社稷也。我以貨免，魯必受師，是禍之也。何術之爲？人之有牆，以蔽惡也。牆之隙壞，誰之咎也？衛而惡之，吾又甚焉。雖怨季孫，魯國何罪？叔出季處，有自來矣。吾又誰怨？然酈也賄，弗與不已。召使者，裂裳帛而與之，曰：帶其褊矣。趙孟聞之，曰：臨患不忘國，忠也。思難不越官，信也。圖國忘死，貞也。謀主三者，義也。有是四者，又可戮乎？乃請諸楚。曰：魯雖有罪，其執事不辟難，畏威而敬命矣。子若免之，以勸左右，可也。若子之羣吏，處不辟汚，出不逃難，其何患之有？患之所生，汚而不治，難而不守，所由來也。能是二者，又何患焉？不靖其能，其誰從之？魯叔孫豹可謂能矣。請免之，以靖能者。子會而赦有罪，又賞其賢，諸侯其誰不欣焉？望楚而歸之，視遠如邇。疆場之邑，一彼一此，何常之有？王伯之令也，引其封疆，而樹之官，舉之表旗，而著之制令，過則有刑，猶不可壹。於是乎虞有三苗，夏有觀扈，商有玁狁，周有徐奄，自無令王，諸侯遂進，狎主齊盟，其又可壹乎？恤大舍小，足以爲盟主，又焉用之？封疆之削，何國蔑有？主齊盟者，誰能辯焉？吳濮有費，楚之執事，豈其顧盟？莒之疆事，楚勿與知。諸侯無煩，不亦可乎？莒魯爭郛，爲日久矣，苟無大害於其社稷，可無亢也。去煩宥善，莫不競勸。子其圖之。固請諸楚。楚人許之，乃免叔孫。令尹享趙孟，賦大明之首章。趙孟賦小宛之二章。事畢，趙孟謂叔向曰：令尹自以爲王矣。何如？對曰：王弱，令尹彊，其可哉。雖可不終。趙孟曰：何故？對曰：彊以克弱，而安之，彊不義也。不義而彊，其斃必速。詩曰：赫赫宗周，褒姒滅之。彊不義也。令尹爲王，必求諸侯，晉少懦矣。諸侯將往，若獲諸侯，其虐滋甚，民弗堪也。將何以終？夫以彊取，不義而克，必以爲道。道以淫虐，弗可久已矣。

⑤夏四月，趙孟、叔孫豹、曹大夫入於鄭，鄭伯兼享之。子皮戒趙孟禮終。趙孟賦瓠葉。子皮遂戒穆叔，且告之。穆叔曰：趙孟欲一獻，子其從之。子皮曰：敢乎？穆叔曰：夫人之所欲也，又何不敢及享？具五獻之籩豆於幕下。趙孟



辭私於子產曰：武請於冢宰矣。乃用一獻。趙孟爲客，禮終乃宴。穆叔賦鵲巢。趙孟曰：武不堪也。又賦采芣。曰：小國爲繫，大國省穡而用之，其何實非命？子皮賦野有死麕之卒章。趙孟賦常棣。且曰：吾兄弟比以安，旄也可使無怙。穆叔：子皮及曹大夫與拜。舉兕爵曰：小國賴子，知免於戾矣。飲酒樂。趙孟出曰：吾不復此矣。

⑤天王使劉定公勞趙孟於潁。館於雒汭。劉子曰：美哉禹功，明德遠矣。微禹，吾其魚乎？吾與子弁冕端委，以治民臨諸侯，禹之力也。子盍亦遠績禹功，而大庇民乎？對曰：老夫罪戾是懼，焉能恤遠？吾儕偷食，朝不謀夕，何其長也。劉子歸，以語王曰：諺所謂老將知而耄及之者，其趙孟之謂乎？爲晉正卿，以主諸侯，而儕於隸人，朝不謀夕，棄神人矣。神怒民叛，何以能久？趙孟不復年矣。神怒不歆其祀，民叛不卽其事。祀事不從，又何以年？

⑥叔孫歸會天御季孫以勞之。旦及日中，不出。會天謂曾阜曰：旦及日中，吾知罪矣。魯以相忍爲國也，忍其外，不忍其內，焉用之？阜曰：數月於外，一旦於是，庸何傷？賈而欲贏，而惡歸乎？阜謂叔孫曰：可以出矣。叔孫指楹曰：雖惡是，其可去乎？乃出見之。

⑦鄭徐吾犯之妹美，公孫楚聘之矣。公孫黑又使強委禽焉。犯懼，告子產。子產曰：是國無政，非子之患也。唯所欲與，犯請於二子，請使女擇焉。皆許之。子皙盛飾入，布幣而出。子南戎服入，左右射超乘而出。女自房觀之，曰：子皙信美矣，抑子南夫也。夫夫婦婦，所謂順也。適子南氏，子皙怒。旣而襲甲以見子南，欲殺之，而取其妻。子南知之，執戈逐之。及衝，擊之以戈。子皙傷而歸，告大夫曰：我好見之，不知其有異志也。故傷大夫，皆謀之。子產曰：直鈞，幼賤有罪，罪在楚也。乃執子南而戮之。曰：國之大節有五，女皆奸之。畏君之威，聽其政，尊其貴，事其長，養其親，五者所以爲國也。今君在國，改用兵焉，不畏威也。奸國之紀，不聞政也。子皙上大夫，女嬖大夫，而弗下之，不尊貴也。幼而不忌，不事長也。兵其從兄，不養親也。君曰：余不汝忍殺，宥女以遠，勉速行乎？無重而罪。五月庚辰，鄭放游楚於吳。將行，子南、子產咨於大叔。大叔曰：吉不能亢身，焉能亢宗？彼國政也，非私難也。子圖鄭國利。



則行之。又何疑焉。周公殺管叔而蔡蔡叔，夫豈不愛。王室故也。吉若獲戾，子將行之，何有於諸游。

秦后子有寵於桓，如二君於景，其母曰弗去，懼選癸卯，鍼適晉，其車千乘。書曰：秦伯之弟鍼出奔晉，罪秦伯也。后子享晉侯，造舟於河，十里舍車，自雍及絳，歸取酬幣，終事八反。司馬侯問焉曰：子之車盡於此而已乎？對曰：此之謂多矣。若能少此，吾何以得見。女叔齊以告公，且曰：秦公子必歸，臣聞君子能知其過，必有令圖。令圖，天所贊也。后子見趙孟，趙孟曰：吾子其曷歸？對曰：鍼懼選於寡君，是以此將待嗣君。趙孟曰：秦君何如？對曰：無道。趙孟曰：亡乎？對曰：何爲？一世無道，國未艾也。國於天地，有與立焉，不數世淫，弗能斃也。趙孟曰：天乎？對曰：有焉。趙孟曰：其幾何？對曰：鍼聞之，國無道而年穀和熟，天贊之也。辭不五稔，趙孟視蔭曰：朝夕不相及，誰能待五？后子出而告人曰：趙孟將死矣。主民翫歲而惕日，其與幾何。

⑤鄭爲游楚亂故。六月丁巳，鄭伯及其大夫盟於公孫段氏。罕虎、公孫僑、公孫段、印段、游吉、駟帶私盟於闔門之外。賈蕪隧，公孫黑強與於盟，使大史書其名，且曰：七子子產弗討。

晉中行穆子敗無終及羣狄于大原，崇卒也。將戰，魏舒曰：彼徒我車，所遇又阨，以什共車，必克。困諸師，又克，請皆卒自我始，乃毀車以爲行。五乘爲三伍，荀吳之嬖人不肯卽卒，斬以徇，爲五陳以相離，兩於前，伍於後，專爲右角，參爲左角，偏爲前拒，以誘之。翟人笑之，未陳而薄之，大敗之。

莒展與立，而奪羣公子秩，召去疾於齊。秋，齊公子鉏納去疾，展與奔吳。

叔弓帥師疆郕田，因莒亂也。於是莒務婁、督胡及公子滅明以大阨，與常儀靡奔齊。君子曰：莒展之不立，棄人也。夫人可棄乎？詩曰：無競維人，善矣。

⑥晉侯有疾，鄭伯使公孫僑如晉聘，且問疾。叔向問焉曰：寡君之疾病，卜人曰：實沈臺駘爲祟，史莫之知，敢問



此何神也。子產曰：昔高辛氏有二子，伯曰閼伯，季曰實沈，居於曠林，不相能也，日尋干戈，以相征討。后帝不減，遷閼伯於商丘，主辰，商人是因，故辰爲商星。遷實沈於大夏，主參，唐人是因，以服事夏商。其季世曰唐叔虞，當武王邑姜方震大叔，夢帝謂己，余命而子曰虞，將與之唐，屬諸參而蕃育其子孫。及生，有文在其手曰虞，遂以命之。及成，王滅唐而封大叔焉，故參爲晉星。由是觀之，則實沈，參神也。昔金天氏有裔子曰昧，爲玄冥師，生允格，臺駘，臺駘能業其官，宣汾洺，障大澤，以處大原，帝用嘉之，封諸汾川，沈，姒，蓀，黃，實守其祀，今晉主汾而滅之矣。由是觀之，則臺駘，汾神也。抑此二者，不及君身，山川之神，則水旱疢疫之災，於是乎禱之，日月星辰之神，則雪霜風雨之不時，於是乎禱之。若君身，則亦出入飲食哀樂之事也。山川星辰之神，又何爲焉。僑聞之，君子有四時，朝以聽政，晝以訪問，夕以脩令，夜以安身，於是乎節宣其氣，勿使有所壅閉湫底，以露其體，故心不爽，而昏亂百度，今無乃壹之則生疾矣。僑又聞之，內官不及同姓，其生不殖，美先盡矣，則相生疾，君子是以惡之，故志曰：買妾不知其姓，則卜之，違此二者，古之所慎也。男女辨姓，禮之大司也。今君內實有四姬焉，其無乃是也乎？若由是二者，弗可爲也已。四姬有省，猶可，無則必生疾矣。叔向曰：善哉！辟未之聞也。此皆然矣。叔向出，行人揮送之，叔向問鄭故焉，且問子皙對曰：其與幾何，無禮而好陵人，怙富而卑其上，弗能久矣。晉侯聞子產之言，曰：博物君子也，重賄之。

○晉侯求醫於秦，秦伯使醫和視之，曰：疾不可爲也，是謂近女室，疾如蠱，非鬼非食，惑以喪志，良臣將死，天命不祐。公曰：女不可近乎？對曰：節之，先王之樂，所以節百事也，故有五節，遲速本末以相及，中聲以降，五降之後，不容彈矣。於是有煩手淫聲，愴心耳，乃忘平和，君子弗聽也。物亦如之，至於煩，舍乃也已，無以生疾。君子之近琴瑟，以儀節也，非以愔心也。天有六氣，降生五味，發爲五色，徵爲五聲，淫生六疾。六氣曰陰，陽，風，雨，晦，明也，分爲四時，序爲五節，過則爲菑，陰淫，寒疾，陽淫，熱疾，風淫，末疾，雨淫，腹疾，晦淫，惑疾，明淫，心疾，女陽物而晦時，



淫則生內熱感蠱之疾。今君不節不時，能無及此乎？出告趙孟，趙孟曰：「誰當良臣？」對曰：「主是謂矣。」主相晉國，於今八年，晉國無亂，諸侯無闕，可謂良矣。和聞之，國之大臣，榮其寵祿，任其大節，有菑禍興而無改焉，必受其咎。今君至於淫，以生疾，將不能圖恤社稷，禍孰大焉？主不能禦，吾是以云也。趙孟曰：「何謂蠱？」對曰：「淫溺感亂之所生也。於文皿蟲爲蠱，穀之飛亦爲蠱，在周易女惑男，風落山，謂之蠱，皆同物也。」趙孟曰：「良醫也，厚其禮而歸之。」

楚公子圍使公子黑肱、伯州犂、城驪、櫟、郕、鄭人懼，子產曰：「不害，令尹將行大事，而先除二子也。」禍不及鄭，何患焉？冬，楚公子圍將聘於鄭，伍舉爲介，未出竟，聞王有疾而還。伍舉遂聘，十一月己酉，公子圍至，入問王疾，縊而弑之，遂殺其二子幕及平夏。右尹子干出奔晉，宮廐尹子皙出奔鄭，殺犬宰伯州犂於郕，葬王於郕，謂之郕敖。使赴於鄭，伍舉問應爲後之辭焉，對曰：「寡大夫圍，伍舉更之曰：『共王之子圍爲長子，子干奔晉，從車五乘，叔向使與秦公子同食，皆百人之餽。』」趙文子曰：「秦公子富，叔向曰：『底祿以德，德釣以年，年同以尊，公子以國，不聞以富。』」且夫以千乘去其國，彌禦已甚。詩曰：「不侮鰥寡，不畏彊禦。」秦楚匹也，使后子與子干齒，辭曰：「鍼懼選，楚公子不獲，是以皆來，亦唯命。」且臣與驕齒，無乃不可乎？史佚有言曰：「非驕何足？」楚靈王卽位，遷葬爲令尹，遷啟疆爲犬宰，鄭游吉如楚，葬郕敖，且聘立君，歸謂子產曰：「具行器矣。」楚王汰侈，而自說其事，必合諸侯，吾往無日矣。子產曰：「不數年，未能也。」

十二月，晉既烝，趙孟適南陽，將會孟子餘、甲辰朔，烝於溫，庚戌卒。鄭伯如晉，甲及雍，乃復。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 Shuh-sun P'ao had a meeting with Chaou Woo of Tain, the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo, Kwoh Joh of Ts'e, H'ang Seuh of Sung, Ts'e Goh of Wei, the Kung-tsze Shaou of Ch'in, the Kung-sun Kwei-s'ang of Ts'ae, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, a minister of Heu, and a minister of Ts'aou, in Kwoh.
- 3 In the third month, we took Yun.
- 4 In summer, K'een, younger brother of the earl of Ts'in, fled from that State to Tain.
- 5 In the sixth month, on Ting-sze, Hwa, viscount of Choo, died.



- 6 Seun Woo of Tsin led a force, and defeated the Teih at Ta-loo.
- 7 In autumn, K'eu-tsih of Keu entered into that State from Ts'e.
- 8 Chen-yu of Keu fled from that State to Woo.
- 9 Shuh Kung led a force, and laid out the boundaries of the lands of Yun.
- 10 There was the burial of duke Taou of Choo.
- 11 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ke-yēw, Keun, viscount of Ts'oo, died.
- 12 The Kung-tsze P'ie of Ts'oo fled from that State to Tsin.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—昭公, 'Duke Ch'ou.'

We have seen, in the Chuen on par. 3. of last year, that duke Ch'ou's name was Chow (稠), and that he was a son of duke Ssang by a concubine, called Ts'e Kwei (齊歸), of the State of Hoo (胡). He was 19 years old at his accession, and still possessed a boy's heart, more fond of sport than besetted his position. He was marquis of Loo from B.C. 540 to 509. His honorary title denotes 'In demeanour respectful and intelligent' (威儀共明曰昭).

Ch'ou's 1st year synchronized with the 4th of King King (景王); the 17th of Ping (平公) of Tsin; the 7th of King (景) of Ts'e; the 2d of Ssang (襄) of Wei; the 2d of Ling (靈) of Ts'ao; the 25th of K'een (簡) of Ch'ing; the 14th of Woo (武) of Ts'ou; the 28th of Gao (哀) of Ch'in; the 9th of Wan (文) of Ke; the 35th of Ping of Sung; the 36th of King of Tsin; the 4th of K'eh-gaon (郊敖) of Ts'oo, and the 2d of E-mei (夷未) of Woo.

PAR. 2. For 國弱 Kung-yang has 國酌; for 齊惡 石惡; for 罕虎 軒虎. For 濮 Kung has 渚, and K'uh 郭. K'woh was in Ch'ing. It had been the capital of the State of east K'woh, which had been extinguished by Ch'ing before the commencement of the Ch'un Ts'ew period;—in the dia. of Fan-shway (汜水), dep. K'ao-fung. The object of the meeting in K'woh was to renew the covenant of Sung, which was repeated here, though not with all the formalities; and many critics see the 'pruning style' and mysterious meaning of the sage in making mention of the meeting only. The details in the Chuen illustrate the remarks appended to IX. xxvii. 2, 3, on the decadence of Tsin, the growing power of Ts'oo, and the encroachments of the great officers on the prerogatives of the princes of the States.

The Chuen says:—'In spring, the Kung-tsze Wei of Ts'oo went on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, and at the same time to marry a daughter of Kung sun Twan; Woo Keu being the assistant commissioner. They proposed lodging inside the capital, but the people of Ch'ing were

adverse to this, and sent the internuncius Tze-yu to speak with them on the subject; on which they occupied a reception-house outside. When the business of the visit was over, [Wei] proposed [entering the city], with all his company, to meet his bride. The thing troubled Tze-ch'an, who sent Tze-yu to decline the proposal, saying, "In consequence of the smallness of our poor city, which is not sufficient to contain your followers, we beg to [level a piece of ground outside, and] rear a high structure where we can receive your commands." The chief minister ordered the grand-administrator, P'ih Chow, to reply, "Your ruler condescended to confer his kindness on our great officer Wei, saying that he would send the lady Fung (Fung was the surname of Kung-sun Twan) to take soothing possession of his family. Wei then set forth his offerings on the stands in the temples of [the kings] Chwang and Kung (his grand-father and father), and is come here. If the lady be given to him in the open country, it will be throwing your ruler's gift among the grass and weeds; and our great officer will not have his rank among the other ministers [of our State]. And not only this;—the proceeding will also make Wei to have deceived his former rulers, and he will not be able to retain his place as an ancient of our [present] ruler. He will not [dare to] return [to Ts'oo]. Let your great officers consider it." Tze-yu said, "Our small State [means] no offence; its offence has been in the confidence [it has reposed in you]. Meaning to confide in your great State's desire to secure its repose and quiet, and you, on the contrary, having hid in your breasts an evil mind to scheme against it, it will have erred in its confidence, and must announce the thing to the States, moving the indignation of them all, so that they will resist your ruler's orders, and your progress will be stopped;—this is what we are afraid of. If it were not for this, our State is but a sort of keeper of a reception-house for you; would it presume to grudge you the use of the temple of the Fung family?"

Woo Keu, knowing that they were prepared [in Ch'ing against any hostile attempt], begged that they might enter the city, with their quivers slung upside down;—which was granted. In the 1st month, on Yih-wu, [Wei] entered the city, received his bride, and went out again.

He then went on to meet [the representatives of the States] in K'woh, the object being to renew the covenant of Sung. K'ue Woo said to Ch'ao Wan-tse, "At the covenant of Sung, the men of Ts'oo got their will, as against Tsin. The want of faith of the present chief-minister [of Ts'oo] is what all the States have heard of.



If you do not take precautions, things will turn out as in Sung. The good faith of Tse-muh was celebrated among the States, and still he deceived Tsin, and got the advantage over it; how much more may we expect deceit from one notorious for his want of faith! If T'ao's second time get its will as against Tsin, it will be a disgrace to Tsin. You have guided the government of Tsin, maintaining it as lord of covenants now for 7 years. Twice have you assembled the princes of the States, and three times their great officers. You brought to submission T'ao and the Teli; you tranquillized the States of the east; you pacified the confusion of Tsin; you walked Shun-yu (The capital of Ke); yet our troops have not been exhausted; the State has not been wearied; the people have uttered no slanders nor revilings; the other States have felt no resentment; Heaven has inflicted no great calamities:—all this has been due to you. You have got a good name, and what I am afraid of is, lest you should bring shame on it in the end. Sir, you must not neglect to take precautions." Wan-tse said, "Thank you for the lesson you have given me. But at the covenant of Sung, the heart of Tse-muh was set on injuring others, while my heart was set on the well-being of others; and it was thereby that T'ao got the advantage of Tsin. And now I still cherish the same heart, and T'ao is still assuming and arrogating. No harm will result from it. Good faith shall be held by me as a fundamental thing, and I will act in accordance with it. The case will be like that of the husbandman who clears away the weeds and digs up the earth about his plants; although there may be seasons of famine or scarcity, he will, as a rule, have abundant harvest. Moreover, I have heard that he who can maintain his good faith is sure not to be below others:—I cannot fully attain to this. The ode (Shu, III. iii. ode II. 8) says,

"Not going beyond the right, inflicting no injury,  
Seldom is it that such an one does not become a pattern to others;

showing the power of good faith. He who can be a pattern to others, is not beneath them. My inability to attain this is my difficulty; I am not troubled about T'ao."

"Wei, the chief minister of T'ao begged that they might simply use a victim, and, having read the words of the former covenant, place the writing over its [blood]. This was agreed to on the part of Tsin; and on the 3d month, on K'ao-shin, they covenanted. Wei was in [ruler's] robes, with guards displayed [before him]. Shuh-sun Muh-tse said, "The Kung-tse of T'ao is beautiful, how ruler-like!"

Tse-p'ei of Ch'ing said, "Yes, with those two spearmen before him!"

Tse-k'ea of Tsin said, "They are before the T'ao palace; may he not have them [here] also?"

Pih Chow-le of T'ao said, "In taking leave for this journey, he borrowed them from our ruler."

Hwuy, the Internunciate of Ch'ing, said "He borrowed them, but will not return them!"

Pih Chow-le replied, "You may find a subject for your sorrow in the rebellious, incoherent ambition of Tse-suh." Tse-yu rejoined, "While the designate of the pei (See the Chuen on XIII.

8) remains, do you find no subject for sorrow in the borrowing these things, and not returning them?"

K'ueh-tse of T'ao said, "I commiserate the two of you."

The Kung-tse Shaou of Ch'in said, "But for their anxious sorrow, what would they accomplish? They will have occasion for joy."

T'ao-tse of Wei said, "If they know it [before-hand], although they may be sorrowful, what harm will there be?"

The master of the Left of Sung—he of Hoh—said, "A great State commands, and a small State obeys. I know nothing but to obey."

Yoh Wang-foo of Tsin said, ["The sentiment of] the last stanza of the Siao min (Shu, II. v. ode I.) is good; I will follow it."

When they retired from the meeting, Tse-yu said to Tse-p'ei, "Shuh-sun was sharp, and yet mild. The master of the Left of Sung was sententious, and agreeable to propriety. Yoh Wang-foo was loving and reverent. You and Tse-k'ea held [the Mean]. You are all men who will preserve your families for generations. But the great officers of T'ao, Wei, and Ch'in, will not escape [an evil death]. K'ueh-tse was sorry for them; Tse-shaou found in sorrow ground for joy; and T'ao-tse said that though they were sorrowful, there would be no harm. Now to be sorry before the thing happens, to find joy in what is occasion for sorrow, and to see no harm in being sorry;—all this is the way to bring sorrow. Sorrow will come to them. The Great Declaration says, 'What the people desire, Heaven is sure to grant.' Those three officers prognosticated sorrow;—is it possible but that sorrow should come to them? This is an illustration of the saying, 'From words you know things.'"

Par. 3. Yun,—see on IX. xii. 1, 2. The Chuen says:—"Ke Woo-tse invaded Keu and took Yun. The people of Keu sent word [of the outrage] to the meeting, and T'ao represented to Tsin, "Before we have retired from this renewal of the covenant, Loo has invaded Keu, thus treating contumeliously our common stipulations. Allow us to execute its envoy." Yoh Hwan-tse (Wang-foo) was in attendance on Chao Wan-tse; and wishing to ask a bribe from Shuh-sun, he interceded for him, and sent a messenger to ask from him a snail. Shuh-sun refused it, on which Liang K'o-hing said, "Why should you grudge giving your property to protect yourself?" Shuh-sun replied, "The meeting of the States is for the defence of our altars. If I by such a method secure my own escape, yet Loo will be attacked. I shall have brought calamity on it, instead of being a defence to it. Men build walls to prevent the approach of evil. When there are cracks in a wall, or it falls to ruin, on whom will the blame be laid? If I act for the defence [of Loo], should yet do it evil, I should be more to blame [than the wall]. Though I can resent the conduct of Ke-sun [in this matter], what offence has Loo committed? That the Shuh should go abroad [on missions], and the Ke remains at home, is an established custom [of our State];—with whom should I feel dissatisfied? But as to a gift to Wang-foo, if I do not give him something, he will not cease [importuning me]. With this he called the messenger, tore up a piece of silk for a lower garment, and gave it to him, saying, "The snail-silk is all done."



\*When Chao-ming heard of all this, he said, "In misfortune, not forgetting his State, he is loyal; in prospect of difficulties, not [wishing] to overstep his office, he is faithful. Forgetting the risk of death in his interest for the State, he is incorrupt. Holding to these three things in his counsels, he is righteous. Ought a man with these four qualities to be executed?" He therefore made a request to [the minister of] T'ao, saying, "Although Loo be chargeable with an offence, its minister here has not [sought to] avoid difficult services, and [now] in awe of your majesty he [is prepared] to submit reverently to your orders. It will be well for you to spare him as an encouragement to all about you. If your officers, in the State, do not seek to avoid laborious services, and when they go abroad, do not try to evade difficulties [that they may meet with], to what calamities will you in that case be exposed? What calamities arise from its officers' not performing laborious services, and not maintaining their characters on occasions of difficulty? If they are able for these two things, there will be no calamities. If you do not quiet [the apprehensions of] those who are able, who will follow you? Shuh-sun P'ao may be pronounced such an able man, and I beg you to spare him, in order to quiet the minds of others who are so [also]. If you, having assembled [the ministers of] the States, will pardon the guilty [Loo], and reward its worthy officer, which of the States will not rejoice? They will look to T'ao, and turn to it, and see it, though far off, as if it were near. The States that lie on their borders [between Ts'in and T'ao] follow now the one and now the other, without any regularity. The good kings and presiding princes drew out for them their boundaries, set up for them their officers, raised in them their flags of distinction, and issued among them enactments and ordinances. Transgressors among them they punished, and yet they could not secure a oneness [of obedience]. Thus it was that Yu had its San-moussu; Hsia its K'wan and Hoo; Shang its Sien and P'ei; and Chow its Sen and Yen. After there ceased to be good kings, the States struggled for the precedence, and one and another have presided in turn over the general covenants. Under such a condition can absolute oneness be looked for? The State which can sympathize with others in great [calamities], and overlook small matters, is fit to be lord of covenants; why should it occupy itself [with the small matters]? What State has not questions about encroachments on its borders? What presiding State could attend to them all? If Woo or P'oh were to commit a trespass, would the ministers of T'ao pay any regard to our covenants? There is no reason why T'ao should not decline to take notice of this matter about the borders of K'ou, and why the States should be troubled about it. K'ou and Loo have quarrelled about Yun for long. If there be no great harm done to the allies [of K'ou], you need not resist [the present aggression]. Do you remove this occasion of trouble, and deal kindly with this good man, and all will be strong to encourage [one another, in the appreciation of T'ao]. Do you consider the matter." He [thus] earnestly urged his request, and the minister of T'ao granted it, so that Shuh-sun was spared.

\*The chief minister feasted Chao-ming, and sang the first stanza of the Ta ming (She, III. I. ode II.). Chao-ming sang the second stanza of the Siao yuen (She, II. v. ode II.). When the feast was over, Chao-ming said to Shuh-hsiao, "The chief minister looks upon himself as king. How will it be?" Shuh-hsiao replied, "The king is weak, and the minister is strong. His ambition will be gratified, but notwithstanding he will not die a natural death." "Why so?" "When strength overcomes weakness, and is satisfied in doing so, the strength is not righteous. Of strength which is unrighteous the doom will come quick. The ode (She, II. iv. ode VIII. 8) says,

"The majestic honoured capital of Chow  
Is extinguished by P'ao Sze:—"

that was a case of strength which was not righteous. When the chief minister becomes king, he will be sure to ask [from Ts'in] the presidency of the States; and Ts'in is somewhat weakened. The States will go [to T'ao]; and when he has got them, his oppressiveness will be greatly increased. The people will not be able to bear it, and how shall he obtain a natural death? Taking [his position] by strength, overcoming by unrighteousness, he must look on these things as the proper course. Pursuing that course in dissoluteness and oppression, he cannot continue long."

[We have four narratives appended here:—

Ist. "In summer, in the 4th month, Chao-ming, Shuh-sun P'ao, and the great officer of T'ao, entered the capital of Ch'ing, where the earl gave them all an entertainment. T'ao-p'e conveyed to Chao-ming the notice of the time; and when the ceremony [of doing so] was over, Chao-ming sang the Hoo yuen (She, II. viii. ode VII.). T'ao-p'e went on to give the notice to Muh-shuh, and told this to him, when Muh-shuh said, "Chao-ming wishes that there should only be one cup and the response to it. You should order it so." "How dare I?" said T'ao-p'e. "When it is what a man wishes, why should you not dare to do a thing?" was the reply. When the time came, the vessels for the ceremony of five cups were all provided under a tent. Chao-ming declined [such a celebration], and told T'ao-ch'ao apart how he had begged of the chief minister [that it might be otherwise]. On this only one cup was presented, Chao-ming being the [principal] guest; and when that ceremony was over, they proceeded to the feast. Muh-shuh sang the T'ao-ch'ao (She, I. ii. ode I.), when Chao-ming said, "I am not worthy of that." The other then sang the T'ao fan, (I. ii. ode II.), and added, "Our small States are like that southern wood. If your great State will gather it sparingly and use it, we will in everything obey your commands." T'ao-p'e sang the last stanza of the Yai yew see keen (I. ii. ode XII.). Chao-ming sang the Chang-te (II. I. ode IV.), and said, "Let us who are brothers seek to rest in harmony, and that dog may be kept from barking at us." Muh-shuh, T'ao-p'e, and the great officer of T'ao, rose up at this, and bowed their acknowledgments. Each of them raised a cup made of a rhinoceros' horn, and said, "We small States depend on you, and know that we shall escape punishment." They then drank and were joyous. When Chao-



ming went out, he said, "I shall not have a repetition of this [enjoyment]."

2d. "The king by Heaven's grace sent duke Ting of Lō to the Ying in compliment Chao-ming on the accomplishment of the toils of his journey; and [he accompanied him] to his lodging-house near a bend of the Loh. "How admirable," said the viscount of Lō, "was the merit of Yu! His intelligent virtue reached far. But for Yu, we should have been slaves. That you and I manage the business of the princes in our ease and robes is all owing to Yu. Why should you not display a merit as far-reaching as that of Yu, and extend a great protection to the people?" Chao-ming replied, "I am old, and constantly afraid of incurring guilt; how should I be able to send my regards far into the future? We can but think about our food, in the morning laying no plans for the evening, and are incapable of any long forethought." When the viscount returned [to the court], he told the king of this conversation, saying, "The common saying, 'An old man is just becoming wise, when senility comes upon him,' might be spoken of Chao-ming. He is the chief minister of Tsin, and presides over the States, and yet he likens himself to a common servant, who in the morning has no plans for the evening, casting from him [the care of] both Spirits and men. The Spirits must be angry with him, and the people revolt from him;—how can he continue long? Chao-ming will not see another year. The Spirits, angry with him, will not accept his sacrifices; the people, revolting from him, will not repair to execute his affairs. His sacrifices and affairs both unintended to, what should he do with more years?"

3d. "When Shuh-sun returned [to Loo], Tsang Yau drove Ke-sun to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his journey. The morning passed and mid-day came, without his coming forth. Tsang Yau said to Tsang Fow, "[Kept here] from morning to mid-day, we know our offence. But the government of Loo goes on through the mutual forbearance [of the ministers]. Abroad he could bear [with our master], and [now] in the State he does not do so;—what is the meaning of this?" Fow (Shuh-sun's steward) said, "He has been several months abroad;—what does it harm you to be here one morning? Does the trader who desires his profit dislike the clamour [of the market-place]?" Fow then said to his master that he might come forth, and Shuh-sun pointing to one of the pillars [of his house], said, "Though I should dislike this, could it be removed? With this he went out and saw Ke-sun."

4th. "Sen-woo Fan of Ching had a beautiful sister, who was betrothed to Kung-sun Tsao (Designated Tze-nan). Kung-sun Hih (Tze-sui), however, also sent a messenger who violently insisted on leaving a goose at the house (A ceremony of espousal). Fan was afraid, and reported the matter to Tze-chun, who said, "This is not your sorrow [only]; it shows the want of government in the State. Give her to which of them you please." Fan then begged of the two gentlemen that they would allow him to leave the choice between them to the lady; and they agreed to it.

"Tze-sui then, splendidly arrayed, entered the house, set forth his offerings, and went out.

Tze-nan entered in his military dress, shot an arrow to the left and another to the right, sprang into his chariot, and went out. The lady saw them from a chamber, and said, "Tze-sui is indeed handsome, but Tze-nan is my husband. For the husband to be the husband, and the wife to be the wife, is what is called the natural course." So she went to Tze-nan's. Tze-sui was enraged, and by-and-by went with his bow-cases and in his buff-coat to see Tze-nan, intending to kill him and take away his wife. Tze-nan knew his purpose, seized a spear, and pursued him. Coming up to him at a cross road, he struck him with the weapon. Tze-sui went home wounded, and informed the great officers, saying, "I went in friendship to see him, not knowing that he had any hostile purpose; and so I received the wound."

"The great officers all consulted about the case. Tze-ch'ao said, "There is a measure of right on both sides; but as the younger, and lower in rank, and chargeable with an offence, we must hold Tze-sui to be the criminal." Accordingly he [caused] Tze-nan to be seized, and enumerated his offences, saying, "There are the five great rules of the State, all of which you have violated:—awe of the ruler's majesty; obedience to the rules of the government; honour to the nobler in rank; the service of elders; and the kindly cherishing of relatives. These five things are necessary to the maintenance of the State. Now you, while the ruler was in the city, presumed to use your weapon;—you had no awe of his majesty. You violated the laws of the State;—not obedient to the rules of government. Tze-sui is a great officer of the 1st degree, and you would not acknowledge your inferiority;—you have not honoured the nobler in rank. Younger than he, you showed no awe of him;—not serving your elder. You lifted your weapon against your cousin;—not kindly cherishing your relative. The ruler says that he cannot bear to put you to death, and will deal gently with you in sending you to a distance. Make an effort and take your departure quickly, so as not to incur a second offence."

"In the 5th month, on K'ang-shin, Ch'ing banished Yeh (Tze-nan's clan-name) T'ao, to Woo. When he was about to send him away, Tze-ch'ao consulted with Tze-shuh (Yeh Keih) on the subject. Tze-shuh said, "I cannot protect myself; how should I be able to protect the members of my clan? The affair belongs to the government of the State, and is not any private hardship. If you have planned for the benefit of the State, carry out your decision. Why should you have any hesitancy? The duke of Chow put to death Kwan-shuh, and banished Tze-shuh, not because he did not love them, but because it was necessary for the royal House. If I were to be found in any crime, you would send me away; what difficulty need you have in the case of any other Yeh?"

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"How true of T'eh had been a favourite with [his father, duke] Huan, and was like another ruler by the side of [his brother, duke] King. Their mother said to him, "If you do not go away, I am afraid you will be found fault with." On Kwei-mou, therefore, K'ien went to Tsin, with his chariot amounting to a thousand. The words of the text, "K'ien, younger brother of the earl



of Ts'in fled from that State to Ts'in," are condemnatory of the earl.

'How-tze gave an entertainment to the marquis of Ts'in, when he made a bridge of boats over the Ho. His chariots were placed at stages, 10½ distant from one another, [all the way] from Yung to Kiang, returning [to Ts'in] to fetch the offerings for the different pledgings [at the entertainment], thereby completing the business in eight journeys back to it.

'The marshal How asked him whether those were all his chariots, and if he had no more, to which he replied, "These may be pronounced many; if they had been fewer, how should I have got to see you?" Joo Shuh-tze (The marshal) told this to the marquis, and added, "The prince of Ts'in is sure to return to that State. I have heard that when a superior man is able to know his errors, he is sure to take good measures in regard to them; and good measures receive the assistance of Heaven."

'How-tze visited Chao-ming, who asked him when he would return [to Ts'in], and he replied, "I was afraid of being found fault with by my ruler, and therefore I am here. I will wait for the accession of his successor." The other then asked him about the character of the ruler of Ts'in, and he replied that he was without principle. "So that [the State] will perish?" asked Chao-ming. "How should that be?" replied he. "For one rule without principle a State will not come to an end. The State stands related to Heaven and Earth;—they stand together. Unless licentiousness has prevailed for several incumbencies, it will not come to ruin." Chao-ming said, "Does Heaven [act in the matter]?" "Yea." "And for how long?" "I have heard," was the reply, "that when [a ruler] is without principle, and yet the yearly harvest is good, Heaven is assisting him; it is seldom it does not do so for 5 years." Chao-ming, observing the shadows, said, "The morning may not extend to the evening, nor the evening to the morning. Who can wait for five years?" When How-tze went out [from the interview], he said to his friends, "Chao-ming will [soon] die. When the president of the people trifles about years, and desires [length of] days, he cannot endure long."

The Kang-he editors say that the three Chien agree in regarding the words of the text as condemnatory of the earl of Ts'in, because he had not done his duty in the training of his younger brother; but they also quote the criticism of K'ia Hsien-ung (家鉉翁; end of Sung dyn.), who finds a condemnation of K'ien in it as well;—and of this view they approve. But both the views are imported into the text, we may believe. Certainly the latter is. A more serious difficulty presents itself in my mind in connexion with the text. Admitting the narrative in the Chuen, though parts in it are not easy to believe or understand, the going of K'ien to Ts'in was of a very different character from all the departures from one State and flights to another which we have yet met with. A faithful and accurate chronicler would have varied his language to mark that difference.

[We have appended here:—Because of the troubles connected with the affair of Yü T'ao in Ch'ing, in the 6th month, the earl and his great officers made a covenant in the house of

Kung-sun T'wan. Han Woo, Kung-sun K'uei, Kung-sun T'wan, Yin T'wan, Yü Keih, and Sze Tse, privately covenanted together outside the Kwei gate, which was in fact [the covenant of] Hsiao-say. Kung-sun Hsi violently insisted on taking part in the covenant, and made the grand-historiographer write his name, and enter the phrase—"the seven officers." T'wan-ch'ian did not attempt to punish him.]

Par. 6. For 大南 Kung and Kih have

大原; and Kih observes that the place or tract was called by the former name among the Teih, and by the latter among the States of the kingdom. The name of T'ao-yuen remains in the dia. and dep. so called, in Shun-se.

The Chuen says:—"Chung-hang Muh-tze defeated the Woo-chung and other tribes of the Teih in T'ao-yuen, through collecting the men attached to the chariots and making them foot-soldiers. When they were about to fight, Wei Shou said, "They are all foot-men, while our force consists of chariots. We must meet them, moreover, in a narrow pass. Let us substitute ten men for each chariot, and we shall overcome them. Even though straitened in the pass, we shall do so. Let us all turn ourselves into foot-men, I will begin." Accordingly, he put aside his chariots, and formed the men into ranks, five chariots furnishing three ranks of five men each. A favourite officer of Szeu Woo (The Chung-hang Muh-tze) was not willing to take his place among the soldiers, and Szeu beheaded him, and made the execution known through the army. Five dispositions were then made at a distance from one another:—*hsung*, in front; *woo*, behind; *chuen*, on the right turn; *ts'ui*, on the left; and *pin*, in the van. This was done to deceive the Teih, who laughed at the arrangement. [The troops of Teih] then fell on the enemy before they could form in order, and inflicted on them a great defeat."

Par. 7, 8. See on IX. xxxi. 7. The Chuen here says:—"When Chen-yü succeeded to the rule of K'ei, he deprived all the sons of previous rulers of their offices. In consequence of this, they called K'eu-tai from T'ei; and in autumn, the Kung-tze T'ao of T'ei irritated him in K'ei, while Chen-yü fled to Woo." Kung and Kih leave out the 興 after 展.

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"Shuh Kung led a force, and laid out the boundaries of the lands of Yün;—taking advantage of the disorder in K'ei. At this time, Woo Lo, Mow Hoo, and the Kung-tze Mieh-ming, fled to T'ei, offering to that State the titles of Ta-mang and Chang-e-mei. The superior man will say that Chen's not maintaining himself in K'ei was owing to his throwing men from him. Can men be thrown away? The oda (Shu, IV. I. [L] oda IV.) says,

"Nothing gives strength more than [the use of right] men."

The sentiment is good."

Par. 10. This is the first time that we meet, in the Ch'iu T'ai-w, with the burial of a prince of Choo; and the same thing is recorded also, for the 1st time under duke Ch'iao, in reference to rulers of Ts'ang, Szech, and Ts'in. The entries mark the decay of Lo, now seeking by such an attention to ingratiate itself with small States



like Chao, T'ing, and Böck, and with a distant State like T'ai.

[We have here the two following narratives:—

1st. The marquis of Tsin being ill, the earl of Ch'ing sent Kung-sun K'iaou to Tsin on a complimentary visit, and to inquire about the marquis's illness. Shuh-hsiang then asked K'iaou, saying, "The diviners say that our ruler's illness is inflicted on him by [the Spirits] Shih-ch'in and T'ao-t'ao, but the historiographers do not know who these are. I venture to ask you." T'ao-ch'an said, "Anciently, [the emperor] Kao-sin had two sons, of whom the elder was called Ch'p'ch. and the younger Shih-ch'in. They dwelt in K'wang-lin, but could not agree, and daily carried their shields and spears against each other. The sovereign emperor (Yaou) did not approve of this, and removed Ch'p'ch to Shang-k'w, to preside over the star *Ta-ko* (See the Chuen on IX. ix. 1). The ancestors of Shang followed him [in Shang-k'w], and hence *Ta-ko* is the star of Shang. [Yaou also] removed Shih-ch'in to *Ta-hia*, to preside over the star *Sin* (? in Orion). The descendants of T'ang (Yaou) followed him, and in *Ta-hia* served the dynasties of Hsia and Shang. The prince at the end of their line was T'ang Shuh-yu. When Yih K'ang, the wife of King Woo, was pregnant with T'ao-shuh, she dreamt that God said to her, "I have named your son Yu, and will give T'ang to him,—T'ang which belongs to the star *Sin*, where I will multiply his descendants." When the child was born, there appeared on his hand the character Yu [by which he was named accordingly]. And when King Ch'ing extinguished [the old House of] T'ang, he invested T'ao-shuh with the principality; and hence *Sin* is the star of Tsin. From this we may perceive that Shih-ch'in is the Spirit of *Sin*.

"[Again], anciently, among the descendants of the emperor Kin-t'ien was Mei, chief of the officers of the waters, who had two sons, Yun-hih and T'ao-t'ao. T'ao-t'ao inherited his father's office, cleared the channels of the Fan and T'wen, and embanked the great marsh, so as to make the great plain habitable. The emperor (Chuen-hou) commended his labours, and invested him with the principality of Fung-ch'en. [The States of] Ch'in, See, Luh, and Hwang maintained sacrifices to him. But now Tsin, when it took on itself the sacrifices to the Fan, extinguished them. From this we may perceive that T'ao-t'ao is the Spirit of the Fan.

"But these two Spirits cannot affect your ruler's person. The Spirits of the hills and streams are sacrificed to in times of flood, drought, and pestilence. The Spirits of the sun, moon, and stars are sacrificed to on the unseasonable occurrence of snow, hoarfrost, wind, or rain. Your ruler's person must be suffering from something connected with his movements out of the palace and in it, his meat and drink, his griefs and pleasures; what can these Spirits of the mountains and stars have to do with it?

"I have heard that the superior man [divides the day] into 4 periods:—the morning, to hear the affairs of the government; noon, to make full inquiries about them; the evening, to consider well and complete the orders [he has resolved to issue]; and the night, for rest. By this arrangement [of his time], he attempts and dis-

sipates the humours [of the body], so that they are not allowed to get shut up, stopped, and congested, so as to injure and reduce it. Should that take place, his mind loses its intelligence, and all his measures are pursued in a dark and confused way. But has not [your ruler] been making these four different periods of his time into one? This may have produced the illness.

"I have heard again that the ladies of the harem should not be of the same surname as the master of it. If they be, their offspring will not thrive. When their first admiration for each other [as relatives] is exhausted, they occasion one another disease. On this account the superior men hate such unions, and one of our Books says, 'In buying a concubine, if you do not know her surname, consult the tortoise-shell for it.' The ancients gave careful attention to the two points which I have mentioned. That husband and wife should be of different surnames is one of the greatest points of propriety; but now your ruler has in his harem four K'ea—may it not be from this [that his illness has arisen]? If it have come from the two things [I have mentioned], nothing can be done for it. If he had seldom to do with the four K'ea, he might get along; if that be not the case, disease was the necessary result."

Shuh-hsiang said, "Good. I had not heard of this. But both the things are so." When he went out, the intendants Hway escorted him, and Shuh-hsiang asked him about the affairs of Ch'ing, and especially about T'ao-seih. "He will not remain long," was the reply. "Unobservant of propriety, and fond of insulting others; trusting in his riches and despising his superiors,—he cannot continue long."

When the marquis heard of what T'ao-ch'an had said, he remarked that he was a superior man of vast information, and gave him large gifts.

2d. The marquis of Tsin asked the help of a physician from T'ai, and the earl sent one Ho to see him, who said, "The disease cannot be cured,—according to the saying that when women are approached, the chamber disease becomes like insanity. It is not caused by Spirits nor by food; it is that delusion which has destroyed the mind. Your good minister will [also] die; it is not the will of Heaven to preserve him." The marquis said, "May women [then] not be approached?" The physician replied, "Inter-course with them must be regulated. The ancient kings indicated by their music how all other things should be regulated. Hence there are the five regular intervals. Or slow or quick, from beginning to end, they blend in one another. Each note rests in the exact intermediate place; and when the five are thus determined, no further exercise on the instruments is permitted. Thus the superior man does not listen to music where the hands work on with licentious notes, pleasing the ears but injurious to the mind, where the rules of equable harmony are forgotten. So it is with all things. When they come to this, they should stop; if they do not do so, it produces disease. The superior man repairs to his lute, to illustrate his observance of rules, and not to delight his mind [merely].

"[In the same way] there are six heavenly influences, which descend and produce the five tastes, go forth in the five colours, and are verified in the five notes; but when they are in



excess, they produce the six diseases. Those six influences are denominated the *gis*, the *yang*, wind, rain, obscurity, and brightness. In their separation, they form the four seasons; in their order, they form the five [elementary] terms. When any of them is in excess, there ensues calamity. An excess of the *gis* leads to diseases of cold; of the *yang*, to diseases of heat; of wind, to diseases of the extremities; of rain, to diseases of the belly; of obscurity, to diseases of delusion; of brightness, to diseases of the mind. [The desire of] woman is to the *yang*, and [she is used in the] season of obscurity. If this be done to excess, disease is produced of internal heat and utter delusion. Was it possible for your lordship, paying no regard to moderation or to time, not to come to this?

"When [the physician] went out, he told what he had said to Chaou-ming, who asked who was intended by "the good minister." "You," was the reply. "You have been chief minister of Ts'in now for 8 years. There has been no disorder in the State itself, and the other States have not failed [in their duty to it]; that epithet of 'good' may be applied to you. But I have heard that when the great minister of a State enjoys the glory of his dignity and emoluments, and sustains the burden of his great employments, if calamity and evil arise, and he do not alter his ways [to meet them], then he must receive the blame and the consequences. Here is your ruler, who has brought disease on himself by his excesses, so that he will [soon] be unable to consult at all for [the good of] the State. What calamity could be greater? And yet you were unable to ward it off. It was on this account that I said what I did."

"Chaou-ming [further] asked what he meant by "insanity;" and [the physician] replied, "I mean that which is produced by the delusion and disorder of excessive sensual indulgence. Look at the character;—it is formed by the characters for a vessel and for insects (蟲 =

蟲 and 蟲). It is used also of grain which [moulders and] flies away. In the Chow Yü, [the symbols of] a woman deluding a young man, [of] wind throwing down [the trees of] a mountain, go by the same name (蟲 = 蟲 under 蟲)—all these point to the same signification."

"Chaou-ming pronounced him a good physician, gave him large gifts, and sent him back [to Ts'in]."

Par. 11. For 麋 Kung and Kuh have 卷. See the account of Kung's accession in the Chuen after IX. xxix. 2.

The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tse Wei of Ts'oo sent the Kung-tse Hih-kwang and Pih Chow-le to call Chaou, Leih, and Kêsh; which frightened the people of Ch'ing, but Tsan-ch'an said, "It will not harm [us]. The chief minister is about to make the grand coup, and will first take off those two. The evil will not reach Ch'ing; there is no occasion for our being troubled." In winter, Wei was proceeding on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, with Woo Kue as his subordinate in the mission, when he heard, before they had crossed the borders [of the State], that the king was ill. On this he

returned [to the capital], leaving Woo Kue to proceed to Ch'ing. On the 11th month, on Kê-yü, he entered [as if] to inquire about the king's illness, and strangled him. He then proceeded to put to death the king's two sons, Moh and Ping-hia. Tse-kan, director of the Right, fled to Ts'in; and Tse-seih, director of the royal stables, fled to Ch'ing. [Wei] put to death the grand-administrator, Pih Chow-le, in Kêsh; and there he buried the king, whom he called in consequence Kêsh-gau. He sent an announcement [of the king's death] to Ch'ing, and Woo Kue asked what was said about who ought to be the successor. "Our great officer, Wei," was the reply, which Woo Kue changed into "King Kung's Wei is the first [in the line]."

"When Tse-kan fled to Ts'in, he had 5 chariots with him. Shuh-hiang caused him to receive the same allowance as the prince of Ts'in,—enough to each to support 100 men, on which Chaou Wan-tse observed that the prince of Ts'in was rich. Shuh-hiang replied, "Allowances are made according to the virtue [of the parties]; where their virtue is equal, according to their years; where their years are equal, according to their rank; to the sons of rulers of States, according to the State. I have not heard that they are to be regulated by a consideration of their wealth. Moreover, that [the prince of Ts'in] left his State with 1000 chariots shows how strong and powerful he was. And the ode (Shu, III. iii. ode VI. 5) says,

'He does not insult the wifeless or the widow'  
He does not fear the strong or the powerful,

Ts'in and Ts'oo are peers." In accordance with this, How-tse and Tse-kan were made to take place according to their years. The former declined, saying, "I was afraid of being found fault with, and the prince of Ts'oo could find no safety [in his State]. We are therefore both here, and it is for you to assign us our places according to your pleasure. And does it not seem improper that I should be made equal to him who is a stranger? The historiographer Yü said, "To whom will you show respect if not to a stranger?"

"When king Ling of Ts'oo came to the rule of that State, Wei P'ie was made chief minister, and Wei K'ie-kang grand-administrator. Yü Kieh of Ch'ing went to Ts'oo to the funeral of Kêsh-gau, and on a complimentary visit to the new ruler. On his return, he said to Tse-ch'an, "Make all your preparations for travelling. The extravagance of the king of Ts'oo is excessive, and he is delighted with his position. He is sure to call the States together. We shall be going there in no time." Tsan-ch'an replied, "He cannot do that till some years have elapsed."

Par. 12. The Kung-tse P'ie here is the Tse-kan mentioned in the Chuen on the prec. par. Chün Joh-shwuy (湛若水; Ming dyn.) says that this entry makes it clear that the death of the king of Ts'oo was a deed of atrocious wickedness. But the critic is a very lame attempt to excuse the silence of the classic in reference to the true nature of that event.

[There is appended here:—"In the 12th month, when [the marquis of] Ts'in had offered the winter sacrifice, Chaou-ming went to Nan-yang, to be present [at the sacrifice to] Ming Tse-yü



(probably Chao Tsu). On K'eh-shin, the 1st day of the moon, he offered the winter sacrifice in Waa; and on K'ang-seuh he died.

The earl of Ch'ing was going to Tsia to offer his condolences [on this event]; but when he had got to Yung, he returned.

Second year.

二年春，晉侯使韓起來聘。夏，叔弓如晉。秋，鄭殺其大夫公孫黑。冬，公如晉，至河乃復。季孫宿如晉。

左傳曰：二年春，晉侯使韓宣子來聘，且告爲政而來見禮也。觀書於大史氏，見易象與魯春秋，曰：周禮盡在魯矣。吾乃今知周公之德，與周之所以王也。公享之。季武子賦：綿之卒章。韓子賦：角弓。季武子拜曰：敢拜子之彌縫敝邑。寡君有望矣。武子賦：節之卒章。既享，宴於季氏。有嘉樹焉，宣子譽之。武子曰：宿敢不封殖此樹，以無忘角弓。遂賦：甘棠。宣子曰：起不堪也。無以及召公。宣子遂如齊，納幣。見子雅，子雅召子旗，使見宣子。宣子曰：非保家之主也。不臣。見子尾，子尾見彊。宣子謂之：如子旗大夫多笑之。唯晏子信之。曰：夫子，君子也。君子有信，其有以知之矣。自齊聘於衛，衛侯享之。北宮文子賦：淇澳。宣子賦：木瓜。

夏四月，韓須如齊逆女。齊陳無宇送女，致少姜。少姜有寵於晉侯。晉侯謂之少齊，謂陳無宇非卿，執諸中都。少姜爲之請曰：送從逆班，畏大國也。猶有所易，是以亂作。

叔弓聘於晉，報宣子也。晉侯使郊勞，辭曰：寡君使弓來繼舊好，固曰女無敢爲賓。徹命於執事，敝邑弘矣。敢辱郊使，請辭。致館。辭曰：寡君命下臣來繼舊好，好合使成，臣之祿也。敢辱大館，叔向曰：子叔子知禮哉。吾聞之曰：忠信，禮之器也。卑讓，禮之宗也。辭不忘國，忠信也。先國後己，卑讓也。詩曰：敬慎威儀，以近有德。夫子近德矣。

秋，鄭公孫黑將作亂，欲去游氏而代其位。傷疾作而不果。驪氏與諸大



夫欲殺之。子產在鄴，聞之，懼弗及，乘遽而至，使吏數之曰：「伯有之亂，以大國之事而末爾討也，爾有亂心，無厭國，不女堪，專伐伯有，而罪一也。」昆弟爭室，而罪二也。薰隧之盟，女矯君位，而罪三也。有死罪三，何以堪之？不速死，大刑將至，再拜稽首辭曰：「死在朝夕，無助天爲虐。」子產曰：「人誰不死？凶人不終命也，作凶事爲凶人，不助天其助凶人乎？請以印爲諸師。」子產曰：「印也若才，君將任之，不才將朝夕從女。」女罪之不恤，而又何請焉？不速死，司寇將至。七月壬寅，繼尸諸周氏之衢，加木焉。晉少姜卒，公如晉，及河，晉侯使士文伯來辭，曰：「非伉儷也，請君無辱。」公還，季孫宿遂致服焉。叔向言陳無宇於晉侯曰：「彼何罪？君使公族逆之，齊使上大夫送之，猶曰不共，君求以會國，則不共而執其使，君刑已頗，何以爲盟？」主且少姜有辭。冬十月，陳無宇歸。十一月，鄭印段如晉弔。

- II 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Tsai sent Han K'e to Loo on a complimentary visit.  
 2 In summer, Shuh Kung went to Tsai.  
 3 In autumn, Ch'ing put to death its great officer, the Kung-sun Hih.  
 4 In winter, the duke was going to Tsai, but when he got to the Ho, he returned; and K'e-sun Suh went to Tsai.

Part. I. Han K'e was a son of Han Keush or Han Hsien-tze (韓厥, 韓獻子), who retired from public life in the 7th year of duke Seang, and a younger brother of Han Woo-ke (韓無忌), known as Kung-tan Muh-tze (公族穆子). He is frequently mentioned as Han Seuen-tze (韓宣子), and, on the death of Chao Woo in the end of last year, had succeeded to him as the principal minister of Tsai.

The Chuan says:—The marquis of Tsai sent Han Seuen-tze on this complimentary visit (with reference to duke Chao's accession), and he came also to inform Loo that the administration of Tsai was now in his hands—which was acc. to rule. When he looked at the [various] documents in the charge of the grand historiographer, and the Ch'ao Ts'ao of Loo, he said, "The institutes of Chow are all in Loo. Now, indeed, I know the virtue of the duke of Chow, and how it was that [the House of] Chow attained to the royal dignity." The duke gave him an entertainment, at which Ke Woo-tze sang the last stanza of the *Mao* (She, III. I. ode III.), and Han-tze sang the *K'oh kung* (She, II. vii. ode IX.). [When Han-tze had done], Ke Woo-tze bowed to him saying, "I venture to make my acknowledgments for the kind feeling you express to our poor State.

Our ruler may [now] have hope;" and he went on to sing the last stanza of the *Ts'eh* (She, II. iv. ode VII.).

When the entertainment was over, [Han-tze] went to a feast at Ke's, and praised a beautiful tree [in the garden]. Woo-tze said, "Shall I not encourage the growth of this tree, so as not to forget the *K'oh kung*?" And he sang the *Kan-t'ang* (She, I. ii. ode V.), on which the other said, "I am not worthy of this. It is impossible for me to attain to be like the duke of Shao."

[From Loo] Seuen-tze went on to Ts'e, and presented the marriage-offerings [of the marquis]. Visiting there Tze-ya (the Kung-sun Tzeu), [that prince] called [his son] Tze-k'e and introduced him, when Seuen-tze said, "He is not one who will preserve his family. He has not the air of a subject." Visiting Tze-we (the Kung-sun Ch'ue), [that prince] introduced [his son] K'ang to him, of whom he said, "He is like Tze-k'e." Many of the great officers laughed at these remarks, but Han-tze believed them, and said, "He is a superior man. A superior man is to be believed; he has means of knowing what he says."

From Ts'e [Seuen-tze] went on a complimentary visit to Wei, the marquis of which gave him an entertainment. Pih-kung Kwoh-tze sang the *Ke yuh* (She, I. v. ode I.), and Seuen-tze the *Muh kwa* (I. v. ode X.).



Tao-shi says above that this visit of Han K'e was 'according to rule.' But he is in error. There is no other instance in the classic of the chief minister of the leading State going on a complimentary mission. It was below his dignity to do so. Han K'e probably took the step, thinking thereby to gratify the States and confirm their attachment to the falling fortunes of Tsin.

It is mentioned in the narrative that K'e presented the marriage offerings in Ts'e, the marquis of Tsin, heedless of the warnings of Tse-ch'an and the physician of Tsin, having now arranged to give a new mistress to his harem in the person of a lady of Ts'e. The sequel is appended:—In summer, in the 4th month, Han Sen (Son of K'e) went to Ts'e to meet the [marquis's] bride. Ch'in Woo-yu escorted her—the young K'ang—to Tsin, and was to be there till the completion of the marriage. She obtained favour with the marquis, who called her the young Ts'e. Thinking, however, on the circumstance that Woo-yu was not of the rank of minister, he seized him in Chung-tou, but the young K'ang pleaded for him saying, "The escort was chosen according to the rank of your officer who met me. [Ts'e] stood in awe of your great State, and thought that it also might make a change, and so the disorder arose."

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"Shih Kung [now] went to Tsin, to return the visit of Soen-tze. The marquis sent to comfort and refresh him after the toils of his journey in the suburbs, but he declined the honour, saying, "When my ruler sent me to continue the old friendship [between our States], he gave me a strict charge that I should not presume to take the position of a guest. Let me communicate my message to your ministers, and the favour to our poor State will be great. I dare not trouble a messenger to come to the suburbs. Let me decline the honour." When a reception-house was assigned to him, he declined it, saying, "My ruler commissioned me to come here to continue the old friendship [between our States]. If I can but establish the friendly union, that is my reward. I dare not accept this great reception-house." Shih-hsiang said, "Tse-shih-tze knows the rules of propriety. I have heard that loyalty and good faith are vessels containing the [principle of] propriety, and that humility and submission are essential things in it. In declining [the honours offered to him], he is not forgetful of his State;—thus showing his loyalty and good faith. His State is the first consideration with him, and himself the last;—thus showing his humility and self-abasement. The ode (Shu, III. li. ode IX. 3) says,

'Be reverently careful of your demeanour,  
In order to approximate to the virtuous.'

He is one who approximates to virtue."

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"In autumn, the Kung-sun Hih was about to raise an insurrection, desiring to remove the chief of the Yew clan, and to take his place [in the govt.]. His wound (See the 4th narrative after par. 3 of last year), however, broke out afresh, and he did not carry out his purpose. The Sze and the other great officers wished to put him to death; and when Tse-ch'an, who was in the borders, heard of it, he was afraid he should be too late, and

hurried by rapid stages to the capital. [Arrived there], he sent an officer to enumerate in the following way his offences to Hih:—"At the time of the insurrection of Pih-yew (IX. xxx. 7), being occupied with the business of the great State, we did not punish you; but your insubordinate disposition is insatiable, and the State cannot endure you. Your taking it on yourself to attack Pih-yew was one offence; your contention with your cousin about his wife (See the 4th nar. after par. 3 of last year) was a second; your acting as if you had been the ruler at the covenant of Heun-suy (See the nar. after par. 4 of last year) was a third. With those three capital offences, how can the State endure you? If you do not quickly die [by your own hand], the great punishment will come upon you." Hih bowed twice with his head to the ground, and replied, "Death may occur any morning or evening; but do not you aid [the act of] Heaven by cruelty." Tse-ch'an said, "Who of men is exempted from death? but that bad men should not die a natural death, is the appointment. He who does bad villainous things is a villain. If we do not aid Heaven, shall we aid him?" Hih then begged that [his son] Yin might be made superintendent of the market, and Tse-ch'an replied, "If Yin have ability, the ruler will give him office; if he have not, he will [at any time] follow you, morning or evening. You have no consideration of your offences; how do you continue making such requests? If you do not quickly die, the minister of Crime will visit you."

In the 7th month, on Jin-yin, Hih strangled himself, and his body was exposed in the street of Chow-sha, with [an inscription on] a board by it.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"The young K'ang, [married to the marquis] of Tsin, having died, the duke was proceeding to Tsin; but when he had gone to the Ho, the marquis sent Sze Wan-pih to meet him, and decline his visit, saying, "She was not my equal wife. I beg you will not condescend to come further." On this the duke returned, and Ke-san Suh proceeded to Tsin to present the grave-clothes [for the deceased].

"Shih-hsiang spoke to the marquis about Ch'in Woo-yu, saying, "Of what offence was he guilty? You sent [a great officer of] a ducal clan to meet your bride, and [Ts'e] sent a great officer of the highest rank to escort her; and if you still say that was not respectful, you desire what was excessive. It was our State which was not respectful, and in seizing the messenger [of Ts'e], you are punishing him unjustly—how can you thus be the lord of covenants? The young K'ang moreover, explained and interceded for him." In winter, in the 10th month, Ch'in Woo-yu returned [to Ts'e]. In the 11th month, Yin T'wan of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to present the condolences of that State.

Evidently duke Ch'ao was going to Tsin at this time, contrary to precedent and rule, demeaning himself to curry favour with the marquis; and he returned on receiving the rebuke. Kung-yang and the glossarist of K'uh-hsiang strangely imagine that he returned because he was afraid that Tsin had an intention to seize him, and hold him a prisoner.



## Third year.

三年春王正月

丁未滕子原卒

夏叔弓如滕

五月葬滕成公

秋小邾子來朝

八月大雩

冬大雨雹

比燕伯欵出奔

齊

⑤左傳曰：三年春，王正月，鄭游吉如晉，送少姜之葬，梁丙與張趯見之，梁丙曰：「甚矣哉！子之爲此來也。」子大叔曰：「將得已乎？」昔文襄之霸也，其務不煩諸侯，令諸侯三歲而聘，五歲而朝，有事而會，不協而盟，君薨，大夫弔，卿共葬事，夫人，士弔，大夫送葬，足以昭禮，命事謀闕而已，無加命矣。今嬖寵之喪，不敢擇位，而數於守過，唯懼獲戾，豈敢憚煩少姜有寵而死，齊必繼室，今茲吾又將來賀，不唯此行也。張趯曰：「善哉！吾得聞此數也。然自今，子其無事矣。」譬如火焉，火中寒暑乃退，此其極也，能無退乎？晉將失諸侯，諸侯求煩不獲，二大夫退，子大叔告人曰：「張趯有知，其猶在君子之後乎？」

丁未，滕子原卒，同盟，故書名。

⑥齊侯使晏嬰請繼室於晉，曰：「寡君使嬰曰：寡人願事君，朝夕不倦，將奉質幣，以無失時，則國家多難，是以不獲，不腆先君之適，以備內官，焜耀寡人之望，則又無祿，早世隕命，寡人失望，君若不忘先君之好，惠顧齊國，辱收寡人，微福於犬公，丁公，照臨敝邑，鎮撫其社稷，則猶有先君之適，及遺姑姊妹若而人，君若不棄敝邑，而辱使董振擇之，以備嬪嬙，寡人之望也。韓宣子使叔向對曰：寡君之願也，寡君不能獨任其社稷之事，未有伉儷，在綏經之中，是以未敢請，君有辱命，惠莫大焉。若惠顧敝邑，撫有晉國，賜之內主，豈唯寡君，舉羣臣實受其貺，其自唐叔以下，實寵嘉之。既成昏，晏子受禮，叔向從之，宴相與語，叔向曰：齊其何如？晏子曰：此季世也，吾弗知，齊其爲陳氏矣。公棄其



民而歸於陳氏。齊舊四量：豆、鬲、釜、鍾，四升爲豆，各自其四以登於釜，釜十則鍾。陳氏三量，皆登一焉。鍾乃大矣，以家量貸，而以公量收之。山木如市，弗加於山；魚鹽蜃蛤，弗加於海。民參其力，二入於公，而衣食其一。公聚朽蠹，而三老凍餒。國之諸市，屢賤踊貴，民人痛疾，而或煨燂之，其愛之如父母，而歸之如流水，欲無獲民，將焉辟之？箕伯、直柄、虞遂、伯戲，其相胡公、大姬，已在齊矣。叔向曰：「然雖吾公室，今亦季世也。戎馬不駕，卿無軍行，公衆無人，卒列無長，庶民罷敝，而宮室滋侈，道殣相望，而女富溢尤。民聞公命，如逃寇讐。桑扈、胥、原、狐、續、慶、伯，降在阜隸，政在家門，民無所依，君日不悛，以樂怙憂。公室之卑，其何日之有？讒鼎之銘曰：『昧且丕顯，後世猶怠。』況日不悛，其能久乎？」晏子曰：「子將若何？」叔向曰：「晉之公族盡矣，辟聞之。公室將卑，其宗族枝葉先落，則公從之。辟之宗十一族，唯羊舌氏在而已。辟又無子，公室無度，幸而得死，豈其獲祀？初，景公欲更晏子之宅，曰：『子之宅近市，湫隘囂塵，不可以居。』請更諸爽塏者，辭曰：『君之先臣容焉。』臣不足以嗣之，於臣侈矣。且小人近市，朝夕得所求，小人之利也。敢煩里旅，公笑曰：『子近市，識貴賤乎？』對曰：『既利之，敢不識乎？』公曰：『何貴何賤？』於是景公繁於刑，有鬻踊者，故對曰：『踊貴履賤。』既已告於君，故與叔向語而稱之。景公爲是省於刑。君子曰：『仁人之言，其利博哉！』晏子一言而齊侯省刑。詩曰：『君子如祉，亂庶遄已。』其是之謂乎？及晏子如晉，公更其宅，反則成矣。既拜，乃毀之，而爲里室，皆如其舊，則使宅人反之。且諺曰：『非宅是卜，唯鄰是卜。』二三子先卜鄰矣，違卜不祥。君子不犯非禮，小人不犯不祥，古之制也。吾敢違諸乎？卒復其舊宅，公弗許，因陳桓子以請，乃許之。

⑤夏四月，鄭伯如晉，公孫段相甚敬而卑，禮無違者。晉侯嘉焉，授之以策，曰：『子豐有勞於晉國，余聞而弗忘，賜汝州田，以胙乃舊勳。』伯石再拜稽首，受策以出。君子曰：『禮，其人之急也乎？』伯石之汰也，一爲禮於晉，猶荷其祿，況以禮終始乎？詩曰：『人而無禮，胡不遄死？』其是之謂乎？初，州縣、欒、豹之邑也。及欒氏亡，范宣子、趙文子、韓宣子皆欲之。文子曰：『溫，吾縣也。』二宣子曰：『自郤稱以別，三傳矣。晉之別縣，不唯州，誰獲治之？』文子病之，乃舍之。二子



曰：吾不可以正議而自與也，皆舍之。及文子爲政，趙穆曰：「可以取州矣。」文子曰：「退，二子之言，義也，違義，禍也。余不能治余縣，又焉用州？其以微禍也。」君子曰：「弗知實難，知而弗從，禍莫大焉。」有言州必死，豐氏故主韓氏，伯石之獲州也，韓宣子爲之請之，爲其復取之之故。

五月，叔弓如滕，葬滕成公。子服椒爲介，及郊，遇懿伯之忌，敬子不入。惠伯曰：「公事有公利，無私忌。」椒請先入，乃先受館，敬子從之。

⑤晉韓起如齊，逆女，公孫羈爲少姜之有寵也，以其子更公女而嫁公子。人謂宣子：「子尾欺晉，晉胡受之？」宣子曰：「我欲得齊，而遠其寵，寵將來乎？」

⑥秋七月，鄭罕虎如晉，賀夫人，且告曰：「楚人日徵敝邑，以不朝立王之故。敝邑之往，則畏執事，其謂寡君而固，有外心，其不往，則宋之盟云進退罪也。寡君使虎布之，宣子使叔向對曰：『君若辱有寡君，在楚何害？修宋盟也。』君苟思盟，寡君乃知免於戾矣。君若不有寡君，雖朝夕辱於敝邑，寡君猶焉？君實有心，何辱命焉？君其往也。」苟有寡君，在楚猶在晉也。張趯使謂大叔曰：「自子之歸也，小人冀除先人之敝，慮曰：『子其將來，今子皮實來，小人失望。』」大叔曰：「吉賤不獲來，畏大國尊夫人也。」且孟曰：「而將無事，吉庶幾焉。」

小邾穆公來朝，季武子欲卑之。穆叔曰：「不可。曹、滕、二邾，實不忘我好，敬以逆之，猶懼其貳，又卑一睦焉，逆羣好也。其如舊而加敬焉。」志曰：「能敬無災。」又曰：「敬逆來者，天所福也。」季孫從之。

八月，大雩，旱也。

⑦齊侯田於莒，廬蒲嬖見，泣且請曰：「余髮如此種種，余奚能爲？」公曰：「諾。」吾告二子，歸而告之。子尾欲復之，子雅不可，曰：「彼其髮短而心甚長，其或寢處我矣。」九月，子雅放廬蒲嬖於北燕。

燕簡公多嬖寵，欲去諸大夫而立其寵人。冬，燕大夫比以殺公之外嬖，公懼，奔齊。書曰：「北燕伯欵出奔齊。」罪之。



其弱競將族不曰子晏卒之王產吉楚如也。  
 危一個奘始弱免惜雅子司齊夢以乃日子楚也。  
 哉一个焉可昌矣殆也矣曰馬公田具既享之產子楚十  
 妻又惠嬌姜旗子喪見寇南備子賦柑伯

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ting-we, Yuen, viscount of T'ang, died.  
 2 In summer, Shuh Kung went to T'ang.  
 3 In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'ing of T'ang.  
 4 In autumn, the viscount of Little Choo came to the court [of Loo].  
 5 In the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
 6 In winter there was a great fall of hail.  
 7 K'wan, earl of North Yen, fled from his State to Ts'e.

[The Ch'ien gives here the following narrative, which comes in before the death of the viscount of T'ang:—In the 1st month of this year, Yew Keih of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to attend the funeral of the young Kiang, and was visited by Liang Ping and Chang Teih. The former said to him, "It is [too much] that you should have come here on this account." Tze-tse-shuh (Yew Keih) replied, "Could I have stopped away? Formerly, under the presidency of Wan and Ssang, they made it their object not to trouble the States [too much], ordering the princes once in three years to send a complimentary visit, once in five years to appear in person at their court, to meet when there was business [to be done], and to covenant when there were cases of discordant [States to be dealt with]. When a ruler died, a great officer [was sent] to present condolences, and a minister to assist at the burial. When a ruler's wife died, a [simple] officer presented condolences, and a great officer attended the funeral. These rules were sufficient to illustrate the ceremonial observances, for orders as to what business was to be done, and to take measures in reference to the shortcomings [of States]. Nothing more was required; no extraordinary commands were given. But now, on the death of [this] favourite lady, we must not presume to regulate our services by her rank, but they must be the same as are due to a wife, the keeper [of the harem]. We are only afraid of being found offenders, and dare not shrink from any trouble. But as this young Kiang found favour, and has died [thus soon], Ts'e is sore to propose a successor to her; and then on that occasion I shall come again to offer our congratulations, and shall not have had this journey only." Chang Teih said, "Good! I have heard your statement; but after this you will have nothing to do. This case may be illustrated by [the star] *As*, according to the culmination of which the cold or the heat retires. Now the case has come to an extreme;—must there not be a recession? Tsin will lose the States. Though it seek to trouble them, it will not be able to do so." On this the two great officers withdrew; and Tze-tse-shuh

said to his people, "Chang Teih is wise, but his place is notwithstanding. I apprehend, in the rear of superior men." ]

Tze-she says, "The viscount of T'ang had been associated in co-reigns (with the duke [Ssang] of Loo), and therefore the text gives his name."

[Tze-she introduces here the following long narrative:—1st. "The marquise of Ts'e sent Gan Ying to Tsin with the following speech, begging to be allowed to supply a successor in the harem [to the young Kiang]:—"My ruler has sent me to say, 'I wish to serve your lordship, morning and evening without tiring, and would bring my presents and offerings so as never to lose a season; but there have been many difficulties in my State, so that I have not been able [to come myself]. The poor daughter of my father [was sent] to complete the offices in your harem, and shed a blaze [of glory] upon my hopes; but she was unfortunate and died an early death, to the disappointment of my hope. If your lordship, not forgetful of the friendship between our former rulers, will kindly regard the State of Ts'e, and condescend to accept me so that I may seek the blessing of the Great duke and duke Ting, sending brightness down upon my State, protecting and comforting its altars, then there are still so many of the daughters of my father by his proper wife, and of his sisters who remain. If your lordship, not casting off my poor State, will send some one to judge and select among them those who may complete the ladies of your bed-chamber, this will satisfy my hope.'"

"Han Sseu-tze made Shuh-hang return a reply, saying, "It is the desire of our ruler. He is not able to discharge alone the duties to his altars; but being now in mourning, he has not ventured to prefer a request [for a successor to the young Kiang]. No kindness could be greater than the message which your lordship has condescended to send. If you will kindly regard our poor State, and comfort Tsin by giving a mistress to its harem, not our ruler only, but all his ministers as well, will receive the benefit of your gift. Yea, from Tang-shuh downwards, [our former rulers] will feel the favour and admire it."



"When the marriage was settled, Gan-tse received the courtesy [of an entertainment], from which Shuh-hsiang followed him to the feast. When they conversed together, Shuh-hsiang asked about the state of affairs in T'ei, and Gan-tse replied, "This is its last age. I know nothing but this,—that T'ei will become the possession of the Ch'in family. The duke is throwing away his people, and they are turning to the Ch'in. T'ei from of old has had four measures, the *tau*, the *gou*, the *foo*, and the *chuy*. Four *shing* make a *tau*, and up to the *foo*, each measure is four times the preceding; and then ten *foo* make a *chuy*. The Ch'in family makes each of the [first] three measures once again greater, so that the *chuy* is [very] large, lending according to their own measure, and receiving back again according to the public measure. The wood on their hills and that in the markets is charged the same price, so that it costs no more in the market than on the hill. Their fish, salt, and frogs cost the same [in the market as at the water]. The produce of the people's strength is divided into three parts, two of which are paid to the State, while only one is [left to them] for food and clothes. The [grain in the] ducal stores rots and is eaten by insects, while the three [classes of the] old are cold and starving. In all the markets of the State, [ordinary] shoes are cheap, while those for criminals whose toes have been cut off are dear. The common people and others groan bitterly [for all this], and there is one who shows an ardent sympathy for them. He loves them as a parent, and they go to him as a flowing stream. Though he wished not to win them to himself, how shall he escape doing so? There were Ke-pih, Chi-ping, Yu-suy, and Pih-ho, whose help was given to duke Hoo, and T'ao-ke, and [now, in their spiritual influence,] they are [all] in T'ei."

"Shuh-hsiang said, "Yes; and even with our ducal House, this also is the last age. The war-horses are not yoked; the ministers never take the field. There are no men over the duke's chariots, no [proper] officers over the soldiers. The multitudes of the people are weary and worn, while the duke's mansions are multiplied and most costly. The people [feel], when they hear the duke's commands, as if they must escape from robbers and enemies. The Lwan, the K'oh, the Sea, the Yuen, the Hoo, the Suh, the King, and the Pih, are reduced to the position of menials. The government is ordered by the Heads of the clans. The people have none on whom to rely. The ruler goes on from day to day without stop, burying all sorrow in pleasure. No future day need be waited for the humiliation of the ducal House. The inscription on the tripod of Ch'an says, "You may get up early in the morning and become greatly distinguished, but in future generations [your descendants] will still become idle." Much more may we say that he who holds on [an evil course] from day to day without stopping cannot continue long." Gan-tse then asked him what would become of himself, and Shuh-hsiang replied, "The ducal clans of T'ei are at an end. I have heard that when the ducal House is about to be brought low, its clan-branches first fall to the ground, and that then the duke follows them. Of the same ducal ancestry with me were eleven clans, and only the Yang-shih remains. I moreover have no

son. In the lawless course of the ducal House, I shall be fortunate if I die a natural death, for I shall have none to sacrifice to me."

"Before this, duke King had wished to change the residence of Gan-tse, saying, "Your house is near the market, low, small, noisy, and dusty. You should not live in it. Let me change it for you for one bright and lofty." The officer, however, declined the offer, saying, "Your lordship's former minister, [my father], could bear it. I am not fit to be his successor; [the change which you propose] would be extravagance in me. And besides, a small man like me, living near the market, can get what I desire morning and evening, which is a benefit." I dare not trouble the people of the neighbourhood. The duke [laughed and asked him] whether, through his nearness to the market, he knew what things were cheap and what dear. "Since it is to my advantage to do so," was the reply, "should I dare not to know that?" "What things then are cheap, and what dear?" pursued the marquis. Now duke King punished so many that there were people who sold shoes for those whose toes had been cut off. Gan-tse therefore answered, "Shoes for people whose toes have been cut off are dear, and [other] shoes are cheap." As he had told this to his ruler, he mentioned it in his conversation with Shuh-hsiang.

"In consequence of this remark, duke King more rarely inflicted punishments. The superior must may say, "How widely extends the benefit of a benevolent man's words! By one word of Gan-tse the marquis of T'ei was led to reduce the number of his punishments,—an illustration of the words of the ode (Shu, II. v. ode IV. 2).

"If he were to rejoice [in the words of the wise],

The disorder perhaps would disappear."

"When Gan-tse [on this occasion] went to T'ei, the duke changed his house into a new one, so that it was completed on his return. After he had made his acknowledgments, however, [for the kindness], he pulled the house down, rebuilt the dwellings in the neighbourhood as they had been before, and went to the old residents to return to them. [When they declined to do so], he said, "There is the common saying, "It is not about the house that the tortoise shell is consulted, but about the neighbours." My friends, the tortoise-shell was formerly consulted about this neighbourhood. To go against the divination is inauspicious; and that the superior man do not violate the rules of propriety, while smaller men do not incur the risk of what is [inauspicious], is an old regulation;—shall I dare to disobey it?" In the end, he brought them back to their old houses. The duke refused his sanction, but he granted it, when Gan-tse got Ch'in Hwan-tse to intercede with him."

2d. "In summer, in the 4th month, the earl of Ch'ing went to T'ei, when Kung-ssu T'wan was in attendance on him, and behaved so very respectfully and humbly, violating in nothing the proper rules, that the marquis commended him, and gave him a tablet [of investiture], saying, "T'ao-fung (T'wan's father) did hard service for the State of T'ei. I have heard of it, and do not forget it, and [now] bestow on



you the lands of Chow, as a recompense for the old services of your [father]." Pih-shih bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the tablet, and went out. The superior man will say on this, "How important to a man are the rules of propriety! Here was an extravagant man like Pih-shih, and to his once observing those rules in Tsin he was indebted for dignity and wealth in that State. Here surely was an illustration of what the ode (Sho, l. iv. Ode VIII. 3), says,

"If a man be not observant of propriety,  
Why does he not quickly die?"

"Before this the district of Chow had belonged to Lwan P'ao; and on the ruin of the Lwan family, Fan Seuen-tze, Chao Wán-tze, and Han Seuen-tze, all wished to have it. Wán-tze said, "All Wán (Chow had once been part of it) belongs to me." The two Seuen-tzes said, "Since the time of K'ueh Ch'ing, (Chow) has been handed down, separate (from Wán), in three families. There are other districts in Tsin, separated [in this way], and not Chow only;—who can get the right to take the rule of them?" Wán-tze was vexed by this, but gave Chow up. The other two ministers said, "We ought not, having given a correct decision [in reference to his claim] to take it to ourselves;" and so they all gave it up. When the administration [of Tsin] came into the hands of Wán-tze, Chao Hwoh advised him to take Chow, but he said to him, "Begone! The words of those two were righteous, and to oppose righteousness is the way to misery. I cannot rule properly my own district; of what use would Chow be to me? I should only thereby occasion misery to myself."

"The superior man may say on this, "His case is hard who does not know [whence misery will arise]. When one knows this and does not act accordingly, nothing can exceed the misery. There was a saying that [the possessor of] Chow was sure to die."

"Fung-shih (Kung-sun T'wan), according to his wont, was a guest with Han-shih. His getting Chow was upon the request of Han Seuen-tze in his behalf, to be the ground of his taking it [himself] again."

Par. 2. The viscount of T'ang had come to Loo to the funeral of duke Siang, and Loo now returns the compliment by sending a minister to attend his funeral. The one proceeding and the other were contrary to rule and precedent. The Chun says:—"In the 5th month, Shuh Kung went to T'ang, to the burial of duke Ch'ing, Tse-fuh Tsensou being the assistant commissioner. When they got to the suburbs, it happened to be the anniversary of the death of E-pih (Tsensou's uncle), and King-tze (Shuh Kung) proposed not to enter the city. Hwuh-pih (Tsensou), however, said, "We are on public business. Where there is a public benefit, there should be no recognition of one's private death-days." With this he preceded the other, and received the reception-houses (assigned to them), King-tze coming after him." See a somewhat different account of this matter in the *Lu K'ü*, II. ii. Bk. II. 22.

[We have two narratives appended here:—

1st. Han K'ü of Tsin went to T'ie, to meet the [marquis's] bride, when Kung-sun Ch'ao, because of the favour which the young K'ang had found, substituted a daughter of his own for

the duke's, whom he gave in marriage [to another husband]. Some people told Han K'ü of the deceit put upon Tsin by Tse-wai, and said that he should not accept the lady; but that minister replied, "I want to get [the adherence of] T'ie; and if I keep the favourite [minister] away from us [in that way], will the favourite come to us?"

2d. "In autumn, in the 7th month, Han Hoo of Ch'ing went to Tsin, to offer congratulations on the marquis's marriage. At the same time he made the following announcement:—"The people of T'ie are daily summoning our State, because we have not been to the court of their new king. If we go to T'ie, we are afraid of your ministers, lest they say that our ruler has done so because his heart is indeed set on that other alliance; while, if we do not go, there is the covenant of Sung. Whether we advance or retreat, we may be held offenders; and my ruler has instructed me to lay the case before you." Seuen-tze made Shih-hiang reply, "If your ruler condescends to be true to ours, his being in T'ie will do no harm;—it will be but observing the covenant of Sung. If he thinks of that covenant, our ruler knows that he will escape any charge of doing wrong [in regard to it]. If your ruler is not true [in heart] to ours, although he were to condescend morning and evening to come to our poor State, our ruler would be suspicious of him. If he be indeed true in heart, there was no necessity for the trouble of this message. Let your ruler go to T'ie. If he be true to ours, his being in T'ie is the same as if he were in Tsin."

"[At this time], Chang Teli sent a messenger [to Ch'ing], to say to T'ie-shih, "After you went back [to Ch'ing], I removed the dirt from the poor cottage of my father, saying to myself that you would be coming [again]; now it is Tse-p'ie who has come, and I am disappointed." T'ie-shih replied, "My rank was too mean to get to come [on this occasion]. We were in awe of your great State, and [wanted] to honour the [new] wife; and moreover you said that I should have nothing [more] to do. It has nearly proved so with me."

Par. 4. This was duke Muh (穆公) of Little Choo, who appeared now at the court of Loo, to congratulate duke Ch'ao on his accession. The Chun says:—"Ke Woo-tze proposed to give the viscount a very slender reception; but Muh-shih said, "No. Since T'ie-shih, T'ang, and the two Ch'ao, do not forget their old friendship with us, we should meet them with respect, and even more, fearful of their being alienated from us. And moreover, if we receive in a humbling way one of those friendly States, we shall provoke the others, our friends, [to fall away]. We should show greater respect than in any former time. It is said in a Book, "No calamities befall the respectful;" and also, "They who meet the comers respectfully receive blessing from Heaven." Ke-sun followed this advice."

Par. 5. Tse-shih says that there was now "a drought." Of the 21 instances of this sacrifice for rain, which are mentioned in the classic, 7 occur during the time of duke Ch'ao, and Tse leaves only the one in the 8th year unnoted as a time of "drought."

[We have a narrative appended with reference to the fortunes of Loo-poo P'ieh whose banish-



ment to the northern borders of Te's is mentioned in the 2d narrative appended to the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6:—The marquis of Te's was hunting in K'ia, when Loo-p'oo P'ieh sought an introduction to him, and begged with tears [that he might be permitted to return], saying, "With my hair so short and thin, what can I [now] do?" The marquis replied, as if assenting, that he would inform the two ministers of it. He did tell them accordingly on his return, and Tze-wei was willing that P'ieh should be allowed to come back, but Tze-ya objected, saying, "His hair may be short, but his heart is very long. Perhaps he will [still] make our [skins] his beds (See the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6)." In the 9th month, Tze-ya drove Loo-p'oo P'ieh to North Yen.]

Par. 6. Here add in par. 1. of next year, the 雨 is the verb. The hail, we must understand, was very large; and we must also remember that though it was now the winter of Chow, that embraced two months of autumn.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—Duke K'ien of Yen had many favourites, and wanted to make away with all the great officers, and appoint his favourites in their room. The great officers united [in consequence], and killed those favourites who were of other surnames than their own. The duke was frightened, and fled to Te's.

style of the text, that "The earl of Yen, K'uen, fled to Te's, is condemnatory of him." The K'ang-he editors object to this judgment of Tze-she on the words of the text, and expunge it from their edition of the Chuen Ts'ew. They will not have it supposed that the sage could, on any grounds, sanction a proceeding of rebellious opposition to a ruler.

[There are here two narratives:—

1st. "In the tenth month the earl of Ch'ing went to Te'oo, with Tze-ch'an in attendance on him. The viscount entertained him, and sang the Keih jih (She, II. iii. ode VI.) When the entertainment was over, Tze-ch'an proceeded to make the preparations for a hunt. The king then hunted along [the marsh of] Mung (See on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. i. 50), on the south of the Kiang, [having the earl] with him."

2d. "Kung-sun Tsao of Te's having died, Tsao, minister of War, visited Gan-tze, and said, "We have further lost Tze-ya." Gan-tze replied, "Alas! [his son] Tze-ku'e will not escape [an evil end]. It is a perilous time! The House of Kiang is weak, and that of Kwei will begin to flourish. While the two [grandsons of duke Hwuy] were strong and vigorous, they might make head, and now there is the weakness induced by the loss of this one. The [House of] Kiang is tottering to its fall!"

#### Fourth year.

四年<sup>一</sup>春王正月大雨雹  
夏<sup>二</sup>楚子蔡侯陳侯鄭伯許男  
徐子滕子頓子胡子沈子小  
邾子宋世子佐淮夷會于申  
楚<sup>三</sup>人執徐子  
秋<sup>四</sup>七月楚子蔡侯陳侯許男  
頓子胡子沈子淮夷伐吳  
執齊慶封殺之<sup>六</sup>遂滅賴  
冬<sup>五</sup>十有二月乙卯叔孫豹卒



左傳曰：大雨雹，季武子問於申豐曰：雹可禦乎？對曰：聖人在上無雹，雖有不爲災。古者日在北陸而藏冰，西陸朝覲而出之，其藏冰也，深山窮谷，固陰沍寒，於是乎取之，其出之也，朝之祿位，賓食喪祭，於是乎用之。其藏之也，黑牡秬黍，以享司寒，其出之也，桃弧棘矢，以除其災，其出入也，時食肉之祿，冰皆與焉。大夫命婦，喪浴用冰，祭寒而藏之，獻羔而啟之，公始用之，火出而畢賦，自命夫命婦，至於老疾，無不受冰。山人取之，縣人傳之，輿人納之，隸人藏之，夫冰以風壯，而以風出，其藏之也，周其用之也，偏則冬無愆陽，夏無伏陰，春無凄風，秋無苦雨，雷出不震，無菑霜雹，癘疾不降，民不夭札。今藏川池之冰，藥而不用，風不越而殺，雷不發而震，雹之爲菑，誰能禦之？七月之卒章，藏冰之道也。

四年春，王正月，許男如楚，楚子止之，遂止鄆伯，復田江南。許男與焉，使椒舉如晉求諸侯。二君待之，椒舉致命曰：寡君使舉曰：日君有惠，賜盟於宋，曰：晉楚之從，交相見也，以歲之不易，寡人願結驩於二三君，使舉請間。君若苟無四方之虞，則願假寵以請於諸侯。晉侯欲勿許，司馬侯曰：不可。楚王方侈，天或者欲逞其心，以厚其毒，而降之罰，未可知也。其使能終，亦未可知也。晉楚唯天所相，不可與爭，君其許之，而修德以待其歸。若歸於德，吾猶將事之。況諸侯乎？若適淫虐，楚將棄之。吾又誰與爭？公曰：晉有三不殆，其何敵之有？國險而多馬，齊楚多難，有是三者，何鄉而不濟？對曰：恃險與馬，而虞鄰國之難，是三殆也。四嶽三塗，陽城大室，荆山中南，九州之險，也是不一姓，冀之北土，馬之所生，無與國焉。恃險與馬，不可以爲固也。從古以然，是以先王務修德音，以弔神人，不聞其務險與馬也。鄰國之難，不可虞也。或多難，以固其國，啟其疆土，或無難，以喪其國，失其守宇，若何虞難？齊有仲孫之難，而獲桓公，至今賴之。晉有里克之難，而獲文公，是以爲盟主。衛邢無難，敵亦喪之。故人之難，不可虞也。恃此三者，而不修政德，亡於不暇，又何能濟？君其許之。紂作淫虐，文王惠和，殷是以隕，周是以興，夫豈爭諸侯，乃許楚使，使叔向對曰：寡君有社稷之事，是以不獲。春秋時見諸侯，君實有之，何辱命焉？椒舉遂請。



昏，晉侯許之。楚子問於子產曰：「晉其許我諸侯乎？」對曰：「許君，晉君少安，不在諸侯，其大夫多求，莫匡其君，在宋之盟，又曰：『如一，若不許君，將焉用之？』」王曰：「諸侯其來乎？」對曰：「必來，從宋之盟，承君之歡，不畏大國，何故不來？不來者，其魯、衛、曹、邾乎？曹畏宋，邾畏魯，魯衛偏於齊，而親於晉，唯是不來其餘，君之所及也。誰敢不至？」王曰：「然則吾所求者，無不可乎？」對曰：「求逞於人，不可，與人同欲，盡濟。」

夏，諸侯如楚，魯、衛、曹、邾不會。曹、邾辭以難，公辭以時祭，衛侯辭以疾。鄭伯先待於申。六月丙午，楚子合諸侯於申，椒舉言於楚子曰：「臣聞諸侯無歸，禮以爲歸。今君始得諸侯，其慎禮矣。霸之濟否，在此會也。夏啟有鈞臺之享，商湯有景亳之命，周武有孟津之誓，成有岐陽之蒐，康有酆宮之朝，穆有塗山之會，齊桓有召陵之師，晉文有踐土之盟，君其何用？」宋向戌、鄭公孫僑在。諸侯之良也，君其選焉。王曰：「吾用齊桓。」王使問禮於左師，與子產左師曰：「小國習之，大國用之，敢不薦聞。」獻公合諸侯之禮，六子產曰：「小國共職，敢不薦守。」獻伯子男會公之禮，六君子謂合左師善守先代。子產善相小國，王使椒舉侍於後，以規過。卒事不規，王問其故，對曰：「禮，吾未見者有六焉，又何以規？」宋犬子佐後至，王田於武城，久而弗見，椒舉請辭焉。王使往，曰：「屬有宗祧之事於武城，寡君將墮幣焉，敢謝後見。」徐子吳出也，以爲貳焉，故執諸申。楚子示諸侯侈，椒舉曰：「夫六王二公之事，皆所以示諸侯禮也，諸侯所由用命也。夏桀爲仍之會，有緡叛之，商紂爲黎之蒐，東夷叛之，周幽爲犬室之盟，戎狄叛之，皆所以示諸侯汰也，諸侯所由棄命也。今君以汰，無乃不濟乎？」王弗聽。子產見左師曰：「吾不患楚矣，汰而愎諫，不過十年。」左師曰：「然，不十年侈，其惡不遠，遠惡而後棄，善亦如之，德遠而後興。」

秋七月，楚子以諸侯伐吳。宋太子鄭伯先歸，宋華費遂、鄭大夫從。使屈申圍朱方。八月甲申，克之，執齊慶封，而盡滅其族。將戮慶封，椒舉曰：「臣聞無瑕者可以戮人，慶封惟逆命，是以在此，其肯從於戮乎？播於諸侯，焉用之？」王弗聽。負之斧鉞，以徇於諸侯。使言曰：「無或如齊慶封，弑其君，弱



其孤以盟其大夫。慶封曰：「無或如楚共王之庶子圍，弑其君兄之子慶，而代之以盟諸侯。」王使速殺之。

遂以諸侯滅賴。賴子面縛銜璧，士袒與觀從之，送於中軍。王問諸椒舉，對曰：「成王克許，許僖公如是。王親釋其縛，受其璧，焚其櫬，王從之。」遷賴於鄆。楚子欲遷許於賴，使鬬章龜與公子棄疾城之，而遷申無宇曰：「楚禍之首將在此矣。」召諸侯而來伐國，而克城竟莫校。王心不違，民其居乎？民之不處，其誰堪之？不堪王命，乃禍亂也。」九月，取鄆，言易也。莒亂，著丘公立而不撫，鄆即叛而來，故曰取。凡克邑，不用師，徒曰取。

⑤鄭子產作丘賦，國人謗之曰：「其父死於路，己爲羣尾，以令於國，國將若之？」何子寬以告。子產曰：「何害？苟利社稷，死生以之。且吾聞爲善者不改其度，故能有濟也。民不可逞，度不可改。」詩曰：「禮義不愆，何恤於人言？」吾不遷矣。渾罕曰：「國氏其先亡乎？」君子作法於涼，其敝猶貪，作法於貪，敝將若之？何姬在列者，蔡及曹滕，其先亡乎？偪而無禮，鄭先衛亡，偪而無法，政不率法，而制於心，民各有心，何上之有？」

⑥冬，吳伐楚，入棘、檟、麻，以報朱方之役。楚沈尹射奔命於夏油，歲尹宜咎城鍾離，遠啟疆城巢，然丹城州來，東國水，不可以城，彭生罷賴之師。

初，穆子去叔孫氏，及庚宗，遇婦人，使私爲食而宿焉，問其行，告之故，哭而送之。適齊，娶於國氏，生孟丙、仲壬。夢天壓己，弗勝，顛而見人，黑而上僂，深目而顴，喙號之曰：「牛。」助余，乃勝之。旦而皆召其徒，無之。且曰：「志之。」及宣伯奔齊，饋之。宣伯曰：「魯以先子之故，將存吾宗，必召汝。」召女何如？對曰：「願之久矣。」魯人召之，不告而歸。既立，所宿庚宗之婦人獻以雉，問其姓，對曰：「余子長矣，能奉雉而從我矣。」召而見之，則所夢也。未問其名，號之曰：「牛。」曰：「唯。」皆召其徒，使視之，遂使爲豎。有寵，長使爲政。公孫明知叔孫於齊，歸，未逆國姜，子明取之，故怒其子長。而後使逆之，田於丘薊，遂遇疾焉。豎牛欲亂其室而有之，強與孟盟，不可。叔孫爲孟鐘曰：「爾未際，饗大夫以落之。」既具，使豎牛請日，入弗譌，出命之日，及賓至，聞鐘聲，牛曰：「孟有北。」婦人之客怒，將往，牛止之。賓出，使拘而殺諸外。牛



又強與仲盟不可。仲與公御萊書，觀於公，公與之環，使牛入示之，入不示，出命佩之。牛謂叔孫見仲而何。叔孫曰：何爲？曰：不見，既自見矣。公與之環而佩之矣。遂逐之。奔齊。疾急，命召仲。牛許而不召。杜洩見，告之飢渴，授之戈。對曰：求之而至，又何去焉。暨牛曰：夫子疾病，不欲見人，使寡饋於个而退。牛弗進，則置廬，命徹十二月癸丑。叔孫不食，乙卯卒。牛立昭子而相之。公使杜洩葬叔孫。暨牛賂叔仲昭子，與南遺，使惡杜洩於季孫而去之。杜洩將以路葬，且盡卿禮。南遺謂季孫曰：叔孫未乘路，葬焉用之。且蒙卿無路，介卿以葬，不亦左乎。季孫曰：然，使杜洩舍路，不可。曰：夫子受命於朝，而聘於王，王思舊勳，而賜之路，復命而致之君，君不敢逆王命，而復賜之，使三官書之。吾子爲司徒，實書名。夫子爲司馬，與工正書服。孟孫爲司空，以書勳。今死而弗以，是棄君命也。書在公府而弗以，是廢三官也。若命服，生弗敢服，死又不以，將焉用之。乃使以葬。季孫謀去中軍，暨牛曰：夫子固欲去之。

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was a great fall of hail.
- 2 In summer, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Seu, T'ang, Tun, Hoo, Shin, and Little Choo, Tso, heir-son of Sung, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Hwae, had a meeting in Shin.
- 3 The people seized and held the viscount of Seu.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the baron of Heu, the viscounts of Tun, Hoo, and Shin, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Hwae, invaded Woo.
- 5 They seized K'ing Fung of Ts'e, and put him to death.
- 6 They then went on to extinguish Lae.
- 7 In the ninth month, we took Ts'ang.
- 8 In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yih-maou, Shuh-sun P'aou died.

Par. 1. Too says that there ought now to have fallen snow and not hail, and the fall of the hail is recorded as a calamity. K'ao K'ang connects the par. with the 8th of last year, and supposes that the hail had continued to fall all the winter. This would account reasonably for the notice of the phenomenon.

The Chuen says:—Ku Woo-tse asked Shin Fung whether the hail could be stopped, and was answered, "When a sage is in the highest place, there is no hail; or if some should happen to fall, it does not amount to a calamity. Anciently,

they stored up the ice, when the sun was in his northern path; and they brought it out when he was in his western, and [the Kwei (奎) constellation] was seen [in the east] in the morning. At the storing of the ice, they took it from the low valleys of the deep hills, where the cold was most intense and as it were shut in; and when it was brought out, the dignitaries and place-men of the court, in their entertainment of guests, for their food, on occasions of death and of sacrifice, shared in the use of it. At the



storing of it, a black bull and black millet were presented to the Ruler of cold; and when it was brought out, a bow of peach wood and arrows of thorn were employed to put away calamitous influences. For the delivery and the storing of it there were their seasons; and it was given to all who were entitled by their station to eat flesh. Great officers and their declared wives used it in their washings on occasions of death. It was deposited with a sacrifice to the [Ruler of] cold; the depositories were opened with the offering of a lamb. The duke first used it, and when the [star] *Ho* made its appearance, it was distributed. From the commissioned [great] officers and their wives, down to officers retired from age or illness, all received the ice. The commissioners of hills took it; the officers of districts sent it on; the cart-men received it; and the inferior servants stored it. Now it is the [cold] wind which makes the ice strong; and it was when the [warm] winds [prevailed], that it was brought forth. The depositories were made close; the use of it was very extensive. In consequence there was no heat out of course in the winter; no lurking cold in the summer; no biting winds in the spring; and no pitiless rains in the autumn. When thunder came, it was not with a shaking crash. There were no calamitous hoar-frosts and hail. Pestilences did not descend [on the land]. The people died no premature deaths.

"But now the ice of the streams and pools is what is stored up; [much also] is cast away and not used. The winds go abroad as they ought not to do and carry death with them; so does the thunder come with shaking crash. Who can put a stop to this plague of hail? The last stanza of the *T'aih yueh* (Shu, I. xv. ode I.) shows the method of storing ice."

[We have here a long narrative about a further step on the part of T'ao towards wresting the presidency of the States from Tsin.—] In the 1st month, the baron of Hsu went to T'ao, where the viscount detained him, going on also to detain the earl of Ch'ing, with whom he again hunted on the south of the K'ang, having the baron of Hsu with them. [At the same time] he sent T'sau K'ui to Tsin, to ask from that Power the attendance of the States, the above two princes waiting in T'ao for the answer. T'sau K'ui delivered his message in the following terms:—"My ruler has sent me to say in his own words, 'Formerly your lordship's kindness granted the covenant of Sung, by which it was agreed that the States which adhered to Tsin and T'ao respectively should appear at the courts of both. Because of the troubles recurring from year to year, I wish to knit more closely a good understanding with the princes, and have sent K'ui to ask from you an opportunity to do so. If your lordship have no anxiety in regard to the States around you, I wish to borrow your favour to make a request of the various princes.' The marquis of Tsin wanted to give a refusal to this application, but the marshal How said to him, 'Do not do so. The [course of the] king of T'ao is extravagant. Heaven perhaps wishes, by gratifying his ambition, to increase the poison of his [mood], and send down punishment on him. That we cannot know, nor can we know whether it means to grant him a [peaceful] end. But Tsin and T'ao depend on the aid of Heaven for the

superiority of the one over the other. Let us not quarrel with it, but let your lordship grant the [king's] request, and cultivate your virtue, while we wait and see to what he will turn. If he turn to virtue, even we will serve him, and how much more will the States do so! If he go on to licentiousness and oppression, T'ao itself will abandon him, and we shall have no one to contend with."

"The marquis said, 'Tsin has three securities against peril, and needs not to fear an enemy. There are the mountainous passes of the State; its many horses; and the many troubles of T'ao and T'ao. With these three securities, we must be successful in every direction.' The marshal replied, 'Trust in mountains and in horses, and to calculate on the difficulties of neighbouring States, are three sources of peril. The four Yeh, San-t'ao, Yang-shing, T'ao-shih, mount King, and Chung-an, are the most difficult mountains of the 9 provinces, and they do not all belong to one surname. The northern region of K'uei is most noted for its production of horses, but no [distinguished] State has there arisen. A trust in mountains and horses cannot be considered a sure one. So it has been from of old, and therefore the ancient kings made the cultivation of virtue their object, in order to affect both Spirits and men. I have not heard that they made it their object to have difficult mountains and horses. And [the result of] the difficulties of neighbouring States cannot be calculated on. They may have many difficulties, which will issue [only] in strengthening them and the enlargement of their boundaries; or they may have no difficulties, and the result will be their ruin, and their losing the boundaries of which they were in charge. How is it possible to foresee the [issue of each] difficulties? T'ao had the troubles with Chung-an (The King-sun Woo-che, who was marquis of T'ao for a month; see the 9th year of duke Chwang), and the result was that it got duke Hwan, whose influence on it extends till now. Tsin had the troubles of Lo and P'ei (Lo K'uei and P'ei Ch'ing; see the 9th and other years of duke He), and the result was that it got duke Wan, through whom it became lord of covenants. Wei and Hing had no troubles [of the same kind], and yet their enemies brought them to ruin. The difficulties of others therefore cannot be calculated on. If you trust in the three things you have mentioned, and do not diligently attend to the duties of government and to virtue, we shall find that the danger of ruin leaves us no leisure for anything but to escape from it:—how can you speak of our being sure of success? Let your lordship grant the request [of T'ao]. Chow acted licentiously and oppressively, while King Wan behaved kindly and harmoniously, and the result was the fall of Yin and the rise of Chow. How then should you quarrel about the States?"

"Accordingly, [it was resolved to] grant the request of T'ao, and Shuh-hiang was appointed to give the following reply, 'Our ruler, being occupied with the business of his altars, has not been able always to visit [your court] in spring and autumn. Your ruler in fact has the States; there was no necessity to take the trouble of your message.' T'sau K'ui then proceeded to beg a marriage with a daughter of Tsin [on the part of his king], to which the marquis agreed.



"The viscount of Ts'oo asked Tze-ch'an whether Tsin would grant him the States. "It will," said that minister. "The ruler occupies himself only with small matters, and does not think about the States. His great officers have many desires of their own, and not one seeks to correct his ruler's [errors]. At the covenant of Hung it said also that [Tsin and Ts'oo] were as one. If it do not grant your request, of what use will that [covenant] have been?" The king further asked whether the States would come [at his call]. "They are sure to come," replied Tze-ch'an. "In obedience to the covenant of Sung; to gratify your lordship; not standing in fear of the great State—why should they not come? Perhaps Loo, Wei, Ts'ou, and Choo may not come. Ts'ou stands in fear of Sung; Choo stands in fear of Loo; Loo and Wei are pressed on by Ts'ou, and the best-affected to Tsin. Only these will not come. The others are under your influence;—what one of them will not come?" The king said, "Then, may I succeed in all that I seek for?" "Not," was the reply, "if you seek from others for your own gratification; but if you seek what they and you wish and can share together, you will be entirely successful."]

PAR. 2. We have here the result of Ts'oo's application to Tsin for the presidency of the States. Of the northern States, however, only Ts'ao, Ch'in, Ch'ing, and Hou responded to its call, for Little Choo is hardly to be taken account of, and the princes of Ch'ing and Hou were in a manner detained and obliged to be present at the meeting.

At the commencement of the Ch'un Ts'ao period, Shin was a marquessate, held by K'ang, having for its capital S'ay (蓑), 30 li to the north of the dep. city of Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In the Ch'un at the end of III. vi. we find it invaded by the then king of Ts'oo, who seems to have extinguished it, and incorporated it with his own State.

The Ch'un says:—In summer, the [other] princes of the States went to Ts'oo, but those of Loo, Wei, Ts'ou and Choo did not attend the meeting, Ts'ou and Choo declining on account of troubles, the duke on the ground of the seasonal sacrifice, and the marquis of Wei on the ground that he was ill. The earl of Ch'ing preceded the others, and was waiting at Shin, where in the sixth month, on Ping-woo, the viscount of Ts'oo assembled the States.

Ts'ou K'ou said to him "I have heard that with the States the thing which regulates their preference and adhesion is the ceremonies which are observed to them. Your lordship has now got them for the first time, and must be careful of your ceremonies. Whether you will secure the presidency of the States or not depends on this meeting. K'ou of the Hsia dynasty gave the entertainment of Keun-t'ao; Tang of the Shang dynasty gave his commands at King-poh; Woo of Chow issued his declaration at Mang-tsin; [king] Ch'ing had the review at K'e-yang; [king] K'ang held his audience in the palace of Pang; [king] Muh had the meeting at mount Too; Hwan of T'ao had the campaign of Shao-ling; and Wan of Tsin had the covenant of Tsien-t'oo;—the ceremonies of which of those occasions will your lordship use? Hsiang Seng of Sung and Kung-sun K'ao of Ch'ing are

both here, the best men of all the States. Let your lordship make a choice." The king said, "I will use those employed by Hwan of T'ao."

The king sent to ask the master of the Left and Tze-ch'an about the ceremonies. The master of the Left said, "They are what a small State practices, what a large State employs. I will describe them according to my knowledge." He then exhibited six ceremonies for a duke assembling the States. Tze-ch'an said, "A small State [like ours] discharges its duties. I will describe what we have observed." He then exhibited six ceremonies to be observed by earls, viscounts, and barons, at meetings with a duke. A superior man will say that the master of the Left—he of Hoh—knew well how to guard [the rules of] former dynasties, and that Tze-ch'an knew well how to aid and direct a small State. The king caused Ts'ou K'ou to stand behind him, to regulate any errors [which they might make]; but the whole thing was concluded without any correction. The king asked him the reason, and he replied, "Those six ceremonies I had never seen; how could I make any correction?"

The eldest son of [the duke of] Sung was late in arriving, and the king was then hunting in Woo-shing, so that he was long in giving him an interview. Ts'ou K'ou begged that he would send an explanation [of the delay], on which the king sent him to say, "It happens that we are engaged in the business of the ancestral temple at Woo-shing. My ruler must bury the offerings set forth [in the temple];—I venture to apologize for the delay in seeing you." The viscount of Sou was the son of a daughter of Woo; and [the viscount of Ts'oo], thinking that he was disinherited, caused him to be seized in Shin. He also displayed his extravagance to all the princes. Ts'ou K'ou said to him, "The instances of the six kings and two dukes, [which I adduced], all illustrated the courtesy which they showed to the States, and were the reason of the States' accepting their commands. K'ou of the Hsia dynasty held the meeting of Jing, and, the prince of Min revolted from him. Chow of the Shang dynasty held the review of Le, and the E of the east revolted from him. Y'ao of Chow made the covenant of T'ao-shih, and the Jung and the Teih revolted from him. In all these cases, [those kings] showed to the States the extravagance [of their aims], and so it was that the States cast their commands away from them. Since your majesty is now showing your extravagance, will it not interfere with your success?"

The king would not listen to him; and Tze-ch'an, seeing the master of the Left, said to him, "I am not troubled about Ts'oo. So extravagant, and deaf to remonstrance, [the king] will not endure more than ten years. The master of the Left replied, "Yes, but without ten years' extravagance his wickedness will not have reached far. When that has reached far, he will be cast off. So it is with goodness. When goodness has reached far, there ensues advancement and prosperity."

It deserves to be mentioned further that at this first meeting of the States called by Ts'oo we find that the wild tribes of the east were represented. We met before with an instance of the Teih being present at one of the meetings called by Tsin; but our knowledge of the fact



was derived from the Chuen. No notice of it was taken in the text of the classic.

Par. 4, 8. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo, taking the prince [who had been present at Shin] with him, invaded Woo. The prince of Sung, however, and the earl of Ch'ing returned to their States, before [the expedition set out]; but Hwa Fei-mu of Sung and a great officer of Ch'ing accompanied it.

[The viscount] made K'ueh Shin lay siege to Choo-fang, which was reduced in the 8th month on K'ieh-shin. King Fung was then seized (See the Chuen on IX. xxviii. 6), and the members of his clan exterminated. When [the viscount] was about to execute King Fung, Ts'aoan Kuei said to him, "I have heard that [only] he who is without flaw may [safely] execute another [publicly]. King Fung is here because of his opposition to [his ruler's] orders:—will he be willing to submit [quietly] to be executed? Of what use is it to publish his case before the States?" The king would not listen to this counsel, but made Fung go round [the encampment of] the various States, with an axe upon his shoulder, and ordered him to say, "Let no one follow the example of King Fung of Ts'oo, who murdered his ruler, despised the weakness of his young successor, and imposed a covenant on the great officers." King Fung, however, said, "Let no one follow the example of Wei, son by a concubine to King Kung of Ts'oo, who murdered Keun, his ruler and the son of his elder brother, and went on to impose a covenant upon the States." The king caused him to be quickly put to death; and then he proceeded with [the forces] of the States to extinguish Lao. The viscount of that State repaired to the army of the centre, with his hands bound behind him, and a peñ in his mouth, followed by officers with the upper part of their bodies half-bared, and by a carriage with a coffin in it. The king asked Ts'aoan Kuei [what this meant], and was answered, "When king Ch'ing reduced Hsu (See the Chuen at the end of V. xl), duke He of Hsu appeared before him in this manner. The king loosed his bonds, received his peñ, and burned his coffin." The king followed this example, and removed [the prince and people of] Lao to Yen. As he wished to remove Hsu to Lao, he made Toy Wei-kwei and the Kung-tse K'e-tai wall the city [for Hsu], and returned [to Ts'oo].

Shin Woo-yu said, "The beginning of Ts'oo's calamity will be here. [The king] called the princes, and came with them here, invading States and vanquishing them, and walling cities on the borders, while no one offered any opposition. The king will allow no resistance to his will; but will the people dwell [here quietly]? When the people refuse to dwell [quietly], who will be able to endure him? From that inability to endure the king's commands, calamity and disorder will ensue."

For 賴 Kung and Kuh have 厲. It was a small State, whose principal city was in the pres. dis. of Shung-shing (商城) in Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan.

Par. 7. Ts'ang:—see on IX. vi. 8, where it is said that Kuei extinguished the State of Ts'ang. What Loo now took, therefore, was the city of

Tsing from Kuei. The Chuen says:—[The words] that "in the 9th month we took Tsing," indicate the ease [with which the thing was done]. Kuei had been in confusion, and when duke Choo-k'uei obtained the rule of it, he showed no kindly treatment to Tsing. In consequence of this, [the commandant of] Tsing revolted, and came with it to Loo. Hence it is said, "We took it." Any reduction of a city where soldiers were not employed is expressed by this phrase.

[The Chuen takes us here to Ch'ing and Tsao-ch'uan, and to Woo:—] Tsao-ch'uan of Ch'ing made [new and harder regulations for the] contributions from the K'uei (See on VIII. i. 4), on which the people of the State reviled him, saying, "His father died on the road, and he himself is a scorpion's tail. Issuing such orders for the State, what will the State do under them?" Tsao-k'uan reported these remarks to Tsao-ch'uan, who said, "There is no harm in it. If it only benefits the altars, I will either live or die. Moreover, I have heard that when the good-deed does not change his measures, he can calculate on success. The people are not to be gratified in this; the measure must not be altered. The ode (A last ode) says,

'If one's rules and righteousness be not in error,

Why regard the words of people.'

I will not change it."

Hwa Hui (Tsao-k'uan) said, "The K'uei, I apprehend, will be the first [of the families of Ch'ing] to perish. The superior man makes laws with slight requirements. The danger is of his still desiring more. If he makes his laws at first under the influence of that desire, what will the danger not be? Of the Ke among the various States, Ts'ao, with Ts'aoan and T'ang, are likely to perish first. They are near [to great States], and observe no rules of propriety. Ch'ing will perish before Wei, for it is near [to the great States], and has no [good] laws. If the government do not follow the [established] laws, but one may make new ones according to his own mind, every one of the people has a mind of his own:—what place will be left for the ruler?"

In winter, Woo invaded Ts'oo, and entered [the cities of] K'ieh, Leih, and Ma:—in return for the campaign of Choo-fang. Shay, director of Shin, hurried away with orders [from the King] to Hui-joy. E-k'uei, director of Remonstrances, fortified Chung-lo. Wei K'o-k'uei fortified Ch'ao. Jen Tan fortified Ch'ao-lao. The places in the east of the State could not be fortified because of the water. P'ang-sung withdrew the troops from Lao.]

Par. 8. Shuh-sun P'ao had been actively engaged in the business of the State from the 2d year of duke Siang. On the way in which he became Head of the Shuh-sun clan, see on VIII. xvi. 14. The Chuen here gives a strange narrative of his life:—At an early period [of his life], Muh-tse left [his brother], the Head of the Shuh-sun family, [and went to Ts'e]. When he had got to Kang-tsung [on his way], he met a woman, whom he asked to prepare some food for him, and then passed the night with her. She asked him where he was going; and when he told her all about it, she wept and escorted him [part of the way]. He then went to Ts'e, and married there a lady of the K'uei



family, by whom he had Máng-ping and Chung-jin. [One night], he dreamt that the sky came down upon him, and [when he tried to hold it up], he was not able to do so. Looking round, he saw a man, black and hump-backed, with deep-set eyes, and a pig's mouth, to whom he called out, "Nêw, help me!" and on this he was able to hold the sky up. In the morning, he called all his followers, but there was no such man among them. He told them, however, to remember the circumstances, [which he had mentioned].

When [his brother] Seven-pih fled to T'e, he supplied him with food. Seven-pih said to him, "Out of regard to [the services of] our father, Loo will preserve our ancestral temple, and is sure to call you back to it. If it call you, what will you do?" "It is what I have desired for long," was the reply. The people of Loo did call him, and he returned, without informing [his brother].

When he had been appointed [a minister], the woman of K'ang-tung, with whom he had spent the night, [came and] presented him with a pheasant; and when he asked her whether she had a son, she replied, "My son is a big boy; he was able to carry the pheasant and follow me." Mu-tse called for him, and as soon as he saw him, let it be the person he had seen in his dream. Without asking him, he called out to him,—"Nêw!" and the boy answered, "Here I am!" He then called all his followers, and made them look at him, after which he made him his waiting boy. The lad became a favourite with him, and, when grown up, was entrusted with the management of his house.

The King-sun M'ing had known Shuh-sun in T'e, and when, after his return [to Loo], he did not send for [his wife] Kw'eh Keang, Tse-ning took her to himself. This enraged Shuh-sun, and it was not till his sons [by her] were grown up, that he sent for them.

Having hunted [on one occasion] in K'ew-yew, he became ill in consequence. The waiting-boy Nêw had wanted to create a confusion in the house and get possession of it, and tried to force Máng to act with him, but he refused to do so. [Now], Shuh-sun made a bell for Máng, [to celebrate the declaration of him as his successor], and said to him, "You have not yet had any intercourse with the great officers. Invite them to an entertainment at which you may consecrate it." When all was made ready for this, [Máng-ping] sent Nêw to ask his father to fix a day for the entertainment. Nêw went in to the house, but did not see Shuh-sun, and then came out and appointed a day. When the guests arrived, [Shuh-sun] heard the sound of the bell, and Nêw said to him, "Máng has got [the husband of] your northern wife as his guest." The father, in a rage, wanted to go [to Máng's apartment], but Nêw prevented him. However, when the guests were gone, he caused him to be seized and put to death outside [the house].

Nêw then tried likewise to force the second son to act with him, but he [also] refused. [Once], this Chung was looking about the duke's palace with the duke's charioteer, Lue-shoo, when the duke [saw him, and] gave him a ring. He sent Nêw with it to show it to his father, and Nêw went into the house, but did not show it; and when he came out, he

told Chung, [as from his father], to wear it at his girdle. Nêw then said to Shuh-sun, "Why did you introduce Chung [at the court]?" "What do you mean?" asked Shuh-sun. Nêw replied, "If you did not introduce him, he has introduced himself. The duke gave him a ring, and he wears it at his girdle." On this Shuh-sun drove out Chung-jin, who fled to T'e.

When his illness became severe, he ordered [Nêw] to call Chung [from T'e]. Nêw promised, but did not do it. T'ou S'ieh went to see Shuh-sun, who told him how he was suffering from hunger and thirst, and gave him a spear, [with which to kill Nêw]. But S'ieh replied, "If you desire anything it will be brought you. Why must you seek to make away with him?"

Nêw, giving out that the master was very ill and did not wish to see any one, made the attendants place the food in the two side-chambers, and retire; while he himself, instead of taking it in, emptied the dishes, replaced them, and ordered them to be removed. From Kwei-chow of the 12th month to Yih-mau, when he died, Shuh-sun had nothing to eat. Nêw raised [his son by a concubine], Ch'au-tse, to his place, and acted as manager and helper to him.

The duke commissioned T'ou S'ieh to bury Shuh-sun, but the waiting-boy Nêw bribed Shuh-chung Ch'au-tse and Nan E, and got them to make S'ieh odious to Ke-sun, and have him removed. S'ieh was going to convey the coffin to the grave in the carriage [which the king had given to Mu-tse], and to use all the ceremonies proper to a minister. Nan E, however, said to Ke-sun, "Shuh-sun never rode in this carriage; what is the use of employing it at his funeral? A carriage moreover, is not used at the funeral of our chief minister; is it not improper to use it at the funeral of an assistant-minister? Ke-sun said, "Yes," and ordered S'ieh to leave the carriage out. But that officer would not do so. "The master," he said, "received his commission in the court, and went on a complimentary mission to the king. The king, thinking of the ancient services of his family, conferred this carriage upon him. When he returned with the report of his mission, he surrendered it to our ruler; but he did not dare to go against the king's order, and returned it, making the three [great] officers make a record of the matter. You were minister of Instruction, and wrote the name. My master was minister of War, and made the chief of his subordinate officers write the royal gifts. Máng-sun was minister of Works, and recorded [my master's] service. If now that he is dead we do not use the carriage, we shall be casting away our ruler's orders. Since the record is in the public repository, if we do not use it, we shall be setting at naught the three [great] officers. When alive he did not presume to wear the robes given to him by the king, and if we do not put them on him, now that he is dead, of what use were they?" Accordingly, the carriage was used at the funeral.

Ke-sun took counsel to do away with the army of the Centre; and Nêw said, "The master did certainly wish to do away with it."



## Fifth year.

五年<sup>一</sup>春王正月舍中軍<sup>二</sup>。楚殺其大夫屈申<sup>三</sup>。公如晉<sup>四</sup>。夏莒牟夷以牟婁及防茲來奔<sup>五</sup>。秋七月公至自晉<sup>六</sup>。戊辰叔弓帥師敗莒師<sup>七</sup>。于蚡泉<sup>八</sup>。秦伯卒<sup>九</sup>。冬楚子蔡侯陳侯許男頓子沈子徐人越人伐吳<sup>十</sup>。

左傳曰五年春王正月舍中軍。卑公室也。毀中軍於施氏。成諸臧氏。初作三軍三分公室而各有其一。季氏盡征之。叔孫氏臣其子弟。孟氏取其半焉。及其舍之也。四分公室。季氏擇二。二子各一。皆盡征之。而貢於公。以書使杜洩告於殯曰。子固欲毀中軍。既毀之矣。故告杜洩曰。夫子唯不欲毀也。故盟諸傷閔。詛諸五父之衢。受其書而投之。帥士而哭之。叔仲子謂季孫曰。帶受命於子叔孫曰。葬鮮者自西門。季孫命杜洩。杜洩曰。卿喪自朝。魯禮也。吾子爲國政。未改禮而又遷之。羣臣懼死不敢自也。既葬而行。仲至自齊。季孫欲立之。南遺曰。叔孫氏厚則季氏薄。彼實家亂。子勿與知。不亦可乎。南遺使國人助豎牛。以攻諸大庫之庭。司宮射之。中目而死。豎牛取東鄙三十邑。以與南遺。昭子卽位。朝其家衆曰。豎牛禍叔孫氏。使亂大從。殺適立庶。又披其邑。將以蔽罪。罪莫大焉。必速殺之。豎牛懼。奔齊。孟仲之子殺諸塞關之外。投其首於寧風之棘上。仲尼曰。叔孫昭子之不勞。不可能也。周任有言曰。爲政者不賞私勞。不罰私怨。詩云。有覺德行。四國順之。初。穆子之生也。莊叔以周易筮之。遇明夷之謙。以示卜楚丘曰。是將行而歸爲子祀。以讒人入。其名曰牛。卒以餒死。明夷。日也。日



之數十，故有十時，亦當十位，自王已下，其二爲公，其三爲卿，日主其中，食日爲二，旦日爲三，明夷之謙，明而未融，其當旦乎？故曰爲子祀，日之謙當鳥，故曰明夷于飛，明而未融，故曰垂其翼，象日之動，故曰君子于行，當三在旦，故曰三日不食，離火也，艮山也，離爲火，火焚山，山敗於人爲言，敗言爲讒，故曰有攸往，主人有言，言必讒也，純離爲牛，世亂譏勝，勝將適離，故曰其名曰牛，謙不足，飛不翔，垂不峻，翼不廣，故曰其爲子後乎？吾子，亞卿也，抑少不終。

楚子以屈申爲貳於吳，乃殺之，以屈生爲莫敖，使與令尹子蕩如晉逆女，過鄭，鄭伯勞子蕩於汜，勞屈生於苑，氏，晉侯送女於邢丘，子產相鄭伯，會晉侯於邢丘。

公如晉，自郊勞至于贈賄，無失禮，晉侯謂女叔齊曰：「魯侯不亦善於禮乎？」對曰：「魯侯焉知禮？」公曰：「何爲？」自郊勞至于贈賄，禮無違者，何故不知？對曰：「是儀也，不可謂禮，禮所以守其國，行其政令，無失其民者也。今政令在家，不能取也；有子家羈，弗能用也；奸大國之盟，陵虐小國，利人之難，不知其私，公室四分，民食於他，思莫在公，不能圖其終爲國君，雖將及身，不恤其所，禮之本末，將於此乎在，而屑屑焉習儀以亟，言善於禮，不亦遠乎？」君子謂叔侯於是乎知禮。

⑤晉韓宣子如楚，送女，叔向爲介，鄭子皮，子犬叔，勞諸索氏，犬叔謂叔向曰：「楚王汰侈已甚，子其戒之。」叔向曰：「汰侈已甚，身之災也，焉能及人？若奉吾幣帛，慎吾威儀，守之以信，行之以禮，敬始而思終，終無不復，從而不失，儀敬而不失，威道之以訓辭，奉之以舊法，考之以先王，度之以二國，雖汰侈，若我何？」及楚，楚子朝其大夫曰：「晉吾仇敵也，苟得志焉，無恤其他，今其來者，上卿，上大夫也，若吾以韓起爲闕，以羊舌肸爲司宮，足以辱晉，吾亦得志矣，可乎？」大夫莫對，遷啟彊曰：「可，苟有其備，何故不可？」恥匹夫不可以無備，況恥國乎？是以聖王務行禮，不求恥人，朝聘有珪，享頌有璋，小有述職，大有巡功，設机而不倚，爵盈而不飲，宴有好貨，殯有陪鼎，入有郊勞，出



有贈賄禮之至也。國家之敗失之道也。則禍亂興。城濮之役。晉無楚備。以敗於邲。邲之役。楚無晉備。以敗於鄢。自鄢以來。晉不失備。而加之以禮。重之以睦。是以楚弗能報。而求親焉。既獲姻親。又欲恥之。以召寇讐。備之若何。誰其重此。若有其人。恥之可也。若其未有。君亦圖之。晉之事君。臣曰可矣。求諸侯而靡至。求昏而薦女。君親送之上卿。及上大夫。致之。猶欲恥之。君其亦有備矣。不然。奈何。韓起之下。趙成。中行吳。魏舒。范鞅。知盈。羊舌肸之下。祁午。張趯。籍談。欽齊。梁丙。張偃。輔櫜。苗賁皇。皆諸侯之選也。韓襄爲公族大夫。韓須受命而使矣。箕襄。邢帶。叔禽。叔椒。子羽。皆大家也。韓賦七邑。皆成縣也。羊舌四族。皆強家也。晉人若喪韓起。楊肸。五卿。八大夫。輔韓須。楊石。因其十家九縣。長轂九百。其餘四十縣。還守四千。奮其武怒。以報其大恥。伯華謀之。中行伯。魏舒帥之。其蔑不濟矣。君將以親易怨。實無禮以速寇。而未有其備。使羣臣往遺之禽。以逞君心。何不可之有。王曰。不穀之過也。大夫無辱。厚爲韓子禮。王欲穀叔向以其所不知。而不能。亦厚其禮。韓起反。鄭伯勞諸圍。辭不敢見。禮也。

⑤鄭罕虎如齊。娶於子尾氏。晏子驥見之。陳桓子問其故。對曰。能用善人。民之主也。

夏。莒牟夷以牟婁及防茲來奔。牟夷非卿。而書尊地也。

莒人愬于晉。晉侯欲止公。范獻子曰。不可。人朝而執之。誘也。討不以師。而誘以成之。情也。爲盟主而犯此二者。無乃不可乎。請歸之。閒而以師討焉。乃歸公。秋七月。公至自晉。

莒人來討。不設備。戊辰。叔弓敗諸蜚泉。莒未陳也。

冬十月。楚子以諸侯及東夷伐吳。以報棘。櫟。麻之役。還射以繁揚之師。會於夏汭。越大夫常壽過。帥師會楚子於瑣。聞吳師出。遽啟彊帥師從之。遽不設備。吳人敗諸鵠岸。楚子以駟至于羅汭。吳子使其弟驟由犒師。楚人執之。將以費鼓。王使間焉。曰。汝卜來吉乎。對曰。吉。寡君聞君將治兵於敝邑。卜之以守龜。曰。余亟使人犒師。請



行以觀王怒之疾徐而爲之備。向克知之龜兆告吉曰克可知也。君若驩焉好逆使臣滋敝邑休怠而忘其死亡無日矣。今君奮焉震電馮怒虐執使臣將以戮鼓則吳知所備矣。敝邑雖羸若早修完其可以息師難易有備可謂吉矣。且吳社稷是卜豈爲一人使臣獲覲軍鼓而敝邑知備以禦不虞其爲吉孰大焉。國之守龜其何事不卜一臧一否其誰能常之。城濮之兆其報在邕今此行也其庸有報志乃弗殺楚師濟於羅汭沈尹赤會楚子次於萊山蘧射帥繁揚之師先入南懷楚師從之及汝清吳不可入楚子遂觀兵於坻箕之山是行也吳早設備楚無功而還以蹶由歸楚子懼吳使沈尹射待命于巢蘧敢彊待命于雩婁禮也。

秦后子復歸於秦景公卒故也。

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, we disbanded the army of the centre.  
 2 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, K'ueh Shin.  
 3 The duke went to Tsin.  
 4 In summer, Mow-e of Keu came a fugitive [to Loo], giving over to it [the cities of] Mow-low, Fang, and Tsze.  
 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from Tsin.  
 6 On Mow-shin, Shuh Kung led a force, and defeated an army of Keu at Fun-ts'ueu.  
 7 The earl of Ts'in died.  
 8 In winter, the viscount of Ts'oo, the marquises of Ts'ae and Ch'in, the viscounts of Tun and Shin, an officer of Seu, and an officer of Yueh, invaded Woo.

Par. 1. See the account of the formation of the 3d or army of the centre under IX. xi. 1. The Chuen here says:—The disbanding of the army of the centre was to reduce [still] lower the ducal House. The disbanding was [proposed] at the house of the She family, and determined on at that of the Tung.

Formerly, when the army of the centre was first constituted, the ducal House was [as it were] divided into three parts, each [of the three families] having one of them. The Ke family took to itself all the men and contributions of its part. The Shuh-sun made [only] the men and younger brothers of its part to be its subjects. The Mang took the one half. When they [now] disbanded that army, they divided [the prerogative of] the ducal House into four parts, of which the [head of the] Ke family took two, and each of the other ministers one; but they all took the entire control of the men and their contributions, paying [only] a tribute to the duke. They gave a notice to Too Sieh, and required him to announce it to [Muh-tze to] his coffin, to this effect, "You did desire the

disbanding of the middle army. We have disbanded it, and therefore announce the thing to you." Too Sieh said, "But my master did not wish the army to be disbanded, and therefore he insisted on the covenant at the gate of He's temple, and the imprecations in the street of Woo-fu (See on IX. xi. 1)." He then took the notice, and threw it on the ground, lol [to the coffin] the officers [of Muh-tze], and wept over it.

Shuh-chung-tzu said to Ke-sun, "I received a charge from my father Shuh-sun, that, in burying [a minister] who had not died a natural death from age, the coffin should be taken from the western gate [of the court]." Ke-sun gave orders accordingly to Too Sieh; but that officer said, "The coffin of a minister, according to the rules of Loo, is taken from [the principal gate of] the court. The government of the State is in your hands, but you have not changed this rule. If we notwithstanding [now] depart from it, we are afraid of dying [for it], and dare not follow your order." When the funeral was over, Sieh went away.



"[Soon after,] Chung [-jin, the second son of Muh-tse by his Tse wife], arrived from Tse (See the Chuen at the end of last year), and Ke-sun proposed to appoint him in his father's place. Nan E, however, said to him, "The stronger the Shuh-sun, the weaker the Ke-sun. You had better simply take no knowledge of the disorder in that family." At the same time Nan E made the people of the State assist Nêw in an attack in the open space before the grand arsenal on Chung, who received an arrow in one of his eyes from the superintendent of the palace, and died. Nêw then took 30 towns in the eastern borders, [belonging to the Shuh-sun], and gave them to Nan E.

"Ch'ou-tseu [finally] succeeded to his father's place, when he gave audience to all the members of his clan, and said, "The waiting boy Nêw has done evil to the House of Shuh-sun, and thrown into confusion the grand [principle of] natural order. Having put to death the children by the wife, and secured the succession to the son of a concubine, he has gone on to distribute its towns, that he might thereby get forgiveness for his offences. His crimes could not be more heinous, and we must quickly put him to death." Nêw got frightened, and fled to Tse, where he was killed, outside the gate between the two States, by the sons of Ming and Chung, who threw his head into a thorn tree near Ning-fung. Chung-ne said, "The conduct of Shuh-sun Ch'ou-tseu is not being influenced by services done to himself is what [few] could attain to." [The historiographer] Chow Jin has said, "The administrator of government does not reward services done to himself, nor does he punish his private wrongs." As the ode (She, III. lil. ode II. 2) says,

"To an evident virtuous conduct  
All States render their homage!"

"At an earlier period, on the birth of Muh-tse, [his father] Chwang-shuh, consulted the Chow Yih by the rods about him, and got the diagram Ming-e (明夷; ䷣), which then became K'ên (謙; ䷎). He showed this to the diviner Tseoo K'ew, who said, "This [son] will have to leave [the State], but he will return and offer the sacrifices to you. The entrance of a slanderer, of the name of Nêw, will be sufficient to make him die of starvation. [The diagram] Ming-e relates to the sun. The solar numbers are 10. Hence there are 10 periods in the day, which correspond also to the ten ranks. Reckoning from the king downwards, the rank of duke is the 2d, and that of minister is the 3d. The highest point of the day is when the sun is in the meridian. When it is noon time, that represents the 2d rank; and early dawn represents the third. Ming-e's becoming K'ên represents brightness, but that which is not yet fully developed,—corresponding, we may presume, to the early dawn. Therefore I say, [this child will be minister and] offer the sacrifices for you. [The diagram for] the sun's becoming K'ên has its correspondency in a bird. Hence we read (On the lowest line of the diagram Ming-e), 'The brightness is injured in its flight.' And as the brightness is not fully developed, we read, 'It droops its wings.' There is an emblem of the movement of the sun, and hence we read, 'The superior man goes away.' This

happens with the third rank, in the early dawn, and hence we read, "These days [he does not eat]."

"[Again] Le (☲, the lower half of Ming-e) represents fire, and K'lo (☷, the lower half of K'ên) represents a hill. Le is fire; fire burns the hill, and the hill is destroyed. But applied to men, [K'lo] denotes speech, and destroying speech is slander. Hence we read, 'He goes whither he would; and to him, the lord, there is speech.' That speech must be slander. In [the diagram of] the double Le (☲☲) there is [mention made of] a cow. The age is in disorder and slander overcomes; the overcoming goes on to dismemberment; and therefore I say, "His name will be Nêw (牛—bull or cow)." K'ên denotes insufficiency. The flight is not high. Descending from on high, the wings do not reach far. Hence, while I say that this child will be your successor, yet you are the second minister, and he will fall somewhat short of your dignity."

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—"The viscount of Tseoo, considering that K'eh Shin was disaffected and bent towards Woo, put him to death. He then made K'eh Sang the Meh-gaou, and sent him, along with the chief minister, Tse-tang, to Tsin to meet his bride. As they passed by [the capital of] Ch'ing, the earl sent to pay the compliments of the journey to Tse-tang at Fan, and to K'eh Sang at Tse-shih. The marquis of Tsin escorted his daughter to Hing-k'ew, where the earl of Ch'ing had an interview with him, with the attendance and under the direction of Tseo-ch'ao."

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"The duke went to Tsin; and from his reception in the suburbs to the gifts at his departure, he did not fail in any point of ceremony. The marquis of Tsin said to Joo Shuh-tse, "Is not the marquis of Loo good at propriety?" "How does the marquis of Loo know propriety?" was the reply. "Wherefore [do you say so]?" asked the marquis. "Considering that, from his reception in the suburbs to the gifts at his departure, he did not err in a single point, why should you say that he does not know propriety?" "That was deportment!" said Shuh-tse, "and should not be called propriety. Propriety is that by which [a ruler] maintains his State, carries out his governmental orders, and does not lose his people. Now the government [of Loo] is ordered by the [three great] clans, and he cannot take it [from them]. There is Tse-keo Ke, (A descendant of duke Chwang, called elsewhere Tse-keo K'eh) and he is not able to employ him. He violates the covenants of our great State, and exercises oppression on the small State [of Keu]. He makes his gain of the distresses of others, and is ignorant of his own. The [patrimony] of his House is divided into four parts, and [like one of] the people he gets his food from others. No one thinks of him, or takes any consideration for his future. The ruler of a State, calamity will come upon him, and he has no regard to what is proper for him to do. The beginning and end of his propriety should be in these matters; and in small particulars he practices deportment, as if that were all-important:—is it not far from correct to say that he is well acquainted with propriety?"



'The superior man will say that Shuh-how showed by these remarks that he knew propriety.'

[We have now a long narrative of a visit to T'oo by Han K'e and Shuh-hiang:—'Han Sen-tze-tze of Tsin went to T'oo as escort to [the king's] bride, Shuh-hiang being the assistant commissioner. Tze-p'e and Tze-t'ao-shuh of Ch'ing visited them on their journey at Shih-shu, and the latter said to Shuh-hiang, "The extravagance of the king of T'oo is excessive; you must be on your guard against it." "His excessive extravagance," replied Shuh-hiang, "will be calamitous to himself, but how can it affect others? If we prevent our offerings, and be careful of our deportment, maintaining our good faith, and observing the rules of propriety, reverently attentive to our first proceedings and thinking at the same time of our last, so that all might be done over again; if we comply [with his requirements] so as not to lose our decorum, and, while respectful, do not lose our dignity; if our communications be according to the lessons [of wisdom], our services be performed according to the laws of antiquity, and our duty be discharged according to [the rules of] the ancient kings, and regulated by a consideration of [what is due to] our two States, however extravagant he be, what can he do to us?"

'When they arrived at [the capital of] T'oo, the viscount gave audience to his great officers, and said, "Tsin is my enemy. If I can get my will, I have no regard to anything else. Those who are now come from it are its highest minister and a great officer of the highest rank. If I [cut off his feet, and] make Han K'e a janitor, and [castrate] Yang-shih Heih and make him superintendent of my harem, that will be enough to disgrace Tsin, and I shall get my will. May it be done?" None of the great officers gave any reply, till Wei K'e-k'ang said, "It may. If you are prepared for it, why may it not be done? But a common man may not be put to shame without preparations for it, and how much less a State! On this account the sage kings made it their object to observe the rules of propriety, and did not seek to put people to shame. For appearances at court and complimentary visits there were the jade tokens of rank; for entertainments and receptions there were the semi-tokens; the small (= all the princes) had to make a report of their duties; the great one (= the king) had to make tours to observe the merits [of the princes]; when the benches were spread [with the dishes], there was no leaning forward on them, and when the cup was filled, there was no drinking of it, [till the time came]; for feasts there was the provision of good gifts; for meals there were double the usual number of dishes; on the arrival of guests they were met in the suburbs and consoled with on the toils of their journey, and at their departure, there were gifts presented to them. These embrace the most important usages of ceremony. The ruin of States and families has been from the neglect of these, which has given occasion to miseries and disorders.

'After the battle of Shing-puk, Tsin made no preparations against T'oo, and was defeated at Peih. After the battle of Peih, T'oo made no preparations against Tsin, and was defeated at Yen. Since Yen, Tsin has not neglected its preparations, and has added to them the observance of propriety and a double measure of harmony

in itself, so that T'oo had not been able to retaliate [for that defeat at Yen], but has sought marriage with Tsin. You have obtained that affinity of marriage and you wish further to put Tsin to shame, thereby calling forth its violent animosity:—what preparations have you made for such an issue? If you have the men [to meet it], well:—put Tsin to shame. If you have them not, your lordship should consider well what you propose to do. In my opinion, the service which Tsin has done to you may be pronounced sufficient. You sought the States from it, and they have all come to you; you sought marriage with it, and it has sent you its daughter. Its ruler himself escorted her. Its highest minister and a great officer of the highest rank have come to the completion of the union; and still you wish to put it to shame. You must surely be prepared for such a thing; if you are not, what will be the consequences?

'Below Han K'e there are [in Tsin] Chao Ch'ing, Chung-hang Woo, Wei Shoo, Fan Yang, and Cha Ying. Below Yang-shih Heih there are K'e Woo, Chang Teli, Tseih T'an, Joo T'ao, Liang Ping, Chang Koh, Foo Leih, and Maoou Fan-hwang;—all of them the choice of all the States. Han Shiang is great officer of a ducal clan; Han Sen receives his ruler's orders, and goes forth with them to other States; Ke Shiang, Hing Tao, Shuh-k'in, Shuh-tseon, and Tse-yu, all belong to great families. The Han draw their levies from seven cities, round each of which is a full district. The Yang-shih embraces 4 clans,—all consisting of strong families. If the people of Tsin lose Han K'e and Yang Heih, those 5 [other] ministers, and 8 [other] great officers, will give their aid to Han Sen and Yang-shih. From their 10 families and 9 districts they can raise 900 chariots of war, while 4000 chariots will be left to guard the remaining 40 districts [of the State]. With their martial rage all in fury, they will come to be revenged for the great disgrace [put upon them]. With Pih-hwa to direct their plans, and with Chung-hang Pih and Wei Shoo to lead on their armies, they are sure to be successful. Your lordship intends to change the friendship of marriage for enmity, and violate all propriety to accelerate the approach of the enemy; and if you have not made preparations for such an issue, you will be sending all of us your servants, and leaving us to be captured, to gratify yourself. But what is there in this that may not be done?" The king said, "It was my error. Do not you, my great officers, trouble yourselves [any further]." He then treated Han-tze with courtesy. He wished, however, to get a triumph over Shuh-hiang on matters he might not be acquainted with, but was not able to do so; and he also showed great courtesy to him.

'When Han K'e was returning, the earl of Ch'ing came to Yu, to show him there the compliments of the journey; but Han declined to be introduced to him;—which was according to rule.'

'There is another short narrative:—'Han Hoo of Ch'ing went to T'oo, to marry a daughter of Tse-wu. Han-tze paid him frequent visits, and when Ch'ing Hwan-tze asked the reason, he replied, "He is able to employ good men;—he is a fitting lord of the people."

PAR. 4, 5. Mow-low,—see on I, iv, 1. Fang was 60 li to the southwest of the pres. dia. city



of Gan-k'ew (安丘) dep. of Tsing-chow. Tso was in the northwest of Choo-shing (諸城) dis. in the same dep. Tso-she says, "Mow-a was not a minister, yet his name is given here, importance being attached to the territory [which he surrendered] (†). The people of Keu made a complaint on the subject to Tein, and the marquis wished to detain the duke [as a prisoner]. Fan Hsien-tso, however, said to him, "You should not do so. When a prince comes to your court, if you seize him there, you have enticed him. To punish him without using your troops, and entice him, thereby effecting your purpose, is the procedure of indulgence. Would it not be improper for the lord of covenants to be guilty of these two things? I beg you to send him back. When we have leisure, we can go with troops and punish him." The duke accordingly was allowed to return, and in autumn, in the 7th month, he arrived from Tsin."

Par. 6. For 蚡 Kung-yang has 蚡, and 蚡, 蚡. Fan-t'ien was in Lo, but its site is not determined more particularly. The Chun says:—"A body of men from Keu came to make reprisals [for the reception of] Mow-a. They made no preparations [against surprise], and on Mow-shin, Shih Kung defeated them at Fan-t'ien, before they could form in order of battle."

Par. 8. Here for the first time in the text of the classic there appears the great State of Yueh, which was held by viscounts, who had the surname of Sai (姒) and claimed to be descended from King Shao-n-k'ang of the Hsia dyn. Their capital was Hwuy-k'e (會稽) in the present dis. of Shan-yin (山陰) dep.

Shao-hing (紹興), Ch'eh-kiang. Yueh was helpful to Ts'oo, as a counterpoise to the power of Woo, and became subsequently a powerful antagonist of Ts'oo itself.

The Chun says:—"In winter, in the 10th month, the viscount of Ts'oo, along with several princes and [the chiefs of] the eastern E, invaded Woo, in retaliation for that State's taking Keih, Leih, and Ma (See the 2d narrative after par. 7 of last year). Wei Shay joined him with the army of Fan-yang at Hsiao-juy. Chang Shou-kwo, a great officer of Yueh, joined him with a force at So. Hearing that the army of Woo had come forth, Wei K'e-k'ang led a force and pursued; but in his hurry he did not make [sufficient] preparations, and the men of Woo defeated him at Ts'oo-gan. The viscount came by hasty stages to the bend of the Lo, and there the viscount of Woo sent his brother, Kwei-yew, with refreshments for the troops. The people of Ts'oo seized him, and were about to smear their drums with his blood, when the king caused him to be asked whether he had consulted the tortoise-shell if his coming would be fortunate. Kwei-yew replied, "[We were told it would be] fortunate. My ruler having heard

that your lordship was going to regulate your troops in our State, consulted our guardian shell in this way,—'I will at once send a messenger with refreshments to the army [of Ts'oo], and ask him to go and observe whether the king's anger be furious or slow, that we may make preparations accordingly. Shall we be able to ascertain this?' The reply given by the indications of the shell was, 'That may be known.' If your lordship had been gracious, and received me, the messenger, in a friendly way, that would have increased the feeling of ease and indifference in our State, and it would have forgotten that its ruin might soon happen. But now your lordship is furious, surcharged with rage as with thunder and lightning. You have oppressively seized me, and are going to smear your drums with my blood:—Woo will thus know what preparations to make. Feeble though our State is, with all its equipment put early in good order, it may secure rest for its army. To be prepared alike for a difficult or for an easy contest may be said to be fortunate."

"And moreover, the tortoise-shell was consulted with reference to the altars of Woo, and not for a single individual. If my blood be used to smear the drums of your army, and our State thereby knows to make preparations to meet all casualties, what could be more fortunate than this? The State has its carefully guarded shell, which in all things it consults. Who can calculate on the regularity of the good fortune or the evil? Shing-puh gave an omen, and the answer to it was at Peh. As to this present journey of mine, [Woo] will keep it in mind to make you a return for it." After this the envoy was not put to death.

"The army of Ts'oo crossed the river at the bend of the Lo, when Ch'ih, director of Shin, effected a junction with the viscount at mount Lao. Wei K'e-k'ang then led forward the army of Fan-yang, and entered Nan-hwan, while the [rest of] the army followed as far as Joo-tr'ing; but it was found that Woo could not be penetrated. The viscount therefore made [simply] a display of his troops at the hill of Ch'w-ke. In this campaign, Woo had made early preparations, so that Ts'oo was obliged to return without effecting anything, [only] taking Kwei-yew back with it. The viscount, being afraid of Woo, made Shay, the director of Shin, wait for orders from him at Ch'ao, and Wei K'e-k'ang do the same at Yu-low:—which was according to rule."

[We have a short notice here about the prince of Tein, who fled to Tsin in the duke's 1st year:—"How-tze of Tein returned again to his position in Tein,—in consequence of the death of Duke King."]



Sixth year.

<sup>一</sup>六年春王正月杞

<sup>二</sup>伯益姑卒。

<sup>三</sup>葬秦景公。

<sup>四</sup>夏季孫宿如晉。

<sup>五</sup>葬杞文公。

<sup>六</sup>宋華合比出奔衛。

<sup>七</sup>秋九月大雩。

<sup>八</sup>楚薳罷帥師伐吳。

<sup>九</sup>冬叔弓如楚。

<sup>十</sup>齊侯伐北燕。

左傳曰六年春王正月杞文公卒弔如同盟禮也大夫如秦葬景公禮也

①三月鄭人鑄刑書叔向使詒子產書曰始吾有虞於子今則已矣昔先王議事以制不爲刑辟懼民之有爭心也猶不可禁禦是故閑之以義糾之以政行之以禮守之以信奉之以仁制爲祿位以勸其從嚴斷刑罰以威其淫懼其未也故誨之以忠警之以行教之以務使之以和臨之以敬泄之以彊斷之以剛猶求聖哲之上明察之官忠信之長慈惠之師民於是乎可任使也而不生禍亂民知有辟則不忌於上竝有爭心以徵於書而徵幸以成之弗可爲矣夏有亂政而作禹刑商有亂政而作湯刑周有亂政而作九刑三辟之典皆叔世也今吾子相鄭國作封洫立謗政制參辟鑄刑書將以靖民不亦難乎詩曰儀式刑文王之德日靖四方又曰儀刑文王萬邦作孚如是何穢之有民知爭端矣將棄禮而徵於書錐刀之末將盡爭之亂獄滋豐賄賂竝行終子之世鄭其敗乎胖聞之國將亡必多制其此之謂乎復書曰若吾子之言僑不才不能及子孫吾以救世也既不承命敢忘大惠士文伯曰火見鄭其火乎火未出而作火以鑄刑器藏爭辟焉火如象之不火何爲夏季孫宿如晉拜莒田也晉侯享之有加籩武子退使行人告曰小國之事大國也苟免於討不敢求貺得貺不過三獻今豆有加下臣弗堪



無乃戾也。韓宣子曰：寡君以爲驢也。對曰：寡君猶未敢，況下臣。君之驥也，敢聞加賜，固請微加，而後卒事。晉人以爲知禮，重其好貨。

宋寺人柳有寵，大子佐惡之。華合比曰：我殺之。柳聞之，乃坎用牲埋書，而告公曰：合比將納亡人之族，既盟於北郭矣。公使視之，有焉，遂逐。華合比，合比奔衛，於是華亥欲代右師，乃與寺人柳比，從爲之徵。曰：聞之久矣，公使代之，見於左師。左師曰：汝夫也，必亡，汝喪而宗室於人，何有人亦於汝何有？詩曰：宗子維城，毋俾城壞，毋獨斯畏，汝其畏哉。

⑤六月丙戌，鄭災。

⑥楚公子棄疾如晉，報韓子也。過鄭，鄭罕虎、公孫僑游吉從鄭伯以勞諸祖，辭不敢見，固請見之。見如見王，以其乘馬八匹私面，見子皮如上卿，以馬六匹，見子產以馬四匹，見子犬叔以馬二匹。禁錫牧探樵，不入田，不樵樹，不采蕪，不抽屋，不疆，句誓曰：有犯命者，君子廢，小人降，舍不爲暴，主不思賓，往來如是。鄭三卿皆知其將爲王也。韓宣子之適楚也，楚人弗逆，公子棄疾及晉竟，晉侯將亦弗逆，叔向曰：楚辟我衷，若何效臨？詩曰：爾之教矣，民胥效矣。從我而已，焉用效人之辟？書曰：聖作則無寧以善人爲則，而則人之辟乎？匹夫爲善，民猶則之，況國君乎？晉侯說，乃逆之。

秋九月，大雩，旱也。

徐儀楚聘於楚，楚子執之，逃歸，懼其叛也，使還洩伐徐。吳人救之，令尹子瀟帥師伐吳，師於豫章，而次於乾谿。吳人敗其師於房鍾，獲宮廐，尹棄疾子瀟歸，罪於還洩而殺之。

冬，叔弓如楚，聘，且弔敗也。

十一月，齊侯如晉，請伐北燕也。士臼相士鞅逆諸河，禮也。晉侯許之。十二月，齊侯遂伐北燕，將納簡公。晏子曰：



可也。信未嘗事不以諛作大左右。吾君賄民不賕有君矣。不入。蘇

- VI. 1 In the duke's sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Yih-koo, earl of K'e, died.  
 2 There was the burial of duke King of Ts'in.  
 3 In summer, Ke-sun Suh went to Ts'in.  
 4 There was the burial of duke Wān of K'e.  
 5 Hwa Hoh-pe of Sung fled from that State to Wei.  
 6 In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
 7 Wei P'e of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Woo.  
 8 In winter, Shuh Kung went to Ts'oo.  
 9 The marquis of Ts'e invaded North Yen.

PAR. 1. Yih-koo is the viscount of K'e, who came to the court of Loo in the 29th year of Shang. Here he is mentioned with the rank of earl. The marquis of Ts'in, interested in K'e through his mother, had probably obtained the advancement of rank for the viscount.

Two says, 'Duke Wān of K'e now died, and [the duke] sent his condolences to that State as the deceased ruler had covenanted with a marquis of Loo:—which was according to rule.'

PAR. 2. The Chuen says:—A great officer went to Ts'in to attend the funeral of duke King,—which was according to rule. This is the first instance in the classic where the burial of an earl of Ts'in is mentioned. It shows how, with the progress of time, the intercourse between States at a considerable distance from one another was increasing.

[We have here the following narrative about a proceeding of Tsao-ch'ao in Ch'ing:—In the 3d month, they cast [tripods] in Ch'ing, with descriptions [of crimes and their] punishments [upon them]. In consequence of this, Shuh-hiang sent a letter to Tsao-ch'ao, saying, "At first I considered you [as my model], but now I have ceased to do so. The ancient kings deliberated on [all the circumstances], and determined [on the punishment of crimes]; they did not make [general] laws of punishment, fearing lest it should give rise to a contentious spirit among the people. But still, as crimes could not be prevented, they set up for them the barrier of righteousness, sought to bring them all to a conformity with their own rectitude, set before them the practice of propriety, and the maintenance of good faith, and cherished them with benevolence. They also instituted emoluments and places to encourage them to follow [their example], and laid down strictly punishments and penalties to awe them from excesses. Fearing lest these things should be insufficient, they therefore taught the people [the principles of] sincerity, urged them by [discriminations of] conduct, instructed them in what was most important, called for their services in a spirit of harmony, came before them in a spirit of reverence, met exigencies with vigour, and gave their decisions with firmness. And in addition to this, they sought to

have sage and wise persons in the highest positions, intelligent discriminating persons in all offices, that elders should be distinguished for true-heartedness and good faith, and teachers for their gentle kindness. In this way the people could be successfully dealt with, and miseries and disorder be prevented from arising.

"When the people know what the exact laws are, they do not stand in awe of their superiors. They also come to have a contentious spirit, and make their appeal to the express words, hoping peradventure to be successful in their argument. They can no longer be managed. When the government of Hsia had fallen into disorder, the penal code of Yu was made; under the same circumstances of Shang, the penal code of Tang; and in Chow, the code of the nine punishments:—these three codes all originated in ages of decay. And now in your administration of Ch'ing, you have made [your new arrangements for] dykes and ditches (See the narrative at the end of IX. xxx.), you have established your [new system of] governmental [requisitions], which has been so much spoken against (See the 1st narr. after iv. 7), and you have framed [this imitation of] these 3 codes, casting your descriptions of [crimes and their] punishments:—will it not be difficult to keep the people quiet, as you wish to do? The ode (Shu, IV. i. [1.] ode VII.) says,

'I imitate, follow, and observe the virtue of king Wān,  
 And daily there is tranquillity in all the regions.'

and again (III. i. ode I. 7),

'Take your pattern from king Wān,  
 And the myriad States will repose confidence in you.'

In such a condition, what need is there for any code? When once the people know the grounds for contention, they will cast propriety away, and make their appeal to your descriptions. They will all be contending about a matter as small as the point of an awl or a knife. Disorderly litigations will multiply, and bribes will walk abroad. Ch'ing will go to ruin, it is to be feared, in the age succeeding



your. I have heard the saying that 'When a State is about to perish, there will be many new enactments in it.' Is your proceeding an illustration of it?"

'To this letter Tze-ch'ian returned the following reply, "As to what you say, I have not the talents nor the ability to act for posterity; my object is to save the present age. I cannot accept your instructions, but I dare not forget your great kindnesses."

'See Wan-pih said, "The Ho (Fire) star has made its appearance. Is there going to be fire in Ch'ing? Before the appearance of the Ho, it made use of fire to cast its punishment-tripods. If the Ho is an emblem of fire, must we not expect fire [in Ch'ing]?"

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'Ke-sun Sub went to Ts'ui, to make our acknowledgments for the lands of K'e, [which Mow-e had given over to Loo]. The marquis gave him an entertainment at which there was more than the usual number of dishes. On seeing this, he retired, and sent an intendant to say, "In its service of [your] great State, [our] small State, if it can [only] escape measure of punishment, does not seek for any gifts. I should get no more than three rounds of the cup. But now there are more dishes than are sufficient for that, and I dare not accept [such distinction];—would it not be an offence if I did so?" Han Suen-tze said, "Our ruler intended to promote your joy;" but [Woo-tze] replied, "It is what my ruler would not [accept]; how much less dare I, who am but as a mental servant of [your] ruler, listen to such an addition to his gift?" He then firmly requested that the additional dishes might be removed, and only when that was done did he return to the completion of the entertainment. The people of Ts'ui, out of respect to the knowledge of propriety [which he thus showed], made the [usual] offerings of friendship to him very large.'

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'L'w, master of the eunuchs, of Sung was a favourite, but was hated by Tao, [the duke's] eldest son; and Hwa Hoh-pe undertook to kill him. L'w heard of it, dug a hole, killed a victim and buried [its blood], with the tablets [of a covenant] over it." He then informed the duke, saying, "Hoh-pe is about to bring back the fugitive [Hwa Shin; see on IX. xvii. 6] and his family, and has made a covenant to that effect in the northern suburbs." The duke sent to see, and [the evidence] was found, on which he drove out Hwa Hoh-pe, who fled to Wei.

'On this, Hwa Hae (Younger brother of Hoh-pe) wished to get the office of master of the Right in the room [of Hoh-pe], and by agreement with the eunuch L'w, came and gave confirmatory evidence, saying that he had heard of his brother's purpose for a long time; so the duke gave him the appointment. [Having received this], he went to see the master of the Left, who said to him, "A fellow like you is sure to come to ruin. You have ruined the members of your own House. What part have you in men, and what part have men in you? The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 7) says,

'The circle of relatives is like a wall,  
Do not let your wall be destroyed;  
Do not, solitary, be consumed with terrors.'

You have reason to live in such terror!"  
[We have here two narratives:—

1st. 'In the 5th month, on Ping-sen, a fire broke out in Ch'ing (See the conclusion of the narrative after par. 2).'

2d. 'The Kung-tze K'e-tsh went to Ts'ui,—to return the visit of Han-tze. As he was passing by [the capital of] Ch'ing, Han Hoo, Kung-sun K'iaou, and Yew Keli followed the earl to pay him the compliments of the journey at Cha; but he declined and would not presume to see them. [The earl], however, earnestly begged that he would do so, [which he did], behaving [to the earl] as if he were having an interview with [his own king]. [Afterwards] he had a private audience of [the earl], with eight of his chariots [as his offering]; he saw Tze-p'e, as if he were seeing the highest minister [of Ts'ui], with an offering of 6 horses; Tze-ch'ian, with 4; and Tze-t'ae-shuh with 2. He forbade his foragers, grooms, and fuel-collectors to go into the fields. No trees were to be cut down for fuel; no grain nor vegetables were to be gathered; no houses were to be unroofed; there was to be no violent begging. He made a declaration that whoever should violate his orders, if he were an officer, he should be dismissed, and if he were a smaller man, he should be reduced still lower. His men were to exercise no oppression where they lodged; hosts should not be troubled by their guests. In going and returning he observed these rules. The three ministers of Ch'ing all knew that he would [yet] be king [of Ts'ui].

'When Han Suen-tze went to Ts'ui, they did not meet him; and now when the Kung-tze K'e-tsh came to the borders of Ts'ui, the marquis intended in the same way not to meet him. Shuh-h'ang, however, said, "Ts'ui is perverse, and we are correct:—why should we imitate his perversity?" The ode (She, II. vii. ode IX. 2) says,

'What you teach  
The people all imitate.'

Let us follow our own way; should we imitate the perversity of others? The Shoo says, "The sage forms a pattern." Instead of taking good men for our pattern, shall we find it in men who are perverse? If an ordinary man do what is good, the people will take him for their pattern;—how much more will they do so in the case of the ruler of a State!"

'The marquis of Ts'ui was pleased, and sent to meet the envoy accordingly.'

Par. 6. This sacrifice was offered because, as Tao says, there was now 'a drought.'

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'E-t'oo, of Sen came on a complimentary visit to Ts'ui, where he was seized by the viscount; but he effected his escape and returned home. The viscount, fearing that Sen would revolt, sent Wei Sien to invade it, when a body of men from Woo went to its aid. On this, Tze-tang, the chief minister, led a force and invaded Woo. He collected his troops at Yu-chang, and halted at Kan-k'e. The men of Woo defeated his army at Fang-chang, taking prisoner K'e-tsh, director of the palace stables. Tze-tang laid the blame [of the defeat] on Wei Sien, and put him to death.'

Par. 8. Tao says this was a complimentary visit, and to offer Loo's condolences on the defeat [sustained from Woo].

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—'In the 11th month, the marquis of Ts'ui went to Ts'ui, to ask



leave to invade North Yen, when Sze Kae, in attendance on Sze Yang, met him at the Ho— which was according to rule. The marquis having given his assent, in the 12th month the marquis of T'w invaded North Yen, intending to re-instate duke Kae. Gao-tze said,

"They will not enter [the capital of] Yen. Yen has a ruler, and the people are not disaffected to him. Our ruler [desires] bribes; those about him flatter him; and so he commences a great undertaking, but not in good faith. Such enterprises have never been successful."

Seventh year.

七年<sup>一</sup>春王正月<sup>二</sup>暨齊平<sup>三</sup>。  
三月<sup>四</sup>公如楚<sup>五</sup>。  
叔孫舍如齊<sup>六</sup>。涖盟<sup>七</sup>。  
夏<sup>八</sup>四月<sup>九</sup>甲辰朔日有食之<sup>十</sup>。  
五月<sup>十一</sup>秋八月<sup>十二</sup>戊辰衛侯惡卒<sup>十三</sup>。  
六月<sup>十四</sup>九月<sup>十五</sup>公至自楚<sup>十六</sup>。  
七月<sup>十七</sup>冬十<sup>十八</sup>有一月<sup>十九</sup>癸未季孫宿卒<sup>二十</sup>。  
八月<sup>二十一</sup>十有二月<sup>二十二</sup>癸亥葬衛襄公<sup>二十三</sup>。

左傳曰七年春王正月暨齊平齊求之也癸巳齊侯次於號燕人行成曰敝邑知罪敢不聽命先君之敝器請以謝罪公孫皙曰受服而退侯爵而動可也二月戊午盟於濡上燕人歸燕姬賂以瑤瓊玉櫝犇耳不克而還  
○楚子之爲令尹也爲王旌以田芋尹無宇斷之曰一國兩君其誰堪之及卽位爲章華之宮納亡人以實之無宇之闖入焉無宇執之有司弗與曰執人於王宮其罪大矣執而謁諸王將飲酒無宇辭曰天子經畧諸侯正封古之制也封畧之內何非君土食土之毛誰非君臣故詩曰普天之下莫非王土率土之濱莫非王臣天有十日人有十等下所以事上上所以共神也故王臣公公臣大夫大夫臣士士臣阜阜臣與與臣隸隸臣僚僚臣僕僕臣臺臺有園牛有牧以待百事今有司曰汝胡執人於王宮將焉執之周文王之法曰有亡荒閱所以得天下也吾先君文王作僕圖之法曰盜所隱器與盜同



罪所以封汝也。若從有司，是無所執逃臣也。逃而舍之，是無陪臺也。王事無乃闕乎？昔武王數紂之罪，以告諸侯。曰：紂爲天下逋逃主，萃淵藪，故夫致死焉。君王始求諸侯，而則紂，無乃不可乎？若以二文之法取之，盜有所在矣。王曰：取而臣以往，盜有寵，未可得也。遂赦之。

楚子成章華之臺，願與諸侯落之。大宰遷啟疆曰：臣能得魯侯。遷啟疆來召公，辭曰：昔先君成公命我先大夫嬰齊曰：吾不忍先君之好，將使衡父照臨楚國，鎮撫其社稷，以輯寧爾民。嬰齊受命於蜀，奉承以來，弗敢失隕，而致諸宗祧。曰：我先君共王引領北望，日月以冀，傳序相授，於今四王矣。嘉惠未至，唯襄公之辱臨我喪，孤與其二三臣悼心失圖，社稷之不皇，況能懷思君德？今君若步玉趾，辱見寡君，寵靈楚國，以信蜀之役，致君之嘉惠，是寡君既受貺矣。何勸之敢望？其先君鬼神實嘉賴之。豈唯寡君？君若不來，使臣請問行期。寡君將承質幣而見於蜀，以請先君之貺。公將往，夢襄公祖梓慎曰：君不果行，襄公之適楚也。夢周公祖而行，今襄公實祖，君其不行。子服惠伯曰：行，先君未嘗適楚，故周公祖以道之。襄公適楚矣，而祖以道，君不行，何之？三月，公如楚，鄭伯勞於師之架。孟僖子爲介，不能相儀，及楚，不能答郊勞。

夏四月，甲辰朔，日有食之。晉侯問於士文伯曰：誰將當日食？對曰：魯衛惡之，衛大魯小。公曰：何故？對曰：去衛地如魯地，於是有災，魯實受之。其大咎，其衛君乎？魯將上卿，公曰：詩所謂彼日而食，于何不臧者，何也？對曰：不善政之謂也。國無政，不用善，則自取譴於日月之災，故政不可不慎也。務三而已：一曰擇人，二曰因民，三曰從時。晉人來治杞田，季孫將以成與之，謝息爲孟孫守，不可曰：人有言曰：雖有挈餅之知，守不假器，禮也。夫子從君而守，臣喪邑，雖吾子亦有猜焉。季孫曰：君之在楚，於晉罪也，又不聽晉，魯罪重矣。晉師必至，吾無以待之，不如與之。閒晉而取諸杞，吾與子桃成反，誰敢有之？是得二成也。魯無憂而孟孫益邑，子何病焉？辭以無山，與之萊柞，乃遷於桃。晉人爲杞取成。



⑤楚子享公於新臺，使長鬣者柑，好以大屈，既而悔之，遂敢強聞之，見公，公語之，拜賀，公曰：「何賀？」對曰：「齊與晉，越欲此久矣，寡君無適與也，而傳諸君，君其備禦三鄰，慎守寶矣，敢不賀乎？」公懼，乃反之。

⑥鄭子產聘於晉，晉侯有疾，韓宣子逆客，私焉，曰：「寡君寢疾，於今三月矣，竝走羣望，有加而無瘳，今夢黃熊入於寢門，其何厲鬼也？」對曰：「以君之明，子爲大政，其何厲之有？昔堯殛鯀於羽山，其神化爲黃熊，以入於羽淵，實爲夏郊，三代祀之，晉爲盟主，其或者未之祀也乎？」韓子祀夏郊，晉侯有間，賜子產莒之二方鼎，子產爲豐施歸州田於韓，宣子曰：「日君以夫公孫段爲能任其事，而賜之州田，今無祿早世，不獲久享君德，其子弗敢有，不敢以聞於君，私致諸子。」宣子辭，子產曰：「古人有言曰：『其父析薪，其子弗克負荷。』施將懼不能任其先人之祿，其況能任大國之賜，縱吾子爲政而可，後之人若厲有疆場之言，敝邑獲戾，而豐氏受其大討，吾子取州，是免敝邑於戾，而建置豐氏也，敢以爲請。」宣子受之，以告晉侯，晉侯以與宣子，宣子爲初言，病有之，以易原縣於樂大心，於戾，而建置豐氏也，敢以爲請，宣子受之，以告晉侯，晉侯以與宣子，宣子爲初言，病有之，以易原縣於樂大心。

⑦鄭人相驚以伯有，曰：「伯有至矣。」則皆走，不知所往，鑄刑書之，歲二月，或夢伯有介而行，曰：「壬子，余將殺帶也。」明年壬寅，余又將殺段也。及壬子，駟帶卒，國人益懼，齊燕平之月，壬寅，公孫段卒，國人愈懼，其明月，子產立公孫洩，及良止，以撫之，乃止。子大叔問其故，子產曰：「鬼有所歸，乃不爲厲，吾爲之歸也。」大叔曰：「公孫洩何爲子產曰：『說也，爲身無義而圖說，從政有所反之，以取媚也，不媚不信，不信，民不從也。』及子產適晉，趙景子問焉，曰：『伯有猶能爲鬼乎？』子產曰：『能。人生始化曰魄，既生魄，陽曰魂，用物精多，則魂魄強，是以有精爽，至於神明，匹夫匹婦強死，其魂魄猶能馮依於人，以爲淫厲，況良霄，我先君穆公之冑，子良之孫，子耳之子，敝邑之卿，從政三世矣，鄭雖無腆，抑諺曰：『葛藟國，而三世執其政柄，其用物也弘矣，其取精也多矣，其族又大，所馮厚矣，而強死，能爲鬼，不亦宜乎？』」

⑧子皮之族，飲酒無度，故馬師氏與子皮氏有惡，齊師還自燕之月，罕朔殺罕魋，罕朔奔晉，韓宣子問其位於



子產子產曰君之羈臣苟得容以逃死何位之敢擇卿違從大夫之位罪人以其罪降古之制也朔於敝邑亞大夫也其官馬師也獲戾而逃唯執政所冀之得免其死爲惠大矣又敢求位宣子爲子產之敏也使從嬖大夫

秋八月衛襄公卒晉大夫言於范獻子曰衛事晉爲睦晉不禮焉庇其賊人而取其地故諸侯貶詩曰鷕鷕在原兄弟急難又曰死喪之威兄弟孔懷兄弟之不睦於是乎不弔况遠人誰敢歸之今又不禮於衛之嗣衛必叛我是絕諸侯也獻子以告韓宣子宣子說使獻子如衛弔且反戚田衛齊惡告喪於周且請命王使成簡公

如衛弔且追命襄公曰叔父陟恪在我先王之左右以佐事上帝余敢忘高圉亞圉九月公至自楚孟僖子病不能相禮乃講學之苟能禮者從之及其將死也召其大夫曰禮人之幹也無禮無以立吾聞將有遠者曰孔丘聖人之後也而滅於宋其祖弗父何以有宋而授厲公及正考父佐戴武宣三命絃益共故其鼎銘云一命而僇再命而匾三命而俯循牆而走亦莫余敢侮釐於是繫於是以餬余口其共也如是臧孫紇有言曰聖人有明德者若不當世其後必有遠人今其將在孔丘乎我若獲沒必屬說與何忌於夫子使事之而學禮焉以定其位故孟懿子與南宮敬叔師事仲尼仲尼曰能補過者君子也詩曰君子是則是效孟僖子可則效已矣

⑤單獻子乘親用驢冬十月辛酉襄頃之族殺獻公而立成公十一月季武子卒晉侯謂伯瑕曰吾所問日食從矣可常乎對曰不可六物不同民心不壹事序不類官職不則同始異終胡可常也詩曰或燕燕居息或撫惇事國其異終也如是公曰何謂六物對曰歲時日月星辰是謂也公曰多謬寡人辰而莫同何謂辰對曰日月之會是謂辰故以配日衛襄公夫人姜氏無子嬖人嬖始生孟縶孔成子夢康叔謂己立元余使驢之孫圉與史苟相之史朝亦夢康



叔謂己，余將命而子苟與孔烝鉏之曾孫圉相元史朝見成子告之夢夢協晉韓宣子爲政聘於諸侯之歲嫺給生子名之曰元孟繁之足不良弱行孔成子以周易筮之曰元尚享衛國主其社稷遇屯又曰余尚立繁尙克嘉之遇屯之地以示史朝史朝曰元亨又何疑焉成子曰非長之謂乎對曰康叔名之可謂長矣孟非人也將不列於宗不可謂長且其繇曰利建侯嗣吉何建建非嗣也二卦皆云子其建之康叔命之二卦告之筮襲於夢武王所用也弗從何爲弱足者居侯主社稷臨祭祀奉民人事鬼神從會朝又焉得居各以所利不可乎故孔成子立靈公十二月癸亥葬衛襄公

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, [North Yen] made peace with Ts'e.  
 2 In the third month, the duke went to Ts'oo.  
 3 Shuh-sun Shay went to Ts'e to make a covenant.  
 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'eah-shin, the sun was eclipsed.  
 5 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Mow-shin, Goh, marquis of Wei, died.  
 6 In the ninth month, the duke arrived from Ts'oo.  
 7 In winter in the eleventh month, on Kwei-we, Ke-sun Suh died.  
 8 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-hae, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wei.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—This peace was what Ts'e sought for. On Kwei-we, the marquis was halting at K'wei, and the people of Yen made proffers of accommodation, saying, "Our poor State knows its guilt, and dares not but listen to your orders. With some worthless articles of our former rulers, we beg to apologise for our offence." Kung-sun Selh said, "Having received its submission we can return; and when an occasion is presented we can make [another] movement." In the 2d month, on Mow-woo, a covenant was made at Sen-shang. The people of Yen sent to the marquis a daughter of their ruling House, and the brides of a yuen vase, a snakes of jade, and a white jade goblet with ears. He then returned [to Ts'e], without having succeeded in his [proposed] object.

According to this Chuen, the peace made in the text was between North Yen and Ts'e, and 北燕 must be supplied from the concluding part of last year. Kung-yang and K'uei-kang, however, took a different view, and supposed that Loo and Ts'e were the parties in the pacification;—a view in which they have been followed by a host of critics. Certainly there are many paragraphs in the classic where 'Loo' or 'we' has to be supplied as the subject, and so far this would be in analogy with them.

Still there is no evidence of there being any strife between Loo and Ts'e at this time, which could furnish a reason for their making peace; and considering the allusions to a peace between Yen and Ts'e in subsequent narratives, the view of Ts'e is decidedly to be preferred. No stress is to be laid on the use of 暨, which simply — 及. The critics, who find anomalies in the terms of the classic, say that 及 is used from the standpoint of Loo, and 暨 from the standpoint of the other party with which Loo has covenanted; that when Loo has taken the initiative, 及 is used, and where it has followed suit, we find 暨.

[There is here appended the following narrative about the king of Ts'oo:—When the viscount of Ts'oo was chief minister of the State, he had made for himself a royal flag which he used in hunting. The Woo-director, Woo-yn, broke [the staff of] it, saying, "Two rulers in one State!—this is what no one can endure." When the chief minister became king, he built the palace of Chang-hwa, and recalled [a number of] exiles to fill [the offices in] it, and among them was a



junior of Woo-yu, whose master tried to seize him. The [king's] officers would not give the man up, saying, "It is a great offence to seize a man in the royal palace;" and with this they seized [Woo-yu, and carried him off], to lay the matter before the king. The king was about to fall to drinking, and Woo-yu defended himself, saying, "The dominion of the Son of Heaven extends everywhere; the princes of States have their own defined boundaries. This is the ancient rule;—within the State and the kingdom, what ground is there which is not the ruler's? What individual of all whom the ground supports is there that is not the ruler's subject? Hence the ode (She, II. vi. ode I. 3) says,

'Under the wide heavens  
All is the king's land;  
Along the coasts of the land  
All are the king's servants.'

The day has its ten divisions of time, and of men there are the ten classes; and so it is that inferiors serve their superiors, and that superiors perform their duties to the Spirits. Hence, the king makes the duke (—the prince of a State) his servant; the duke, the great officer; the great officer, the [simple] officer; the officer, the licitor; the licitor, the crowd of underlings; the underling, the menials; the menial, the labourer; the labourer, the servant; the servant, the helper. There are also groomers for the horses, and shepherds for the cattle;—and thus there is provision for all things.

"Your officers say, 'Why do you seize a man in the king's palace?' but where else should I seize him? A law of king Wan of Chow says, 'Make great inquisition for fugitives;' and it was thus he got the kingdom. Our former ruler king Wan made the law of Fuh-gow, which says, 'He with whom the thief conceals his booty is as guilty as the thief;' and it was he who extended his boundary to the Joo. If we are to accept what your officers say, we shall have no means of apprehending runaway servants; if we are to let them go without trying to apprehend them, we shall have no servants at all. There is surely some misconduct of your majesty's affairs here.

"Formerly when king Woo was enumerating the crimes of Chow, for the information of the princes, he said, 'Chow is the host of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep (See the Shoo, V. III. 6).' On this account every one was willing to go to the death [against Chow]. You, our ruler and king, have just begun to seek [the adherence of] the States;—does it not seem improper in you to be imitating Chow? If we are to apprehend them according to the laws of the two Wan, there is [another] thief here!' The king said, "Take your servant and begone. That [other] thief is a favourite, and cannot yet be got!" With this he pardoned [Woo-yu]."

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—'When the viceroy of T'oo had completed the tower of Chang-hwa, he wished to have the princes of the States present at the inauguration feast. The grand-administrator Wei K'uei-k'ang, having said that he could secure the attendance of the marquis of Loo, came to Loo to call the duke, and made the following speech, "Your former ruler, duke Ch'ing, gave his commands to our former great officer Ying-t'ao, to the

effect that he would not forget the friendship between his predecessors and our rulers, and would send H'ang-foo on a brightening visit to T'oo, to support and comfort its altars, in order that the peace of its people might be secured. Ying-t'ao received his commands at Shuh (See on VIII. II. 9), brought them along with him, careful that nothing should be lost, and made an announcement of them in our ancestral temple. From that time our ruler, king Kung, looked with outstretched neck to the north, from day to day and month to month hoping [that the ruler of Loo would come to his court]. In the order of succession four kings have since given our State one to the other, and the acceptable kindness [of Loo] has not come to us. Duke S'ang alone condescended to come to the funeral [of our last king], and then our ruler and his ministers, in the grief of their hearts, were not able to take proper measures. They had not leisure to attend to the business of the altars, and much less were they able to show how they cherished and thought of his kindness. If now your lordship will direct your gemmeous steps, and condescend to visit our ruler, and extend your favouring influence to our State, so as to make good the agreement at Shuh, and reach to us with your acceptable kindness, our ruler will have received your favour, and not presume to look for anything like what was promised at Shuh. The Spirits of his predecessors will be pleased also, and feel their obligation;—not he only will be indebted to you. If your lordship will not come, let me ask the time when we must put ourselves in motion. Our ruler will bring his hostages and offerings, and see you in Shuh, to beg from you the gift promised by your predecessor."

"When the duke was about to go, he dreamt that duke S'ang was offering [for his safe journey] the sacrifice to the Spirits of the way. [On this, T'ao Shin said, "You must not carry out the purpose of going. When duke S'ang was going to T'oo, he dreamt that the duke of Chow offered this sacrifice for him, and went accordingly. And now he himself is offering it for you. Your lordship must not go." T'ao-fu Hway-jih, however, said, "You must go. Our former ruler had never gone to T'oo, and therefore the duke of Chow offered the sacrifice to lead him on. Duke S'ang went to T'oo; and now he offers the sacrifice to lead you on the way. If you do not go [to T'oo], where should you go to?"

"In the 2d month, the duke went to T'oo. The earl of Ch'ing paid him the compliments of the journey at Sze-che-ling. Ming H'etzu, who was with the duke as assistant, could not direct the observances to be employed; and when they arrived at T'oo, he could not respond properly at the complimentary meeting in the suburbs."

Par. 3. For 舍, here and afterwards, T'ao-sho and K'uei-hung have 娼. This was the son of Shuh-sun Paon of Muh-tze, raised to succeed his father by the 'waiting-boy New,' as related in the narrative at the end of the 25th year. He is called generally in the Chuen by his posthumous title of Ch'ou-tse (昭子).



盟—see on V. iii. 6. Those who contend that the peace in the 1st par. was between Loo and T'ei press this notice in support of their view, and understand that the covenant here was in confirmation of that peace. Tso-ah says nothing on this par. 盟 is not decisive in the case. It is sometimes employed of the renewal or confirmation of a covenant (尋盟); but we find it employed also where there had been no previous agreement.

Par. 4. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of March 11th, B.C. 534.

The Chuen says:—“The marquis of Tsin asked Sze Wan-pih in whom [the omen of] the eclipse would be fulfilled, and was answered, “Loo and Wei will both feel its evil effects;—Wei to a greater extent, and Loo to a less.” “Why so?” said the marquis. “It went,” said Wan-pih, “from Wei on to Loo. There will be calamity in the former, and Loo will also feel it. The greater evil indicated is to fight, perhaps, on the ruler of Wei, and [the less] on the highest minister of Loo.” The marquis said, “What does the ode (She, II. 17. ode IX. 2) mean, when it says,

“When the sun is eclipsed,  
How bad it is!”

The officer replied, “It shows the effects of bad government. When there is not good gov't. in a State, and good men are not employed, it brings reproof to itself from the calamity of the sun and moon. Government, therefore, must not in any wise be neglected. The three things to be specially attended to in it are—1st, the selection of good men [for office]; 2d, consideration of the people; and 3d, the right observance of the seasons.”

[We have five narratives appended here:—

1st. An officer came to Loo from Tsin to settle the question about the lands of K'e (See on IX. xix. 7), and Ke-sun was about to give Ch'ing [up] to him. Sze Seih, who was holding that city for Máng-sun, objected, saying, “There is a saying that though a man have only knowledge enough to carry a pitcher, as he is in charge of it, he must not lend it to another; and it expresses what is proper. My master is in attendance on our ruler; and if I lose the city of which I am in charge, [during his absence], even you yourself will be suspicious of me.” Ke-sun replied, “Our ruler's being in T'ao is held by Tsin to be an offence; and if [in this matter] we do not listen to Tsin, Loo's offence will be aggravated. The army of Tsin will be upon us, and I am not prepared for it. We had better give the city [up], and when Tsin affords an opportunity, we can take it [again] from K'e. I will give you T'ao [instead];—when Ch'ing is got back, who will dare to hold it [but Máng-sun]? You will thus get two Ch'ing. Loo will not have to cower, and Máng-sun will have an additional city. Why should you be distressed [by what I propose]?” Sze Seih objected to T'ao, because there was no hill near it, on which Ke-sun gave him the hills of Loo and Tsch. He then returned to T'ao, and the officer of Tsin took Ch'ing in behalf of K'e.”

2d. “The viscount of T'ao entertained the duke in his new tower, having a man with a long beard to direct [the ceremonies]. His gift of friendship [to the duke] was the [bow called] T'ao-k'eh. He repented afterwards that he had given it, and Wei Ke-k'ang, having heard that he did so, visited the duke, who told him about it, on which he bowed, and offered his congratulations. “What is there to congratulate me about?” said the duke. “T'ei, Tsin, and Yuch,” replied Ke-k'ang, “have wished to get this [bow] for a long time. Our ruler could not make up his mind to which to give it, and now he has given it to you. You must be prepared to withstand [the attempts of] those three neighbours [to take it from you], and carefully guard the precious treasure.” The duke on this got frightened, and returned the article.

3d. T'ao-ch'ao having gone on a complimentary visit to Tsin, the marquis was then ill, and Han Senen-tze met the guest, and had a private conversation with him. “Our ruler,” said he, “has been ill in bed, now for 3 months. We have been all running about and sacrificing to all the hills and streams in Tsin, but his illness has got worse instead of better. He has now dreamt that a yellow bear entered the door of his chamber;—what evil devil can that be?” “With a prince so intelligent as your ruler,” replied T'ao-ch'ao, “and with the government in your hands, what evil devil can there be? Anciently, when Yao put K'wan to death on mount Yu, his spirit changed into a yellow bear, which entered into the abys of Yu. He was under the Hsia dynasty the assessor at its sacrifice to Heaven, and in fact the three dynasties all sacrificed to him. Tsin, though lord of covenants, has perhaps not yet sacrificed to him.” Han Senen-tze on this offered the Hsia sacrifice to Heaven, when the marquis became somewhat better, and gave to T'ao-ch'ao the two square tripods of Ku.

T'ao-ch'ao, in behalf of Fung Shu, restored the lands of Chow (See the 2d narr. after iii. 2) to Han Senen-tze, saying, “Formerly, your ruler, from regard to the ability with which Kung-sun Twan discharged his duties, conferred on him the lands of Chow. Now he has, unfortunately, died an early death, and has not been able to enjoy long your ruler's kindness. His son does not presume to hold the lands. I do not presume to represent the matter to your ruler, and privately surrender them to you.” Senen-tze declined the proffer, but T'ao-ch'ao said to him, “People have the saying, ‘The father split the firewood, and the son was not able to carry it.’ She will be afraid lest he should not be able to sustain the weight of his father's office; how much less can he sustain the weight of that gift from your great State. Though it might be possible for him to do so, while the gov't. is in your hands, yet with other men that will follow you, if there should come to be any words about border matters, our poor State will be held to be an offender, and the Fung family will experience the weight of [Tsin's] indignation. If you will take [back] Chow, you will save our poor State from any charge of offence, and you will make the Fung family stronger;—I venture to make it my request that you will do so.” Senen-tze on this received Chow, and informed the marquis of it, who gave it to him. Because of what he had said before (See the narrative



already referred to), however, he was distressed by the idea of holding it, and exchanged it with Yeh Ta-sin for the district of Yuen.

14th. 'The people of Ch'ing frightened one another about Pih-yêw (See on IX. xxx. 7), saying, "Pih-yêw is here!" on which they would all run off, not knowing where they were going to. In the 2d month of this year when the descriptions of punishments were cast (i.e., the last year), one man dreamt that Pih-yêw walked by him in armour, and said, "On Jin-tze I will kill Tse, and next year, on Jin-yin, I will kill T'wan." When See Tse did die on Jin-tze, the terror of the people increased. [This year], in the month that T'ao and Yen made peace, on Jin-yin, Kung-sun T'wan died, and the people were still more frightened, till in the following month Tse Ch'ian appointed Kung-sun Sêh (Son of Tse-k'ung, the Kung-tzu K'ea, put to death in the 19th year of duke Sêng), and Lêng Che (Son of Pih-yêw), [as successors to their fathers], in order to soothe the people, after which [their terrors] ceased. Tse-t'ao-shuh asked his reason for making these arrangements, and Tse-ch'ian replied, "When a ghost has a place to go to, it does not become an evil spirit. I have made such a place for the ghost." "But why have you done so with Kung-sun Sêh?" pursued Tse-shuh. "To afford a reason for my conduct," was the reply. "I contrived that there might be such a reason, because of the unrighteousness [of Pih-yêw]. The administrator of government has his proper course; and if he takes the contrary one, it is that he may give pleasure [to the people]. If they are not pleased with him, they will not put confidence in him; and if they do not put confidence in him, they will not obey him."

When Tse-ch'ian went to Tsin, Chao King-tze asked him whether it was possible for Pih-yêw to become a ghost. "Yes," replied Tse-ch'ian. "When a man is born, [we see] in his first movements what is called the animal soul. After this has been produced, it is developed into what is called the spirit. By the use of things the subtle elements are multiplied, and the soul and spirit become strong. They go on in this way, growing in ethereality and brightness, till they become [thoroughly] spiritual and intelligent. When an ordinary man or woman dies a violent death, the soul and spirit are still able to keep hanging about men in the shape of an evil apparition; how much more might this be expected in the case of Lêng Sêng, a descendant of our former ruler duke Muh, the grandson of Tse-liang, the son of Tse-urb, all ministers of our State, engaged in its government for three generations! Although Ch'ing be not great, and in fact, as the saying is, an insignificant State, yet belonging to a family which had held for three generations the handle of government, his use of things had been extensive, the subtle essences which he had embodied had been many. His clan also was a great one, and his connections were distinguished. Is it not entirely reasonable that, having died a violent death, he should be a ghost?"

25th. 'Among the members of Tse-p'ei's clan there were measureless drinkers, in consequence of which there arose enmity between Ma-se and Tse-p'ei. In the month when the army of T'ao returned from Yen, Han Shoh (Ma-se) killed

Han T'ay (a brother of Tse-p'ei), and fled to Tsin. Han Sêng-tze asked Tse-ch'ian what rank should be assigned to him, and was answered, "He is a refugee with your ruler. If he be received by you so that he shall escape death, what rank will he dare to seek? It is the ancient rule, that when a minister withdraws [from his State], his rank becomes that of a great officer, and that criminals descend according to their crimes. In our State Shih was a great officer of the second degree. His office was that of Master of the Horse (Ma-se, 馬師). He fled after the commission of a crime. Assign to him whatever place you, as administrator of the gov't. [of Tsin], please. If he escape death, your kindness will be great. How dare he beyond that ask for any rank?" Han Sêng-tze, out of regard to the ability of Tse-ch'ian, made Shih be ranked among great officers of the lowest degree.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In the 8th month, duke Sêng of Wei died. One of the great officers of Tsin spoke to Fan Hên-tze, saying, "Wei's service of Tsin has been most faithful, and Tsin has not treated it with courteous propriety. It has protected its rebel (Sun Lin-fo; see on IX. xxvi. 2, et al.) and accepted his territory, causing disaffection among the States. The ode (She, II. l. ode iv. 3 and 2) says,

'There is the wagtail on the plain;—  
A brother brings swift succour in  
difficulty.'

and again,

'On the dreaded occasions of death and  
mourning,  
They are brothers who will greatly sym-  
pathize.'

If we do not cultivate harmony with [the States of] our brethren, and so do not console with them [in their sorrows], how much more will we behave so to States that are not related to us! and who will seek our alliance? If now we go on to show discourtesy to the heir of Wei, that State is sure to revolt from us,—we shall be cutting ourselves off from the States." Hên-tze reported these remarks to Han Sêng-tze, who was pleased with them, and sent Hên-tze to Wei to offer condolences, and also restore to it the lands of T'ei-h.

T'ao Goh of Wei went to announce the duke's death in Chow, and also begged an expression of [the king's] favour. The king sent duke K'een of Ch'ing to Wei to present his condolences, and gave the following expression of his favour to the deceased duke Sêng:—"My uncle has ascended in his reverence, and is at the right and left of the kings, my predecessors, to assist them in the service of God. I dare not forget [our ancestors] Kao-yu and A-yu."

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—In the 9th month, the duke arrived from Teyo. Mêng Ho-tze felt distressed that he had not been able to direct the ceremonial observances (See on par. 2), and set about learning them. If there were any one well skilled in them, he would repair to him. [Afterwards], when he was about to die, he called to him his great officers, and said to them,—"A knowledge of] propriety is the stem of a man. Without it, it is impossible for him to



stand firm. I have heard that there is arising a man of vast intelligence, called K'ung K'ew, a descendant of the sage [T'ang], but whose family was driven [to Lun] from Sung. His ancestor Fuh-foo Ho might have possessed Sung, but he resigned it to duke Le. After him there was Ch'ing K'ou-foo who gave his aid to [the dukes] T'ao, Woo, and Seuen. He rose to the third degree of office, and with every step his humility increased. Hence the inscription on the tripod [in his ancestral temple] said, "When he got the 1st appointment, he walked with his head bowed down. When he got the 2d, with his shoulder bent; when he got the 3d, with his whole body bent. In this way he hurried along the walls, [saying to himself], 'Thus no one will presume to despise me. I will have congee in this [bolder]; I will have gruel in this [bolder].—to satisfy my hunger (See the prolegomena to vol. IV., par. 18).'" Such was his humility. [Now] Tsang-sun Heih used to say, "If a sagely man of brilliant virtue do not get distinguished in his time, among his posterity there is sure to be some one of vast intelligence." This is now to be verified, probably, in K'ung K'ew. If I get to die a natural death, you must put Yueh and Ho-ko under his charge, making them serve him and learn ceremonial observances from him, in order that they may be established in their places."

"In this way M'ang K-tze (Ho-ko) and Han-kung King-shuh (Yueh) became disciples of Chung-ne. Chung-ne said, "He who can mend his errors is a superior man. The ode (She, II. 1. ode 1. 2) says,

"The officers have in them a model for imitation."

M'ang Ho-tze may serve for such a model."

[There is here a brief notice:—H'een, viceroy of Shen, threw on one side his relatives, and employed refugees. This winter, in the 10th month, on Su-y'ew, the clans descended from [the dukes] S'ang and King, put duke H'ien to death, and appointed [his younger brother], duke Ch'ing, in his room.]

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"In the 11th month, Ke Woo-tze died. The marquis of Tsai said to Pih-h'ea, "What you said, when I asked ynnabout the eclipse of the sun, has been fulfilled. May such verification be constantly calculated on?" "No," was the reply. "The six things are not the same. People's minds are not one. The order of things is not similar. Offices and duties are not of the same pattern. The beginning may be the same, and the end different. How can the verification be constantly calculated on? The ode (She, II. 1. ode 1. 4) says,

"Some enjoy their ease and rest;  
Some are all worn in the service of the State."

Such may be the difference of the end." "What do you mean by the six things?" said the marquis. Pih-h'ea replied, "The year, the seasons, the days, the months, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces." The duke continued, "Tell me more. What do you mean by saying that the zodiacal spaces are not the same?" "The conjunctions of the sun and moon," was the answer, "form what are called the zodiacal spaces. Hence they serve in order the regulation of the days [of the months]."

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"The lady K'ung, wife of duke S'ang of Wei, had no son, but his favourite, Chow-goh, bore to him, first of all, Chih. K'ung Ch'ing-tze dreamt that K'ang-shuh (The 1st marquis of Wei) told him that he must secure the succession to Yuen, sibling. "I will make Ke's grandson Yu, and Sze Kow, his ministers." See Chuen also dreamt that K'ang-shuh said to him, "I will appoint your son Kow, and Yu, the great-grandson of K'ung Ching-ra'oo, to be ministers to Yuen." Chuen went to see Ch'ing-tze, and told him this dream,—agreeing with that which he had had.

"In the year that Han S'uen-tze became chief minister of Tsai, and went paying complimentary visits to the States, Chow-goh bore a [second] son, and gave him the name of Yuen. The feet of M'ang-chih were not good, so that he was feeble in walking. K'ung Ch'ing-tze consulted the Chow Yih by the reeds, propounding the inquiry whether Yuen would enjoy the State of Wei, and preside over its altars; and he got the diagram Chün (屯, ䷂). He also propounded the inquiry whether he should set up Chih, and if this appointment would be acceptable, in answer to which he got Chua and then P'ei (比, ䷇). He showed these results to Sze Chuen, who said, "Under Chün we have the words, 'Great and penetrating (元亨); as if 'Great' were the name Yuen); after this, can you have any doubts?" "But is it not," said Ch'ing-tze, "a description of the elder?" "K'ang-shuh," was the reply, "so named him, and we may therefore interpret it of the superior. M'ang is not a [complete] man; he cannot have a place in the ancestral temple; he cannot be pronounced the superior. And moreover, under Chün it is said, 'A prince must be set up.' If the heir were lucky, no other would have to be set up. That term indicates another, and not the heir. The same words occur in both your divinations. You must set up Yuen. K'ang-shuh commended it, and both your diagrams direct it. When the reeds accorded with his dream, king Woo followed them. If you do not do so, what will you do? He who is feeble in walking must remain at home. The prince has to preside at the altars, to be present at sacrifices, take the charge of the people and officers, serve the Spirits, attend at conferences and visit other courts; how is it possible that he should remain at home? Is it not right that each [of the brothers] should have what is most advantageous to him?" In consequence of this, K'ung Ch'ing-tze appointed [Yuen or] duke Ling in his father's place; and in the 12th month, on Kwei-hao, duke S'ang was buried."



## Eighth year.

八年<sup>一</sup>春，陳侯之弟招殺陳世子偃師<sup>二</sup>。夏四月辛丑<sup>三</sup>，陳侯溺卒<sup>四</sup>。叔弓如晉<sup>五</sup>。楚人執陳行人干徵師<sup>六</sup>，殺之<sup>七</sup>。陳公子留<sup>八</sup>出奔鄭<sup>九</sup>。秋，蒐于紅<sup>十</sup>。陳人殺其大夫公子過<sup>十一</sup>。大雩<sup>十二</sup>。冬十月壬午<sup>十三</sup>，楚師滅陳<sup>十四</sup>，執陳公子招<sup>十五</sup>，放之于越<sup>十六</sup>，殺陳孔奐<sup>十七</sup>，葬陳哀公<sup>十八</sup>。

①左傳曰：八年春，石言於晉魏榆。晉侯問於師曠曰：石何故言？對曰：石不能言，或馮焉。不然，民聽濫也。抑臣又聞之曰：作事不時，怨譴動於民，則有非言之物而言。今宮室崇侈，民力彫盡，怨譴並作，莫保其性。石言，不亦宜乎？於是晉侯方築虎祁之宮，叔向曰：子野之言，君子哉。君子之言，信而有徵，故怨遠於其身。小人之言，僭而無徵，故怨咎及之。詩曰：哀哉不能言，匪舌是出，唯躬是瘁。猗矣能言，巧言如流，俾躬處休。其是之謂乎？是宮也成，諸侯必叛，君必有咎，夫子知之矣。

陳哀公元妃鄭姬生悼犬子偃師，二妃生公子留，下妃生公子勝。二妃嬖，留有寵，屬諸司徒招與公子過。哀公有廢疾，三月甲申，公子招、公子過殺悼犬子偃師而立公子留。

夏四月辛亥，哀公薨。

叔弓如晉，賀虎祁也。游吉相鄭伯以如晉，亦賀虎祁也。史趙見子犬叔曰：甚哉其相蒙也，可弔也。而又賀之。子犬叔曰：若何弔也？其非唯我賀將天下實賀。

干徵師赴於楚，且告有立君。公子勝愬之於楚，楚人執而殺之。公子留奔鄭。書曰：陳侯之弟招殺陳世子偃師。



罪在招也。楚人執陳行人于徵師，殺之，罪不在行人也。

秋，大蒐于紅，自根牟至於商衡，革車千乘。

⑤七月，甲戌，齊子尾卒。子旗欲治其室，丁丑，殺梁嬰。八月，庚戌，逐子成，子工，子車皆來奔，而立子良氏之宰。其臣曰：「孺子長矣，而相吾室，欲兼我也。」授甲將攻之。陳桓子善於子尾，亦授甲將助之，或告子旗，子旗不信，則數人告，將往。又數人告於道，遂如陳氏。桓子將出矣，聞之而還，游服而逆之，請命。對曰：「聞彊氏授甲，將攻子，子聞諸，曰：『弗聞。』子盍亦授甲，無宇請從。」子旗曰：「子胡然？」彼孺子也，吾誨之，猶懼其不濟，吾又寵秩之，其若先人何？子盍謂之。」周書曰：「惠不惠，茂不茂，康叔所以服弘大也。」桓子稽顙曰：「頃靈，福子，吾猶有望，遂和之如初。」

陳公子招歸罪於公子過而殺之。

九月，楚公子棄疾帥師，奉孫吳圍陳，宋戴惡會之。冬，十一月，壬午，滅陳，與嬖袁克殺馬嬖玉以葬。楚人將殺之，請寬之，既又請私，私於幄，加絰於頰而逃，便穿封戌爲陳公，曰：「城麇之役，不詔，待飲酒於王。」王曰：「城麇之役，汝知寡人之及此，汝其辟寡人乎？」對曰：「若知君之及此，臣必致死，禮以息楚，晉侯問於史趙曰：『陳其遂亡乎？』對曰：『未也。』公曰：『何故？』對曰：『陳顓頊之族也，歲在鶉火，是以卒滅。陳將如之，今在析木之津，猶將復由，且陳氏得政於齊，而後陳卒亡，自幕至于瞽瞍，無違命，舜重之以明德，實德於遂，遂世守之，及胡公不淫，故周賜之姓，使祀虞帝。臣聞盛德必百世祀，虞之世數未也，繼守將在齊，其兆既存矣。」

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, Shaou, younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, put to death Yen-sze, heir-son of the State.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sin-ch'ow, Neih, marquis of Ch'in, died.
- 3 Shuh Kung went to Tsai.
- 4 The people of Ts'oo seized Kan Ching-sze, the messenger of Ch'in, and put him to death.
- 5 The Kung-tsze Lăw of Ch'in fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 6 In autumn, we held a review in Hung.
- 7 The people of Ch'in put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Kwo.



- 8 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
 9 In winter, in the tenth month, on Jin-woo, an army of Ts'oo extinguished Ch'in, seized the Kung-tsze Shao and banished him to Yueh, and put to death K'ung Hwan.  
 10 There was the burial of duke Gae of Ch'in.

Parr. 1, 2, 4, 5. [The Chuen has a narrative of a stone talking, which has place here:—"This spring, a stone spoke in Wei-yu of Tain. The marquis asked the music-master Kwang why it was that it did so, and was answered, "Stones cannot speak. Perhaps this was possessed [by a Spirit]. If not, then the people heard wrong. And yet I have heard, that when things are done out of season, and discontent and complaints are stirring among the people, then speechless things do speak. Now palaces are reared, lofty and extravagant, and the strength of the people is taxed to an exhausting degree. Discontent and complaints are everywhere rife, [people feeling that] their life is not worth preserving. Is it not right that in such circumstances stones should speak?" At this time the marquis was engaged in building the palace of Sao-k'e.

"Shuh-hsiung said, "The words of Tzu-yay (The music-master) show him to be a superior man. The words of a superior man are true and supported by evidence, so that they keep enmity far from his own person; but the words of a small person are false and without evidence, so that enmity and blame come upon himself. Herein we have an illustration of what is said in the ode (Sho, II. iv. ode X. 5),

"Alas that right words cannot be spoken,  
 Which come not from the tongue [only]!  
 The speakers of them are sure to suffer.  
 It is well for the words that can be spoken;  
 The artful speech flows like a stream;  
 And the speakers dwell thereby in prosperity."

When this palace has been completed, the States are sure to revolt, and our ruler will bear the blame. This [the music-master] is aware of."

This brother of the marquis of Ch'in appears in 1, 2, as the Kung-tsze Shao. The Chuen says:—"The head wife of duke Gae of Ch'in, a Ke of Ch'ing, bore to him Yen-ze, [known as] Tao the eldest son. The second wife bore him the Kung-tsze Lew, and the third bore him the Kung-tsze Shing. The second wife was the favourite, and Lew in consequence had more regard shown to him [than his brothers had], and was entrusted to the care of Shao, minister of Instruction, and the Kung-tsze Kuo. [At this time] duke Gae was suffering from an incurable disease, and in the 3d month, on K'eh-shin, the Kung-tsze Shao and Kuo killed Tao the eldest son, Yen-ze, and raised the Kung-tsze Lew to his place.

"In summer, in the 4th month, on Sin-hae, duke Gae strangled himself.

"Kan Ching-ze went to Ts'oo to announce [the marquis's death], and the appointment of a [new ruler]. The Kung-tsze Shing [at the same time] accused him to Ts'oo, where they seized and put him to death, on which the Kung-tsze Lew fled to Ch'ing.

"The words of the text, "Shao, brother of the marquis of Ch'in, killed his heir-son Yen-

ze," show the guilt of Shao, while the statement that "The viscount of Ts'oo seized Ch'in's messenger Kan Ching-ze, and put him to death," shows that the guilt did not rest on the messenger (?).

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"Shuh Kung went to Tain, to offer congratulations on [the completion of the palace of] Sao-k'e. Yew Keih attended the earl of Ch'ing to Tain, also to offer similar congratulations. The historiographer Chao visited him, Tzu-t'ao-shuh, and said, "Most excessive is the delusion you practise on one another. The thing is matter for condolence, and yet you offer congratulations on it." The other replied, "How is it matter for condolence? It is not we only who offer congratulations on it. [All the States] under heaven are sure to do the same."

Par. 5. The Chuen says that at this review the leather or war-chariots, collected from Kin-mow (On the east of Loo) to the borders of Shang (I. e., Sang) and Wei, amounted to a thousand. Hung was in Loo, but where it was exactly remains a matter of doubt. 蒐 is the

name of the spring hunting, and many of the critics find matter for remark in the employment of the name for what was done in autumn, to the hunting in which the term 獮 is appropriate. But these terms are interchanged (Maou; 通稱) in the sense which 蒐 has here of a military review. Too explains it by 數軍

實, 簡車馬, 'A numbering of the equipments of the army, and an examination of the chariots and horses.' Similarly, Kung-yang;— 簡車徒. Too thinks that the character 'grand' has been inadvertently omitted at the beginning of the par. Other critics call attention to the omission of 公 characteristic of this and other subsequent similar notices, accounting for it from the fact that the military power of Loo was now in the hands of the three families, and the ruler had nothing to do with it.

[We have a narrative here about affairs in Ts'oo:—"In the 11th month, on K'eh-seuh, Tzu-wo of Ts'oo died. Tzu-k'e, wishing to take the regulation of his House, on Ting-ch'ow put to death Liang Ying (Tzu-wo's steward). In the 8th month, on Kung-shih, he drove out Tzu-ch'ing, Tzu-kung, and Tzu-ken, all of whom came fugitives to Loo; and he then appointed a [new] steward for Tzu-liang (Tzu-wo's son). [Tzu-liang's] servants, however, said, "Our young master is grown up. His taking the direction of our House shows that he wishes to absorb it." They gave out the buff-coats, and were proceeding to attack Tzu-k'e.



\*Ch'in Hwan-tze had been on good terms with Tze-wu, and also gave out his buff-coats, intending to assist [the servants of Tze-liang]. One told Tze-k'e [of all this], and he did not believe it; but when several men repeated the information, he was about to go [to Tze-liang's]. On the way several others brought him the same news, when he went to Ch'in's. Hwan-tze was then about to go out; but when he heard [that Tze-k'e was coming to him], he turned back, put on his garments of ease, and met him. [Tze-k'e] begged him to tell him [where he was going]. "I had heard," replied he, "that K'ang [Tze-liang] had given out his buff-coats, and was going to attack you. Have you heard it?" Being answered, "No," [he continued], "Why should you not also give out your buff-coats, and allow me to follow you?" Tze-k'e said, "Why should you do so? I have instructed that young gentleman, and, apprehensive lest that should not be enough, I have also shown him the favour of appointing [a steward] for him. How would [our quarreling] appear to his father? Why should you not tell him this? One of the Books of Chow (Shoo, V. ix. 6) says, 'Be kind to the unkindly, and stimulate the sluggish';—it was thus that the doings of K'ang-shuh became so great." Hwan-tze bowed with his forehead to the ground, saying, "[The dukes] King and Ling will bless you. I also hope you will do thus." He then made peace between [the two families], as there had been before.

Parr. 7, 9. Kung-yung 公羊. The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tze Shou of Ch'in laid the blame [of the murder of Yen-se] on the Kung-tze Kwo, and put him to death."

\*In the 9th month, the Kung-tze K'e-tail of Te'oo led a force, [as if] in support of [the Kung-] sun Woo (Yen-se's son), and laid siege to [the capital of] Ch'in, where he was joined by Tao Goh of Sung. In winter in the 11th month, on Jin-woo, he extinguished Ch'in. Yuen K'ih a great officer of the lowest degree, master of [the duke's] chariot, [wanted to] kill horses and break articles of jade in pieces, to bury [with the duke]. The people of Te'oo would have put him to death, when he asked leave to let the horses and jade alone. Afterwards, he also begged that he might privately [do his duty to his late ruler's corpse]; and having done so in a tent, he wrapt a mourning band about his head, and flled.

\*[The king of Te'oo then] appointed Ch'non-fung Seuh duke of Ch'in, saying it was because

Seuh had not flattered him in the affair at Shing-kean (See after IX. xvi. 4). When he was sitting near the king as they were drinking, the king said to him, "At the affair of Shing-kean, if you had known that I would reach my present position, would you then have given place to me?" Seuh replied, "If I had known that you would reach your present position, I would have done my duty to the death, to secure the peace of the State of Te'oo."

\*The marquis of Tain asked the historiographer Chao whether Ch'in was now indeed to perish, and was answered that its end was not yet. "Why [do you say so]?" asked the duke. The historiographer replied, "[The house of] Ch'in is a branch of the descendants of Chuen-houh. When the year [i.e., star, Jupiter] was in Shun-ho, [the dynasty of Chuen-houh] was thereby extinguished; and the extinction of Ch'in will happen similarly. Now it is in Seih-moh, at the ford of the Milky Way;—[Ch'in] will still again arise. Moreover, the branch of the House of Ch'in which is in Tse will get the government of that State, and not till after that will Ch'in perish. From Moh to Koo-suw there was not [a chief of the family] who acted contrary to the laws [of Heaven]. Shun then renewed the family by his brilliant virtue, which secured the establishment [of his descendants] in Say. From age to age they kept that State, till Chow conferred his surname on duke Hoo because of his freedom from all excess, and made him sacrifice to the emperor Yu (Shun). I have heard that sacrifices to [an ancestor of] complete virtue continue for a hundred generations. The number of the generations of Yu is not yet complete. The continuation of them will be in Tse;—there are sufficient indications of that."

Many critics read the 10th par. as belonging to the preceding one, so that the burial of the marquis of Ch'in was the act of Te'oo. There would be no difficulty in accepting this construction, but for the account in the Chuen, which ascribes the burial to Yuen K'ih, an inferior officer of the deceased marquis. Too Yu understands the notice in the same way as the many similar ones of burials in this classic, and says that Loo sent a great officer to be present at it. The K'ang-he editors allow that the notice is to be accepted according to the analogy of similar ones, and yet they say that Loo did not by a representative take any part in the funeral! The entry was made, they fancy, 'by a change of the rule' for such notices, to disallow Te'oo's extinction of the State of Ch'in!

### Ninth year.

九年春，叔弓會楚子于陳。許遷于夷。夏四月，陳災。秋，仲孫閱如齊。冬，築郎囿。



左傳曰九年春叔弓宋華亥鄭游吉衛趙盾會楚子于陳

二月庚申楚公子棄疾遷許于夷實城父取州來淮北之田以益之伍舉授許男田然丹遷城父人於陳以夷  
濮西田益之遷方城外入於許

⑤周甘人與晉閻嘉爭閻田晉梁丙張趯率陰戎伐潁王使詹桓伯辭於晉曰我自夏以后稷魏駘芮岐畢吾  
西土也及武王克商蒲姑商奄吾東土也巴濮楚鄧吾南土也肅慎燕亳吾北土也吾何邇封之有文武成康  
之建母弟以蕃屏周亦其廢隊是爲豈如弁髦而因以敝之先王居櫛枕於四裔以禦魑魅故允姓之姦居於  
瓜州伯父惠公歸自秦而誘以來使偪我諸姬入我郊甸則戎焉取之戎有中國誰之咎也后稷封殖天下今  
戎制之不亦難乎伯父圖之我在伯父猶衣服之有冠冕木水之有本原民人之有謀主也伯父若裂冠毀冕  
拔本塞原專棄謀主雖戎狄其何有餘一人叔向謂宣子曰文之伯也豈能敗物翼戴天子而加之以共自文  
以來世有衰德而暴滅宗周以宣示其侈諸侯之貳不亦宜乎且王辭直子其圖之宣子說王有姻喪使趙成  
如周弔且致閻田與潁反潁俘王亦使賓滑執甘大夫襄以說於晉晉人禮而歸之

夏四月陳災鄭裨竈曰五年陳將復封封五十二年而遂亡子產問其故對曰陳水屬也火水妃也而楚所相  
也今火出而火陳逐楚而建陳也妃以五成故曰五年歲五及鴛火而後陳卒亡楚克有之天之道也故曰五  
十二年

⑥晉荀盈如齊逆女還六月卒于戲陽殯于絳未葬晉侯飲酒樂膳宰屠蒯趨入請佐公使尊許之而遂酌以  
飲工曰汝爲君耳將司聰也辰在子卯謂之疾日君徹宴樂學人舍業爲疾故也君之卿佐是謂股肱股肱或  
虧何痛如之汝弗聞而樂是不聰也又飲外嬖嬖叔曰女爲君目將司明也服以旌禮禮以行事事有其物物  
有其容今君之容非其物也而汝不見是不明也亦自飲也曰味以行氣氣以實志志以定言言以出令臣實



可無民其可乎。勳民也。焉用速成。勿亟庶民。子日詩曰。叔孫昭。速成也。也。季平子欲其。冬。築郎園。書時。聘禮也。孟僖子如齊。殷。軍以說焉。月。使荀躒佐下。是。使而止。外。變。爲。而。立。其。外。變。爲。初。公欲廢知氏。罪也。公說徹酒。而君弗命。臣之。司味。二御失官。

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, Shuh Kung went to an interview with the viscount of Ts'oo in Ch'in.  
 2 Hsu removed [its capital] to E.  
 3 In summer, in the fourth month, there was a fire in [the capital of] Ch'in.  
 4 In autumn, Chung-sun K'eph went to Ts'e.  
 5 In winter, we enclosed the park of Lang.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—“This spring, Shuh Kung, Hwa Hae of Sung, Yew Keth of Ch'ing, and Chao Yen of Wei, had a meeting with the viscount of Ts'oo in Ch'in.”

This was not one of the formal meetings summoned by the ruling State, and therefore the text does not give the names of the ministers of other States who now repaired to Ch'in to see the king of Ts'oo. His dealing with Ch'in had flattered them all, and they hurried to pay their respects to him. Compare VII. xv. 1. To mark the difference between this and the other usage of 會, I have translated the term differently.

Par. 2. We saw, in VIII. xv. 11, how Hsu, to escape the pressure of Ch'ing, moved from its original capital in the present Hsu Chow, Ho-nan, to Shih, which is still the name of a district, in Nan-yang dep. of the same province. The same cause operated to produce a removal, still farther south and nearer to Ts'oo, to E, which had formerly been called Shing-foo, 70 li south-east from Poh-chow (亳州) dep.

Ying-chow (潁州), in Gan-hwuy. The movement was carried out by Ts'oo but originated in the desire of Hsu itself; and hence the text ascribes it to Hsu.

The Chuen says:—“In the 2d month, on Kang-shih, the Kung-tze K'e-tai of Ts'oo removed [the capital, of] Hsu to E, i. e., to Shing-foo, and took the lands of Chow-lai on the north of the Hwa to increase its territory. Woo Kuei delivered over those lands to the baron of Hsu; and [at the same time] Jen Tan removed the people of Shing-foo (i. e. E) to Ch'in, giving them in addition the lands of K on the west of the Puh. He also removed the people outside [Ts'oo's] barrier wall to [the old capital of] Hsu.”

[We have here a narrative about the relations between Chow and Ts'oo:—The commandant of Kan in Chow had a quarrel with K'ia, the commandant of Yen in Ts'oo, about the lands of Yen; on which L'ang Ping and Chang Teli of Ts'oo led the Yin Jung to attack Ying. The king then sent Hwan-pih of Chen to address the following remonstrance to Ts'oo:—“We [of Chow], from the time of the Hsia dynasty, in

consequence of [the services of] How-tseih, had Wei, T'ao, Juy, K'e, and Peh as our territories on the west. When king Woo subdued Shang, P'oo-koo and Shang-yen were our territories on the east; Pa, Puh, Ts'oo, and T'ang, our territories on the south; Shuh-shih, Yen, and Poh, our territories on the north:—no narrow limits could be assigned to our boundaries. When Wan, Woo, Ch'ing, and K'ang granted Sats to their own brothers, that they might be fences and screens to Chow, it was also as a precaution against weakness and losses [in the future]:—was it that they should be like the [first] cap for the hair which is subsequently thrown away? The ancient kings located T'ao-wuh in [one of] the four distant regions, to encounter the spirits and other evil things (See on VI. xviii. 9), and so it was that the villains of the surname Yun dwelt in Kwa-chow. When [our] uncle, [your] duke Hwuy, returned from Ts'in (In the 15th year of duke He), he induced them to come in this direction (In He's 22d year), so that they have since pressed on all our Ke States, and entered our suburbs and the districts beyond them:—these the Jung have taken to themselves. That the Jung have thus [a footing in] the Middle State, whose is the blame? How-tseih [taught how to] divide the lands and sow grain all under heaven, and now the Jung regulate them after their own fashion:—is not the case a hard one? Let my uncle well consider it. I am to you as the cap or crown to the other garments, as the root to the tree, or the spring to the stream, as their counsellor to the people. If you tear the cap and break the crown in pieces, tear up the root, stop up the spring, and take it on you to cast the counsellor away, what can be expected by me, the One man, from the Jung and the Teli?”

Shuh-shiang said to Seuen-tze, “Even Wan, as leader of the States, was not able to change the order of the kingdom. He acted as the supporter of the son of Heaven, showing towards him extraordinary respect. Since the time of Wan, our virtue has decayed generation after generation, and we have tyrannised over and reduced lower and lower the Head of Chow, thereby proclaiming the extravagance of our course. Is it not right that the States should become disaffected to us? And moreover, the



king's words are right. Do you consider the case well?" Seuen-tze was pleased; and as the king was then in mourning for one of the queen's kindred, he sent Ch'uan Ch'ing to Chow to offer condolences, and to surrender the lands of Yen, and present an offering of grave-clothes. He also sent back the captive of Ying. The king on his part made Pin Hwah seize Séang, the commandant of Kan, to please Tsin, where, however, they treated him with courtesy, sending him afterwards back [to Chow].

Par. 3. Kung and Kuk have here 火 instead of 災.

The Chuen says:—In the 4th month, there was a fire in Ch'in. P'ei T'aoou of Ch'ing said, "In 6 years the State of Ch'in will be re-established; and after 52 years of re-establishment, it will finally perish." T'ze-ch'an asked the reason [of his saying so], and he replied, "Ch'in, (As representing the dynasty of Chueh-beah), belongs to [the element of] water. Fire is the antagonistic [element] to water, and is under the regulation of T'aoou (The rulers of T'aoou being descended from Ch'ueh-yang). Now the Ho [star] has appeared, and kindled this fire in Ch'in, [indicating] the expulsion of T'aoou and the establishment of Ch'in. Antagonistic elements are ruled by the number five [in their conjunctions]; and therefore I say in 5 years. The year [-star] must five times come to Shun-ho, and then Ch'in will finally perish, and T'aoou be able to keep it in possession. This is the way of Heaven, and therefore I said 52 years."

Acc. to the explanation of T'aoou, Jupiter was this year in Sing-ko (Sagittarius-Capricorn). In 5 years (Inclusive of the 1st and last), it would be in Ta-ling (Aries-Taurus), when Ch'in would be re-established; and in 4 years after it would be in Shun-ho (Cancer-Leo). When in 48 years it had been again 4 times in Shun-ho, these added to the above 4 years, give the 52 years mentioned.

In this par. and the 1st, as well as in the concluding par. of last year, the text continues to speak of Ch'in as if that State were still existing, after its extinction by T'aoou. There would appear to be, it is thought, in this way of writing, some indication of Confucius' disapprobation of the procedure of T'aoou.

[The Chuen appends here a narrative, which we find, with some differences, in the Le K'o, II., Pt. II. li. 12:—] Seun Ying of Tsin had gone to T'ao, to meet his bride; and as he was returning, he died, in the 6th month, at Ho-yang. While his coffin remained unburied in K'ang, the marquis was, (one day), drinking and enjoying himself, when the chief cook, T'oo K'uei, rushed into the apartment, and asked leave to assist the eunuchs. The duke having granted it, he proceeded to fill a cup, which he presented to the music-master, saying, "You are the ruler's ears, and should see to his hearing well. If the day be T'ze-mao, it is called an evil day, and the ruler does not feast on it nor have music, and learners give up their study [of music] on it;—because it is recognized as an evil day. The ruler's ministers and assistants are his limbs. If one of his limbs be lost, what equal occasion for sorrow could there be? You have not heard of this, and are practicing your music here,—showing that your hearing is defective." He

then presented another cup to the inferior officer of the Exterior, the officer Shuh, saying, "You are the ruler's eyes, and should see to his seeing clearly. The dress is intended to illustrate the rules of propriety, and those rules are seen in the conduct of affairs. Affairs are managed according to the things [which are the subject of them]; and those things are shown in the appearance of the person. Now the ruler's appearance is not in accordance with the [great] thing [of to day], and you do not see this:—your seeing is defective." He also drank a cup himself, saying, "The combination of flavours [in diet] is to give vigour to the humours [of the body], the effect of which is to give fulness and stability to the mind. The mind is thus able to determine the words in which the orders of the government are given forth. To me belongs that combination of flavours, and as you two in attendance here have failed in the duties of your offices, and the ruler has given no orders [condemnatory of you], I am chargeable with the crime."

The marquis was pleased, and ordered the spirits to be removed. Before this, he had wished to remove the Head of the Cho family (Seun Ying) from his office, and to give it to a favourite officer of an extraneous clan; but in consequence of this incident he repented of his purpose and gave it up. In autumn, in the 8th month, he made Seun Loh (Ying's son) assistant-commander of the 3d army, by way of apology [for his dislike of the family].

Par. 4. This Chung-sun K'ieh is the M'ang Ho-tze of whose ignorance of the rules and observances of propriety we read under the 7th year. For twenty years, since the 20th year of Séang, there had been no interchange of complimentary visits between Loo and T'ao. The present mission was therefore, dispatched on a grand scale. The Chuen says:—M'ang Ho-tze went to T'ao, to pay a complimentary visit of the completest order (殷盛):—which was proper.

Par. 5. This par. is literally, 'We built the park of Lang.' But the 'building' must refer principally to the enclosing walls, and I have therefore translated 築 by 'enclosed.'

The Chuen says:—We enclosed the park of Lang. K'ao Ping-tze (Grand-son of Suh or K'ao Woo-tze) wished the work to be quickly completed; but Shuh-sun Ch'au-tze said, "The ode (She, III. i. oda VIII. 3) says,

'When he planned the commencement, [he said], "Be not in a hurry;" But the people came as if they were his children.'

Why must it be quickly completed? That would tend to destroy the people. We can get on without a park, but can we get on without the people? Lang.—see I. li. 4, *et al.*



Tenth year.

十年<sup>一</sup>春王正月。  
 夏<sup>二</sup>齊欒施來奔。  
 秋<sup>三</sup>七月季孫意  
 如<sup>四</sup>叔弓仲孫貜  
 帥師伐莒。  
 戊子<sup>五</sup>晉侯彪卒。  
 九月<sup>六</sup>叔孫舍如  
 晉葬晉平公。  
 十<sup>六</sup>有二月甲子  
 宋公成卒。

◎左傳曰十年春王正月有星出於婺女鄭裨竈言於子產曰七月戊子晉君將死今茲歲在顓頊之虛姜氏任氏實守其地居其維首而有妖星焉告邑姜也邑姜晉之妣也天以七紀戊子逢公以登星斯於是乎出吾是以讓之

齊惠轅高氏皆晉酒信內多怨強於陳鮑氏而惡之夏有告陳桓子曰子旗子良將攻陳鮑亦告鮑氏桓子授甲而如鮑氏遣子良醉而駟遂見文子則亦授甲矣使視二子則皆將飲酒桓子曰彼雖不信聞我授甲則必逐我及其飲酒也先伐諸陳鮑方睦遂伐欒高氏子良曰先得公陳鮑焉往遂伐虎門晏平仲端委立於虎門之外四族召之無所往其徒曰助陳鮑乎曰何善焉助欒高乎曰庸愈乎然則歸乎曰君伐焉歸公召之而後入公卜使王黑以靈姑鉅率吉請斷三尺焉而用之五月庚辰戰於稷欒高敗又敗諸莊國人追之又敗諸鹿門欒施高彊來奔陳鮑分其室晏子謂桓子必致諸公讓德之主也讓之謂懿德凡有血氣皆有爭心故利不可殫思義爲愈義利之本也蘊利生孽姑使無蘊乎可以滋長桓子盡致諸公而請老於莒桓子召子山私具幄幕器用從者之衣履而反轅焉子商亦如之而反其邑子周亦如之而與之夫子反子城子公公孫捷而皆益其祿凡公子公孫之無祿者私分之邑國之貧約孤寡者私與之粟曰詩云陳錫載周能施也桓公是以霸公與桓子莒之旁邑辭穆孟姬爲之



請高唐陳氏始大。  
秋七月平子伐莒取郕獻俘始用人於亳社。臧武仲在齊聞之曰周公其不饗魯祭乎。周公饗義魯無義詩曰德音孔昭視民不佻佻之謂甚矣而壹用之將誰福哉。

戊子晉平公卒鄭伯如晉及河晉人辭之游吉遂如晉。

九月叔孫婁齊國弱宋華定衛北宮喜鄭罕虎許人曹人莒人邾人滕人薛人杞人小邾人如晉葬平公也。鄭子皮將以幣行子產曰喪焉用幣用幣必百兩百兩必千人千人至將不行不行必盡用之幾千人而國不亡子皮固請以行既葬諸侯之大夫欲因見新君叔孫昭子曰非禮也弗聽叔向辭之曰大夫之事畢矣而又命孤孤斬焉在衰絰之中其以嘉服見則喪禮未畢其以喪服見是重受弔也大夫將若之何皆無辭以見子皮盡用其幣歸謂子羽曰非知之實難將在行之夫子知之矣我則不足書曰欲敗度縱敗禮我之謂矣夫子知度與禮矣我實縱欲而不能自克也昭子至自晉大夫皆見高彊見而退昭子語諸大夫曰爲人子不可不慎也哉昔慶封亡子尾多受邑而稍致諸君君以爲忠而甚寵之將死疾於公宮輦而歸君親推之其子不能任是以在此忠爲令德其子弗能任罪猶及之難不慎也喪夫人之力棄德曠宗以及其身不亦害乎詩曰不自我先不自我後其是之謂乎。

冬十二月宋平公卒初元公惡寺人柳欲殺之及喪柳熾炭於位將至則去之比葬又有龍。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
2 In summer, Lwan She of Ts'e came to Loo a fugitive.  
3 In autumn, in the seventh month, Ke-sun E-joo, Shuh Kung, and Chung-sun Kēoh, led [our] army and invaded Keu.  
4 On Mow-tsze, Pēw, marquis of Tsai, died.  
5 In the ninth month, Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsai, to the burial of duke P'ing.  
6 In the twelfth month, on Kēah-tsze, Ch'ing, duke of Sung, died.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here an astrological narrative:—This spring, in the king's first month, a [strange] star appeared in [the constellation] Woo-nen. P'e Tsau of Ch'ing

said to Tsao-ch'ao, "In the 7th month, on Mow-tsze, the ruler of Tsai will die. This year, the year [-star] is in the Jew of Chuen-huoh (J. s., the zodiacal sign of Hsuen-hsueh, or Capricorn).



Aquarius). The Houses of K'ang and Jin (*i. e.*, of Te's and S'eh) are the guardians of the territory corresponding thereto. Right at the commencing constellation of that sign, there is this ominous star,—with a communication evidently to Yih K'ang, the ancestress of the House of Tsin. [The constellations of] heaven are arranged in seven; and it was on Mow-tze that duke Fung [anciently] ascended on high, when a (strange) star appeared in this same place. Thus it is that I make this observation." ]

Par. 2. Instead of 齊 Kung-yang has 晉, having confounded the Lwan clan of Tsin, which had played a prominent part in the former period of the Ch'in T'ai'w, with that of Te's.

The Chuen says:—The chiefs of the families of Lwan and Kaou, which were descended from duke Hwuy of Te's, were both addicted to drink, gave credit to women's stories, and had many animosities. They felt themselves stronger than the families of Ch'in and Paou, and hated them. This summer, some one told Ch'in Hwan-tze that Tze-k'o (Lwan S'he) and Tze-l'ang (Kaou K'ang) were about to attack the Ch'in and the Paou; and similar information was conveyed to the chief of the Paou. Hwan-tze [on this] gave out his buff-coats, and proceeded to the house of Paou, whom [on the way] he met Tze-l'ang, dashing along in his chariot drunk. He went on, however, and saw Wan-tze (Paou Kw'oh), who also gave out his buff-coats, while they went to see what the two chiefs were doing. It turned out that they were setting to drink, but Hwan-tze said, "Although our informant was not correct, yet when they hear that we have given out our buff-coats, they will be sure to [try to] drive us out. While they are drinking, let us take the initiative and attack them."

Ch'in and Paou were then on the best of terms, and accordingly they proceeded to attack the Lwan and Kaou. Tze-l'ang said, "If we first get [the countenance of] the duke, where can Ch'in and Paou go to?" [The duke refusing to see them], they attacked the Hoo gate. Gan P'ing-chung took his place outside it in his court robes. The four clans all called him, but he would not go to any of them. His followers asked him whether he would help Ch'in and Paou, but he said that they had no goodness to make him do so. Would he help Lwan and Kaou then? They were no better, he said. Would he then return to his own house? "When the ruler is attacked," said he, "how should I return?" [By and by] the duke called him, and he entered the palace, where the duke consulted the tortoise-shell, as to whether he should give Wang Hih the [banner] Ling-koo-p'o, and order him to lead forth his troops. The answer being favourable, that officer asked leave to cut off 3 feet [from the border], and took the banner.

In the 5th month, on Kang-shin, they fought near the altar of [How-] ts'ieh, when Lwan and Kaou were defeated. They were defeated again in the Ch'wang [street], pursued by the people, and defeated a third time near the Luh gate, after which Lwan S'he and Kaou K'ang fled to Loo. Ch'in and Paou divided all their property between themselves, but Gan-tze advised Hwan-tze to surrender it to the duke, saying, "Courteous deference is the essential point of virtue. It is an admirable quality. All

who have blood and breath have a disposition to quarrel with one another, and hence gain is not to be sought for by violence. It is better to think of righteousness. Righteousness is the root of gain. The accumulation of gain produces misfortune; let me advise you for the present not to seek such accumulation. You will find such a course conduces to the growth of your superiority." On this Hwan-tze gave up everything to the duke, and asked leave, as being old, to retire to [the city of] Keu. [Subsequently], he called Tze-shao (Who, with Tze-shang and Tze-chow, had been driven away in S'ang's 21st year) [back to Te's], privately provided for him tents and articles of furniture, and clothes and shoes for his followers, and restored [his city of] Keih. So he dealt by Tze-shang, restoring his city; and by Tze-chow, giving him [the city of] Foo-yu. He brought back [also] Tze-shing, Tze-kung, and Kung-sun T'ieh (Driven out by Tze-k'e in Ch'au's 8th year), and increased the emoluments of them all. To all the sons and grandsons of former rulers, who had no revenues, he gave cities of his own; and to all the poor and straitened, the orphans and widows, in the State, he distributed of his grain, saying, "The ode (Sha, III. i. ode I. 2) says,

'He displayed his gifts in every direction.'

So was [King Wan] able to dispense his bounties; and it was in this way that duke Hwan became the leader of the States."

The duke [wanted to] give to Hwan-tze the city adjoining Keu, but he declined it. Mah Mang-ko (The duke's mother) begged Kaou-t'ang for him; and the Ch'in family began to be greater than it had been."

The text mentions the flight of Lwan S'he only, as Kaou K'ang was not a minister of Te's.

Par. 3. Here and afterwards Kung-yang has 隱如 for 意如. E-joo is Ko P'ing-tze, who was now chief of the House of Ke-sun. The whole expedition was under him, but the text mentions the other commanders also, because they were all three ministers. Hoo Gan-k'woh confounds Shuh Kung with the chief of the Shuh-san House. He may also have been in this expedition as assistant-commander to one or other of the others.

The Chuen says:—In the 7th month, P'ing-tam invaded Keu, and took King. In presenting his captives, he for the 1st time sacrificed a human victim at the altar of Poh. When Tsang Woo-chung heard of this in Te's, he said, "The duke of Ch'ow will not accept the sacrifice of Loo. What he accepts is righteousness, of which Loo has none. The ode (Sha, II. i. ode I. 2) says,

'Their virtuous fame is grandly brilliant;  
They show the people not to be mean.'

The disregard of the people in this must be pronounced excessive. Thus using men as victims, who will confer a blessing [on Loo]?"

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—On Mow-tze, duke P'ing of Tsin died. The earl of Ch'ing was going [in consequence] to Tsin; but when he had got to the Ho, the people of Tsin declined his visit and Y'e Keih then went on to Tsin."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In the 9th month, Shuh-san Ch'ueh (*i. e.* Shai), Kw'oh Joh of



Ts'e, Hwa Ting of Sung, Tih-kung He of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, an officer of Heu, an officer of Ts'au, an officer of Heu, an officer of Choo, an officer of Shieh, an officer of K'e, and an officer of Little Choo, went to Tsin to the burial of duke Ping. Tseu-p'e (Han Hoo) of Ch'ing wished to take silks and other offerings with him [expecting to have an audience of the new marquis]; but Tseu-ch'ao said, "On a funeral occasion how [can you think of] using such offerings? If you take offerings, you must have 100 carriages, which will require 1000 men. When the 1000 men have got there, you will find that [what you intend] cannot be done; and when that cannot be done, you will be sure to use the whole [in some other way]. How many times could you take 1000 men with you, and the State not be ruined?" Tseu-p'e, however, urgently begged that he might go [as he proposed].

After the funeral, the great officers of the States wished to take the opportunity to see the new marquis; and though Shuh-sun Ch'ao-tse said it was contrary to rule to do so, they would not listen to him. Shuh-hsiao, however, declined their proposal, saying, [as if from the marquis], "The business of you, great officers, is ended; and still you have your orders for me. But I am in the deepest mourning, wearing the unhemmed clothes and head-band. If I were to put on the auspicious garments to see you, the rites of mourning are not yet finished; and if I were to see you in my mourning robes, I should be receiving your condolences a second time:—what would you think of that?" The officers had no words with which to urge their request for an interview, and Tseu-p'e had to dispose of all his offerings. When he returned to Ch'ing, he said to Tseu-yu, "It is not the knowing a thing that is difficult, but it is the acting accordingly. Ha, our master, knew [that my purpose was impracticable], but I was not capable [of taking his advice]. The words of the Shoo (IV. v. Pt. II. 3), 'By my desires I was setting at naught the rules [of conduct]: by my self-indulgence I was violating the rules of propriety,' might be spoken of me. He knew

both of those rules—but I gave way to my self-indulgence and desires, and was not able to deny myself."

When Ch'ao-tse arrived from Tsin, all the great officers visited him. Maou K'iang, [also] came to see him, and when he had retired, Ch'ao-tse said to the great officers, "How careful ought a son to be! Formerly, when King Fung was driven into exile, Tseu-wa received many cities, a few of which he gave up to his ruler. The marquis of Ts'e considered him loyal, and made him a great favourite. When he was near his death, he was taken ill in the marquis's palace; and when he was conveyed home in a hand carriage, the marquis himself assisted in pushing it along. His son could not sustain his office, and therefore he is [a fugitive] here. [The father's] loyalty was an excellent virtue, but the son could not sustain it [in the same way], and the charge of guilt came moreover on him;—the evil was that he was not careful. He has ruined what his father had achieved, thrown away his virtue, and emptied his ancestral temple, involving also his own person;—is not the injury he has done [great]? To him we may apply the words of the ode (II. iv. ode VII. 2),

[Why was this time] not before me,  
Or [why was it] not after me?"

Par. 6. For 成 Kung-yang has 戊. The historiographers appear to have inadvertently omitted the character 冬, 'in the winter,' at the beginning of this par.

The Chuen says:—In winter, in the 12th month, duke Ping of Sung died. Before this, [his son], duke Yuen, had hated the chief of the eunuchs, Lw, and wished to put him to death (See on vi. 5). On [Ping's] death, Lw placed lighted charcoal in the [mourner's] place, [so as to make it warm], and when the duke was coming [to occupy it], he removed it. After the burial, he continued a favourite as before."

Eleventh year.

十有一年春王二月叔弓如宋葬宋平公夏四月丁巳楚子虔誘蔡侯般殺之于申楚公子棄疾帥師圍蔡五月甲申夫人歸氏薨



五  
大蒐于比蒲。

六  
仲孫矍

會邾子盟于祲祥。

七  
秋季孫意如會晉韓起。

齊國弱，宋華亥、衛比宮

佗、鄭罕虎、曹人杞人于

厥慙。

八  
九月己亥，葬我小君齊

九  
歸。冬十有一月丁酉，

楚師滅蔡，執蔡世子有，

以歸，用之。

左傳曰：十一年春，王二月，叔弓如宋，葬平公也。

景王問於長弘曰：今茲諸侯，何實吉？何實凶？對曰：蔡凶。此，蔡侯般弑其君之歲也。歲在豕韋，弗過此矣。楚將有之，然墜也。歲及大梁，蔡復楚凶，天之道也。楚子在申，召蔡靈侯，靈侯將往。蔡大夫曰：王貪而無信，唯蔡於感。今幣重而言甘，誘我也，不如無往。蔡侯不可。三月丙申，楚子伏甲而饗蔡侯於申，醉而執之。夏四月丁巳，殺之，刑其士七十人。

公子棄疾帥師圍蔡，韓宣子問於叔向曰：楚其克乎？對曰：克哉。蔡侯獲罪於其君，而不能其民，天將假手於楚以斃之，何故不克？然，睨間之，不信以幸，不可再也。楚王奉孫吳以討於陳，曰：將定而國，陳人聽命，而遂縣之。今又誘蔡而殺其君，以圍其國，雖幸而克，必受其咎，弗能久矣。樂克有緡，以襲其國，紂克東夷，而隕其身，楚小位下，而亟暴於二王，能無咎乎？天之假助不善，非祚之也。厚其凶惡，而降之罰也，且譬之如天，其有五材，而將用之，力盡而敝之，是以無極，不可沒振。

五月，齊歸薨。

大蒐于比蒲，非禮也。

孟僖子會邾莊公盟于祲祥，修好禮也。泉丘人有女，夢以其帷幕。



孟氏之廟，遂奔僖子。其僚從之，盟於清丘之社。曰：有子，無相棄也。僖子使助遷氏之遷，反自祲祥，宿於遷氏。生懿子，及南宮敬叔於泉丘人。其僚無子，使字敬叔。

楚師在蔡，晉荀吳謂韓宣子曰：「不能救陳，又不能救蔡，物以無親，晉之不能，亦可知也。己爲盟主，而不恤亡國，將焉用之？秋，會于厥慙，謀救蔡也。」鄭子皮將行，子產曰：「行不遠，不能救蔡也。蔡小而順楚，大而不德，天將棄蔡，以壅楚，盈而罰之，蔡必亡矣。且喪君而能守者，鮮矣。三年，王其有咎乎。」美惡周必復，王惡周矣。晉人使狐父請蔡於楚，弗許。

⑤單子會韓宣子於戚，視下言徐。叔向曰：「單子其將死乎？朝有著定，會有表，衣有綯，帶有結，會朝之言，必聞於表著之位，所以昭事序也。視，不過結綯之中，所以道容貌也。言以命之，容貌以明之，失則有闕。今單子爲王官伯，而命事於會，視不登帶，言不過步，貌不道容，而言不昭矣。不道不共，不昭不從，無守氣矣。」九月，葬齊歸公，不惑。晉士之送葬者，歸以語史趙。史趙曰：「必爲魯郊。侍者曰：何故？曰：歸姓也，不思親，祖不歸也。」叔向曰：「魯公室其卑乎？君有大喪，國不廢鬼，有三年之喪，而無一日之慙，國不恤喪，不忌君也。君無感容，不顧親也。國不足君，君不顧親，能無卑乎？殆其失國。」

冬十一月，楚子滅蔡，用隱太子於岡山。申無宇曰：「不祥，五牲不相爲用，况用諸侯乎？王必悔之。」

⑥十二月，單成公卒。

⑦楚子城陳蔡不羹，使棄疾爲蔡公。王問於申無宇曰：「棄疾在蔡，何如？」對曰：「擇子莫如父，擇臣莫如君。鄭莊公城櫟而寘子元焉，使昭公不立，齊桓公城穀而寘管仲焉，至於今賴之。臣聞五大不在邊，五細不在庭。親不在外，禍不在內。今棄疾在外，鄭丹在內，君其少戒。」王曰：「國有大城，何如？」對曰：「鄭京櫟，實殺曼伯，宋蕭穆，實殺子游，齊渠丘實，殺無知，衛蒲戚，實出獻公。若由是觀之，則害於國，未大必折，尾大不掉，君所知也。」



- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's second month, Shuh Kung went to Sung, to the burial of duke P'ing.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-sze, K'een, viscount of Ts'oo, beguiled Pan, marquis of Ts'ae, to Shin, and there put him to death.
- 3 The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih of Ts'oo led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 4 In the fifth month, on K'eah-shin, the lady Kwei, wife [of duke S'ang], died.
- 5 We celebrated a grand review in P'e-p'oo.
- 6 Chung-sun K'eh had a meeting with the viscount of Choo, when they made a covenant in Ts'in-ts'ang.
- 7 In autumn, K'e-sun E-joo had a meeting with Han K'e of Tsin, Kwoh Joh of Ts'e, Hwa Hae of Sung, Pih-kung T'o of Wei, Han Hoo of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'ao and K'e, in Keueh-yin.
- 8 In the ninth month, on Ke-hae, we buried our duchess Ts'e Kwei.
- 9 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Ting-y'ew, the army of Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ae, seized Y'ew, heir-son of the State, and carried him back [to Ts'oo], where he was sacrificed as a victim.

Par. 1. For 二月 Kung-yang has 正月. Tso-she repeats the words of the par., with hardly any alteration; for what reason it would be hard to say, unless the last four characters of the paragraph have been introduced into it from the Chuen.

Par. 2. The name of the king of Ts'oo originally was Wei (衛), but he had changed it to K'een. The mention of the name in the notice is quite anomalous. That the name of the marquis of Ts'ae should appear is in accordance with the general practice in the case of princes killed, or dying, or driven from their States, but the name of the prince inflicting the death or the banishment only appears in this place. Nearly half a dozen different explanations of the thing have been propounded, but it is not worth while to adjudicate among them, or to cast about for any new solution. K'ueh-liang has 乾 for 虔, and 班 for 般.

The Chuen says:—"The king King asked Chang Hwang which of the princes would be lucky this year, and which would suffer evil in this, and was answered, "It will be disastrous for Ts'ae. This is the (return of the) year in which Pan, the marquis of Ts'ae, murdered his ruler (See IX. xxx. 2). The year [-star] is [again] in Ch'e-wei (Aquarius-Pieces); he will not go beyond this year. Ts'oo will possess Ts'ae;—but to the accumulation [of its own wickedness]. When the year [-star] reaches Ta-l'ing (Aries-Taurus), Ts'ae will be restored, and Ts'oo will have calamity;—this is the way of Heaven."

The viscount of Ts'oo, being in Shin, called the marquis Ling of Ts'ao to come to him. When the

marquis was about to go, the great officers of the State said, "The king is greedy, and has no good faith. He is full of indignation against Ts'ao. Now his offerings are great and his words are sweet;—he is beguiling us. You had better not go." The marquis, however, would not be stopped.

In the 3d month, on Ping-shin, the viscount of Ts'oo entertained the marquis of Ts'ae in Shin, having [previously] placed soldiers in concealment, who seized the marquis when he was drunk. In the 4th month, on Ting-sze, [the viscount] put him to death, and killed [also] his officers, to the number of 70 men."

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih having led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae, Han Szeen-tse asked Shuh-h'ang whether Ts'oo would succeed in taking it. "It will succeed," was the reply. "The marquis of Ts'ae was a criminal against his ruler, and he was not able [to conciliate] his people. Heaven will borrow the agency of Ts'oo to destroy [the State]. Why should it not succeed? But I have heard that success which happens to be gained through want of good faith cannot be repeated. The king of Ts'oo took the [Kung-] sun Woo with him, when he went to punish Chin, saying, "I will settle your State;" on which the people of Ch'in accepted his orders;—and he proceeded to reduce that State to be a district of Ts'oo. Now he has further beguiled Ts'ae, put its ruler to death, and gone on to besiege its capital. Although he may chance to reduce it, he is sure to receive an evil retribution;—he cannot continue long. K'eh vanquished the prince of Min, but thereby lost his kingdom. Chow vanquished the E of the



east, but thereby lost his life. T'ao is [comparatively] small and its rank is low, but its [ruler's] acts of tyranny are more than those of those two kings;—is it possible he should not suffer for his evil? When Heaven borrows the assistance of the bad, it is not blessing them; it is increasing their evil and wickedness, and will then send down punishment upon them. We may use [in such a case] this comparison:—There are five kinds of materials supplied [to men] by Heaven. They will use them till their substance is exhausted, and then they are worn out. In consequence of this there is no help for them; they are done with, and cannot be repaired."

Par. 4. From par. 3, and the Chuen on IX. xxxi. 3, we understand that this lady was the mother of duke Ch'ao. But according to Tso-she, she was not the wife proper of duke Ssang, though in this par. she appears as such. Ho Hsi, an Kung-yang, contends that she was the proper wife. It has been thought that there is some confirmation of this view in the fact that the text nowhere mentions the death of any other wife of duke Ssang. We need not, however, discredit the account of Tso-she. On the elevation of duke Ch'ao, his mother would be raised to the place of the proper wife.

Par. 5. Tso does not attempt to fix the situation of P'ao-p'ao. It is generally understood to have been somewhere in the south of Loo. 蒐—see on viii. 6. We have here the description of this as 'a grand review,' when everything connected with the defence and army of the State was regulated. Tso-she says that this review was 'contrary to rule,' meaning that it was improper to hold it when the duke must have been mourning for his mother. The poor duke, however, would have very little to do with it. It was ordered and conducted, no doubt, by the three clans.

Par. 6. Neither does Tso identify Tsin-t'ang; but its site is to be sought somewhere in the pres. dis. of Tze-yang (滋陽), dep.

Yen-chow. Kung-yang has 侵羊

The Chuen says:—Mang He-tze had a meeting with duke Ch'ang of T'ao, when they made a covenant in Tsin-t'ang, to cultivate the good relations [between the two States]:—which was according to rule. [Before this], the daughter of a man of T'aoen-k'ew dreamed that with her curtains she made a tent for the temple of the Mang family; after which she sought the company of He-tze, accompanied by one of her companions. They had made a covenant at the altar of T'ing-k'ew, that, when they had sons, they would not abandon each other. He-tze made them act as assistants to [his concubine] of the family of Wei. When he was now returning from Tsin-t'ang, he passed the night at the house of this lady Wei, and by the young woman of T'aoen-k'ew he had [two sons], E-tze and Nan-kung King-shuh. Her companion had no child, but she was employed to bring up King-shuh.

Par. 7. Kung-yang has 隱 for 意, 酌 for 弱, 軒 for 罕, and 屈銀 for 厥恐. Where Kueh-yin exactly was is not known. The Chuen says:—When the army of T'ao was in Tsao, Ssun Woo of Tsao said to Han

Seuen-tze, "We were not able to save Ch'in, and again we are not able to save T'ao; under such circumstances we shall have none to adhere to us. Tsao's want of power may be known [from this]. We are lord of covenants, but what is the use of our being so, when we show no regard for States that are perishing?"

"The meeting in the autumn at Kueh-yin was to consult about relieving T'ao. When Tsao-p'ao of Ch'ing was about to set out for it, Tze-ch'an said to him, "You will not go far; we are not able to save T'ao. T'ao is small, and has behaved unreasonably. T'ao is great, and has not virtue. Heaven will cast away T'ao, to let the [wickedness of] T'ao accumulate; and when that is full, it will punish that State. T'ao is sure to perish. It is seldom, moreover, that [the State] can be preserved when the ruler is lost. But in three years, his evil will come on the king. When good or evil has gone its round [of 12 years], there is a revolution. The wickedness of the king will then have gone its round."

"The people of Tsao sent Huo Foo to beg of T'ao to spare T'ao, but the request was refused."

[The Chuen appends here:—The viscount of Shen had an interview with Han Seuen-tze in T'ao. His looks were bent downwards, and his words came slow and low. Han Seuen-tze said, "The viscount of Shen will, probably, die soon. The places at audiences in the court are definitely fixed; those at meetings abroad are marked out by flags. There is the collar of the upper garment, and the knot of the sash. The words spoken at meetings and audiences must be heard at the places marked out and determined, so that the order of the business may be clearly understood. The looks must be fixed on the space between the collar and the knot, in order that the bearing and countenance may be fitly regulated. The words are intended for the hearing of orders; the bearing and countenance to illustrate them. Any error in either of these is a defect. Now the viscount of Shen is the chief of the king's officers; and when giving his instructions about business at this meeting, his looks did not light above the sash, and his words did not reach beyond a foot. His countenance showed no regulation of his bearing, and his words gave no clear intelligence. The absence of such regulation was a want of respect; the absence of such intelligence was a want [in his words] of accordance [with reason]:—he has not breath to preserve his life."]

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—At the burial of Tze Kwei, the duke showed no grief. The officer of Tsin who had come to attend the funeral told this, on his return, to the historiographer Chan, who said, "He is sure to become [a resident] in the suburbs of Loo [i.e., he will be driven from the capital]." His attendants asked him why he said so, and he replied, "He is the son of Kwei. As he does not think of his parent, his ancestors will not protect him." Shih-hsiang said, "The House of the dukes of Loo is low indeed! Though the ruler had so great a death [in his family], the State would not give up a review; though he was bound to mourn for 3 years, he could not show one day's grief. The State's paying no regard to [his mother's] death showed that it stands in no awe of the ruler; his having no appearance of grief shows that he had no regard for his parents."



When the State does not stand in awe of the ruler, and the ruler has no regard for his parents, is it possible that he should not be reduced low? He will almost lose the State."

Par. 9. K'uh-hsiang makes the name of the prince of Te'ao 友. The Chuen calls him 隱, a posthumous title, connected with his melancholy fate. 用 is used here as in V. xix. 4; Ying-tah explains it by 楚以畜牲用之.

The Chuen says:—"In the 11th month, the viscount of Te'ao extinguished Te'ao, and sacrificed the marquis's eldest son Yin on mount Kang. Shin Woo-yu said, "This is inauspicious. The five animals used as victims cannot be employed one for another; how much less can a prince of a State be employed as a victim! The king will have occasion to repent of this."

[We have here two narratives:—

1st. "In the 12th month, duke Ch'ing of Shen died:—verifying Shuh-hsiang's remarks in the narrative after par. 7.

2d. "The viscount of Te'ao walled, [on a large scale, the old capitals of] Ch'ao and Te'ao, and Puh-lang, and appointed K'e-tai duke of Te'ao. He then asked Shin Woo-yu what he thought of K'e-tai's being in Te'ao. That officer replied, "For choosing among his sons no one is

equal to the father; for choosing among his ministers no one is equal to the ruler. Duke Ch'ing of Ch'ing walled Leih, and placed Tze-yuen in it, the consequences of which was that duke Ch'ao could not maintain himself in the State (See on II. xv. 9; but we cannot explain the whole of this statement). Duke Hwan of Te'ao walled K'uh, and placed Kwan Chung in it (See on III. xxiii. 1); and to the present day that State feels the benefit of the proceeding. I have heard that the five great [subjects of a State] should not be located in its borders, and that [subjects of] the five small [classes] should not be in the court. The [ruler's] relatives should not be away from the court, and refugees should not be in it. But now K'e-tai is abroad, and Tan of Ch'ing (See on IX. xix. 12) is in the court. You ought to be a little careful."

"The king again [further] asked him what he thought of having great cities [besides the capital] in the State; and he replied, "King and Leih of Ch'ing led to the killing of Man-pih. Szeou and Poh of Sung led to the killing of Tze-yu (See on III. xii. 4); K'ien-k'ow of Te'ao led to the killing of Woo-che (See III. ix. 1); P'oo and Te'ieh of Wei led to the expulsion of duke Hsien (in Szeang's 14th year). Looking at these examples, we must conclude that [such great cities] are injurious to a State. Great branches are sure to break [the roots]; a great tail cannot be moved about:—this is what you know."

Twelfth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有二年春齊高偃  
帥師納比燕伯于陽  
三<sup>二</sup>月壬申鄭伯嘉卒  
夏<sup>三</sup>宋公使華定來聘  
公<sup>四</sup>如晉至河乃復  
五<sup>五</sup>月葬鄭簡公  
楚<sup>六</sup>殺其大夫成熊  
秋<sup>七</sup>七月冬<sup>八</sup>十月公  
子<sup>九</sup>慙出奔齊楚子  
伐徐<sup>十</sup>晉伐鮮虞



左傳曰：十二年春，齊高偃納北燕伯欽子唐，因其衆也。

三月，鄭簡公卒，將爲葬除，及游氏之廟，將毀焉。子大叔使其除，徒執用以立，而無庸毀。曰：子產過汝，而問何故不毀，乃曰：不忍廟也。諸將毀矣，既如是，子產乃使辟之。司墓之室，有富道者，毀之，則朝而崩。弗毀，則日中而崩。子大叔請毀之，曰：無若諸侯之賓。何子產曰：諸侯之賓，能來會吾喪，豈憚日中，無損於賓，而民不害，何故不爲？遂弗毀。日中而葬。君子謂子產於是乎知禮，禮無毀人以自成也。

夏，宋華定來聘，通嗣君也。享之，爲賦。蕞蕭弗知，又不答賦。昭子曰：必亡，宴語之不懷，寵光之不宜，令德之不知，同福之不受，將何以在？

○齊侯衛侯鄭伯如晉，朝嗣君也。

公如晉，至河乃復，取鄭之役。莒人愬於晉，晉有平公之喪，未之治也，故辭公。公子慙，遂如晉。

○晉侯享諸侯，子產相鄭伯辭於享，請免喪而後聽命。晉人許之，禮也。晉侯以齊侯宴，中行穆子相，投壺。晉侯先，穆子曰：有酒如淮，有肉如坻，寡君中此，爲諸侯師。中之，齊侯舉矢曰：有酒如澠，有肉如陵，寡人中此，與君代。與亦中之。伯瑕謂穆子曰：子失辭，吾固師諸侯矣。壺何爲焉？其以中雋也。齊君弱吾君，歸弗來矣。穆子曰：吾軍帥彊禦，卒乘競勸，今猶古也。齊將何事？公孫僂趨進曰：日旰君勤，可以出矣。以齊侯出。

楚子謂成虎若敖之餘也，遂殺之。或譖成虎於楚子，成虎知之而不能行，書曰：楚殺其大夫成虎，懷寵也。六月，葬鄭簡公。

○晉荀吳僞會齊師者，假道於鮮虞，遂入昔陽。秋八月壬午，滅肥，以肥子綿臯歸。

○周原伯絞虐其輿臣，使曹逃。冬十月壬申朔，原與人逐絞，而立公子跪。尋絞奔郊。

○甘簡公無子，立其弟過。過將去成，景之族成，景之族賂劉獻公。丙申，殺甘悼公，而立成公之孫鮒。丁酉，殺獻。



犬子之傳庾皮之子過殺瑕幸於市及宮嬖綽王孫沒劉州鳩陰忌老陽子。

季平子立而不禮於南蒯南蒯謂子仲吾出季氏而歸其室於公子更其位我以費爲公臣子仲許之南蒯語叔仲穆子且告之故季悼子之卒也叔孫昭子以再命爲卿及平子伐莒克之更受三命叔仲子欲構三家謂平子曰三命踰父兄非禮也平子曰然故使昭子昭子曰叔孫氏有家禍殺適立庶故媼也及此若因禍以斃之則聞命矣若不廢君命則固有著矣昭子朝而命吏曰媼將與季氏訟書辭無頗季孫懼而歸罪於叔仲子故叔仲小南蒯公子慙謀季氏慙告公而遂從公如晉南蒯懼不克以費叛如齊子仲還及衛聞亂逃介而先及郊問費叛遂奔齊南蒯之將叛也其鄉人或知之過之而歎且言曰恤恤乎淑乎攸乎深思而淺謀邇身而遠志家臣而君圖有人矣哉南蒯枚筮之遇坤之比曰黃裳元吉以爲大吉也示子服惠伯曰卽欲有事何如惠伯曰吾嘗學此矣忠信之事則可不然必敗外彊內溫忠也和以率貞信也故曰黃裳元吉黃中之色也裳下之飾也元善之長也中不忠不得其色下不共不得其飾事不善不得其極外內倡和爲忠率事以信爲共供養三德爲善非此三者弗當且夫易不可以占險將何事也且可飾乎中美能黃上美爲元下美則裳參成可絃猶有闕也絃雖吉未也將適費飲鄉人酒鄉人或歌之曰我有圃生之杞乎從我者子乎去我者鄙乎倍其鄰者恥乎已乎已乎非吾黨之士乎平子欲使昭子逐叔仲小南蒯之不敢朝昭子命吏謂小待政於朝曰吾不爲怨府。

楚子狩於州來次於頴尾使蔣侯潘子司馬督黜尹午陵尹喜帥師圍徐以懼吳楚子次於乾谿以爲之援雨雪王皮冠秦復陶翠被豹舄執鞭以出僕析父從右尹子革夕王見之去冠被舍鞭與之語曰昔我先王熊繹與呂伋王孫牟變父禽父並事康王四國皆有分我獨無有今吾使人於周求鼎以爲分王其與我乎對曰與君王哉昔我先王熊繹辟在荊山篳路藍縷以處草莽跋涉山林以事天子唯是桃弧棘矢以共禦王事齊王



勇也。晉及魯衛，王母弟也。楚是以無分，而彼皆有。今周與四國服事君王，將唯命是從。豈其愛鼎？王曰：昔我皇祖伯父昆吾，舊許是宅。今鄭人貪賴，其田而不我與。我若求之，其與我乎？對曰：與君王哉。周不受鼎，鄭敢愛田？王曰：昔諸侯遠我而畏晉，今我大城陳蔡，不羹，賦皆千乘，子與有勞焉。諸侯其畏我乎？對曰：畏君王哉。是四國者，專足畏也。又加之以楚，敢不畏君王哉？工尹路請曰：君王命剝圭以為鉞，敢請命王入視之。析父謂子革：吾子，楚國之望也。今與王言如響，國其若之？何子革曰：厚厲以須，王出，吾刃將斬矣。王出，復語。左史倚相趨過，王曰：是良史也。子善視之，是能讀三墳、五典、八索、九丘。對曰：臣嘗問焉。昔穆王欲肆其心，周行天下，將皆必有車轍馬跡焉。祭公謀父作祈招之詩，以止王心。王是以獲沒於祗宮。臣問其詩而不知也。若問遠焉，其焉能知之？王曰：子能乎？對曰：能。其詩曰：祈招之情，式昭德音。思我王度，式如玉。式如金。形民之力，而無醉飽之心。王揖而入，饋不食，寢不寐。數日不能自克，以及於難。仲尼曰：古也有志，克己復禮，仁也。信善哉。楚靈王若能如是，豈其辱於乾谿？

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, Kaou Yen of Ts'e led a force, and replaced the earl of North Yen in Yang.  
 2 In the third month, on Jin-shin, K'ea, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
 3 In summer, the duke of Sung sent Hwa Ting to Loo on a complimentary mission.  
 4 The duke was going to Tsin; but when he got to the Ho, he returned.  
 5 In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke K'een of Ch'ing.  
 6 Ts'oo put to death its great officer Ch'ing H'eng.  
 7 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 8 In autumn, duke [S'ang's] son Yin fled from the State to Ts'e.  
 9 The viscount of Ts'oo invaded Seu.  
 10 Tsin invaded the S'een-yu.

Par. 1. Yang was a city of Yen, — in the pres. district of Tang (唐), dep. Pao-tung, Chih-li. It was afterwards called Tang. This earl of Yen was the K'wan, whose flight to Tse is mentioned in III. 7. In vi. 9 we have the account of an ineffectual attempt on the part of Tse to restore him. This second attempt was also a

failure, though it secured for the earl possession of Tang.

The Chuen says:—Kaou Yen replaced K'wan, earl of North Yen, in Tang;—through its inhabitants [being well disposed to him].

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—In the 3d month, duke K'een of Ch'ing died. When they were engaged in levelling the road in order to his burial,



they came to the ancestral temple of the Yaw family, and went about to pull it down. Tse-tse-shuh (Yaw Kieh, Head of the family) made the clearers stand with their implements in their hands, and not proceed to pull it down, telling them that, when Tse-ch'an passed by them, and asked why they had not pulled it down, they should say, "We could not bear (to touch) the temple; but yes;—we will pull it down." When they had done this, Tse-ch'an made them carry the road on one side of it. Right in the way were some houses belonging to the superintendent of the graves. If they were destroyed, the coffin could be put under ground in the morning. If they were not pulled down, it would be mid-day before that could be done. Tse-tse-shuh begged that they might be pulled down, saying, "We must do it for the sake of our guests from the [various] States," but Tse-ch'an said, "The guests from the States who come to be present at our funeral will not be afraid of [stopping till] mid-day. Why should we not do what will occasion them no loss, and will save the people from injury?" Accordingly they did not pull the houses down, and the interment was accomplished at mid-day.

The superior man will say that Tse-ch'an knew what was proper. According to the rules of propriety, a man will not overthrow anything of another to establish himself.

Two supposes that duke Kien had chosen some new spot to be buried in, which occasioned the difficulties mentioned in the narrative.

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—This visit was on behalf of the ruler [of Sung], to open communications [between him and Lu]. [The duke] gave him an entertainment, and there was sung for him the Lu Shaoan (Shu, II. ii. ode IX.); but he did not understand it, and sang nothing in reply. Ch'ou-tse said, "He is sure to be driven into exile. He cherished not that 'We feast and talk; he declared not his sense of that.' They favour me, they brighten me," he understood not that 'Excellent virtue,' he accepted not that 'Common happiness;—how should he continue to be in [Sung]!'"

[The Chuen gives here:—The marquises of Tse and Wei, and the earl of Ch'ing, went to Tsin to present themselves at the court of the new ruler.]

Par. 4. In explanation of this par., the Chuen says:—In consequence of our taking K'ang (See on 2. 3), the people of Keu had complained to Tsin, which had not yet dealt with the matter, being occupied by the death of duke Ping, and therefore declined the duke's visit. Duke [Seang's] son Yin then went to Tsin.

[We have here the following narrative about the visit of the above-named princes to Tsin:—The marquises of Tsin entertained the princes, but Tse-ch'an, who was in attendance on and directing the earl of Ch'ing, begged that he might be excused from being present, saying that when they had done with the death [for the late earl], they would receive Tsin's orders; and the request was granted;—which was according to propriety.]

The marquises of Tsin were feasting with the marquises of Tse, when Chung-hang Muh-tze (Seun Woo), who was directing the ceremonies, [proposed that they should play at] throwing arrows into jars. The marquises of Tsin had the first chance, and Muh-tze said,

"We have spirits to fill the Hwae;  
We have flesh to form the Ch'u.

If my ruler succeed with this, he will be the master of the princes." The marquises throw was successful; and then the marquises of Tse lifted up an arrow, and said,

"I have spirits to fill the Shing;  
I have flesh to form a great mound.

If I hit with this, I shall rise to your lordship's place."

His throw was also successful, on which Pih-hsia (Sze Wan-pih) said to Muh-tze, "You made a slip in what you said;—our [ruler's] position is established as master of the princes. Why did you use those jars? How should a successful throw into them give any superiority? The ruler of Tse has treated our ruler as feeble. When he returns, he will not come here [again]." Muh-tze replied, "Our armies and generals are most formidable opponents; our soldiers and chariot-men are strong and eager;—now as of old. Whom will Tse serve [but Tsin]?" The Kung-sun Bow hurried into the place of entertainment, saying, "The day is declining; our ruler is tired; it is time for him to come out." [With these words], he carried off the marquises of Tse.]

Par. 5. The Chuen repeats this par., as if to show the meaning of Tse-ch'an's remark in the above narrative, giving, however, 'the 6th month,' instead of the 5th.

Par. 6. For 熊 Kung-yang has 然; Kub-lang and the Chuen of Tse have 虎. Hsiao was a grand-son of Tih-shin or Tse-yuh, who lost the battle of Shing-puh. Both the Ch'ing and Tse families were descended from Joh-gau. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Ts'oo, considering that Ch'ing Hoo was a remnant, [as it were], of Joh-gau, put him to death. Some one had slandered Ch'ing Hoo to the viscount, and though he was aware of it, he was not able to go away. The text, "Ts'oo put to death its great officer Ch'ing Hoo," shows how he clung to the favour [he enjoyed].

[We have here three narratives appended:—

1st. 'Seun Woo of Tsin, pretending that he wanted to join the army of Tse, borrowed leave to go through Sze-yu, and took the opportunity to take possession of Selh-yang. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Jin-woo, he extinguished Pei, and took [in viscount, Mien-kau, back with him to Tsin.]

2d. 'K'iao, earl of Yuen in Chow, behaved oppressively to his servants, and made them run away. In winter, in the 10th month, on Jin-shin, the 1st day of the moon, all the people of Yuen drove K'iao out, and raised his brother Kwei-shu to his place. K'iao fled to K'iao.

3d. 'Duke Kien of Kan had no son, and appointed his brother Kwo as his successor. Kwo wished to take off the families descended from [dunka] Ch'ing and King; but these bribed duke Hsien of L'ow, who, on Ping-shin, put [Kwo], duke Taou of Kan, to death, and appointed Ts'ao, a grandson of duke Ch'ing, in his room. On Ting-y'ow, he put to death Kwo, a son of Yu P'ei, and tutor of the eldest son Hsien. He put Hsien to death in the market-place, and Ch'oh a favourite of the palace, Wang-sun Moh, L'ow Chow-k'ew, Yin Ke, and Laou Yang-tse.]



Par. 8. For 慈 Kung-yang has 整. We must suppose that the Kung-tze Yin was a son of duke Siang, and his being sent on a mission to Tsin, as mentioned in the Chuen on par. 4, shows that he was a minister of the State. His designation was Tze-chung (子仲).

The Chuen says:—When Ke Ping-tze became Head of his clan, he behaved discourteously to Nan K'uei (A son of Nan E in the narrative at the end of the 4th year), who said to Tze-chung, "I will drive out the Head of the Ke family, and give over his property to the duke. You will take his place, and I will hold Pe as a servant of the duke." Tze-chung agreed, and Nan K'uei then told Shuh-chung Muh-tze (A grand-son of Tao or Shuh-chung Ch'ao-pih, and great-grand-son of P'ang-sung or Shuh-chung Hway-pih. His name was Siao; 小), informing him also of the cause [of his conduct].

When He Taou-tze (Son of Ke Woo-tze and father of Ping-tze) died, Shuh-sun Ch'ao-tze was one of the ministers, having received his second appointment, and when Ping-tze invaded Keu and overcame it, he again received his third appointment. Shuh-chung-tze, wishing to set the two families at variance, said to Ping-tze, "With his three appointments he has got beyond the rank of his father, and of you his cousin older than himself;—which is contrary to propriety." "Yes," said Ping-tze; and he sent to Ch'ao-tze [to require him to resign his third appointment]. Ch'ao-tze said, "The House of Shuh-sun had its family misfortunes, when the sons of the proper wife were put to death, and the son of a concubine was appointed in their place. It was thus that I reached my present position. If you had taken the opportunity of those misfortunes to ruin me, I should have accepted your commands. [But now], if we do not disannul our ruler's appointment, I certainly have this rank and position."

Ch'ao-tze went to the court, and gave orders to the officers, saying, "I am going to have a litigation with Ke-sun. You must write the plea without partiality." Ke-sun became afraid, and laid the blame on Shuh-chung-tze. In consequence of this, Shuh-chung Siao, Nan K'uei, and the Kung-tze Yin plotted against Ke-sun. Yin informed the duke of it, and immediately after followed him to Tsin. Nan K'uei, fearing their attempt would not succeed, reviled with Pe, and went [with it] to Ts'ao. When Tze-chung was returning [from his mission], he heard of the confusion, stole away from the assistant-commissioner, and went before him; but on his arrival at the suburbs, bearing of the revolt of Pe, he fled to Ts'ao.

When Nan K'uei was about to revolt, a man of the same village was acquainted with his purpose, and passed by him, sighing as he did so. He also said, "Alas! Alas! A case of difficulty and hazard! His thoughts are deep, and his plans are shallow. Circumscribed is his position, and his aims are far-reaching. The servant of a family, his schemes affect the ruler. Such a man there is!" Nan K'uei consulted by some twist about his object, without mentioning it and got the diagram K'uei (比, ䷇), which then became Pe (比, ䷇). As it is said [upon

the changed line], "Yellow for the lower garment; great good fortune," he thought this was very lucky, and showed it to Tze-fuh Hway-pih, saying, "If I am contemplating something, how does this indicate it will turn out?" Hway-pih replied, "I have learned this.—If the thing be one of loyalty and good faith, you may go forward with it. If it be not, it will be defeated. The outer figure indicates strength, and the inner mildness;—expressive of loyalty. We have [also] harmony lending on solidity;—expressive of fidelity. Hence the words, 'Yellow for the lower garment; greatness and good fortune.' But yellow is the colour of the centre; the lower garment is the ornament of that which is beneath; that greatness is the height of goodness. If in the centre (— the heart) there is not loyalty, there cannot be the colour; if below (— in an inferior) there be not the respectful discharge of duty, there cannot be the ornament; if the affair be not good, there cannot be that height. When the outer and inner are mutually harmonious, there is loyalty; when affairs are done in fidelity, there is that discharge of duty; an earnest nourishing of the three virtues makes that goodness. Where there are not these three things, this diagram does not apply."

"Moreover, [this passage of] the Yi cannot be a guide about anything hazardous. What thing are you contemplating [that should require that ornamenting? With what is admirable in the centre, you can predicate the yellow; with what is admirable above, you can predicate that great goodness; with what is admirable below, you can predicate that lower garment. Given these three all complete, and you may consult the rods. If they are defective, though the consultation may [seem to] be lucky, it is not to be acted on."

When [Nan K'uei] was about to go to Pe, he invited his fellow villagers to drink with him, one of them sang,

"In my garden of vegetables is a medlar tree!  
Follow me, and you will be a good man;  
Leave me, and you will act meanly.  
To rebel against one's friends is shameful.  
Stop! Stop!  
Or you will be no member of our party."

Ping-tze wished to make Ch'ao-tze drive out Shuh-chung Siao. When Siao heard it, he did not dare to go to court. Ch'ao-tze ordered the officers to tell him that he should be waiting in the court for any governmental orders, adding, "I will not make myself an office of animosities."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Ts'ao was celebrating the winter hunt in Chow-lai, and halted at the junction of the Ying [with the Hwai], from which he sent the marquis of Tang, the viscount of P'ien, the marquis of Wu, the director of Hsiao, and He the director of Ling, with a force to besiege [the capital of] Su, in order to alarm Wao; while he himself would halt at Kan-ko to afford them what help they might require.

The snow was falling, and the king went out with a whip in his hand, wearing a fur-cap, the cloak sent to him from Ts'ao ornamented with king-fishers' feathers, and in shoes of leopard skin. He was followed by his charioteer Sui-fu. In the evening Tze-hih (Tao of Ch'ing),



director of the Right, waited upon him; and when the king saw him, he put off his cap and cloak, laid aside his whip, and spoke with him. "Formerly," said he "my ancestor Hsüang Yih, with Lien Keih, Wang-sun Mow, Ssüeh-foo, and K'in-foo, all served together king K'ang. The four States of those princes all received [precious] gifts, only we [in Ts'oo] got none. If I now send a messenger to Chow, and ask for the tripods as our share, will the king give them to me?" "He will give them, O ruler and king," was the reply. "Formerly, our king, Hsüang Yih, lived meanly by mount King, in a deal carriage, with tattered clothes, as befitting his position amid the uncultivated wilds; climbing the hills and wading through the streams in the service of the son of Heaven; with a bow of peach-wood and arrows of thorn, discharging his defense of the king. [On the other hand, Lien Keih of] Ts'oo was king [Ch'ing's] maternal uncle; [Tang-shuh of] Ts'in was his own brother; and [the fathers of] K'in-foo of] Loo and [Ssüeh-foo of] Wei were king [Woo's] own brothers. Thus it was that [the prince of] Ts'oo received no [precious] gifts, and all those other princes did. But now Chow and those four States are submissive to you, O ruler and king, and you have only to order them to be obeyed;—how should [Chow] grudge you the tripods?"

"The king pursued, "Formerly, the eldest brother of our remote ancestor dwelt in the old territory of Hsü; but now the people of Ch'ing in their greed possess that territory and enjoy the benefit of it, and have refused to give it to us. If I ask it [now], will they give it?" Tse-kih again replied, "They will give it to you, O ruler and king. If Chow do not grudge its tripods, will Ch'ing dare to grudge its lands?"

"The king went on, "Formerly, the States kept aloof from us and stood in awe of Ts'in. But now I have walked on a great scale [the capitals of] Ch'in and Ts'oo, and the [two] P'ah-lung, each of which can levy a thousand chariots; and for this I am much indebted to you. Will the States now stand in awe of me?" "They," was the reply, "will stand in awe of you, O ruler and king! Those four States are themselves sufficient to awe them; and when there is added to them the power of Ts'oo, will the States dare not to stand in awe of you, O ruler and king?"

"[At this moment], Loo, director of Works, came with a request, saying, "Your majesty ordered me to break a baton of jade [to ornament] the handle of an axe. I venture to ask for further instructions." The king went in to see the work; and then Ssüeh-foo said to Tse-kih, "You are looked up to by the State of Ts'oo;

but now, in talking to the king, you have been but his echo;—what will the State think of you?" Tse-kih replied, "I have been sharpening [my weapon] on the whetstone, to await [my opportunity]; when the king comes out, I will cut down [his extravagance] with the edge of it."

"When the king came out, he was resuming the conversation, and E-sang, the historiographer of the Left, passed by. "There," said the king, "is an excellent historiographer. He can read the three *Fu*, the five *Tsü*, the eight *Sih*, and the nine *K'ü*." "I have questioned him," was the reply. "Formerly king Muh wished to indulge his [extravagant] desire, and travel over all under heaven, so that the ruts of his chariot wheels and the prints of his horses' feet should be everywhere. Mow-foo, duke of Chao, then made the ode of *K'e-shao*, to repress the ambition of the king, who died in consequence a natural death in the palace of Chao. I asked [E-sang] about the ode, and he did not know it. If I were to ask him about anything more ancient, how should he be able to know it?" "Can you repeat it?" asked the king. Tse-kih replied, "I can. The ode said,

"How mild is the course of our minister Shao!  
How fitted to show [the king's] virtuous  
tame!

He would order his measures and movements,  
As more valuable than gold or gem.

Beyond the people's strength he would not go,  
Nor drunkard's thirst nor glutton's greed  
would know."

The king bowed to him and went in. For several days he would not eat what was brought to him, nor was he able to sleep; but he was not able to subdue himself, and so he came to his evil [end].

"Chung-ue said, "It is contained in an ancient book that to subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue." True is the saying and excellent. If king Ling of Ts'oo could have done this, he would not have come to disgrace at Kan-kei."

Par. 10 Tse-she observes that this attack was a sequel to the campaign against Pei, of which we have an account in the 1st narrative appended to par. 6. The people of Ssü-yu were a tribe of the White T'ieh. The territory, called also Chung-shan (中山), was in the pre-dop. of Chin-ting (眞定), Chih-lu. Tse-she observes that the commander of the army of Ts'in is not mentioned, through the inadvertence of the historiographer. Compare VI. a. 2 and VIII. li. 14.



## Thirteenth year.

十<sup>一章</sup>有三年春，叔弓帥師圍費。

夏<sup>二章</sup>四月，楚公子比自晉歸于楚，弑其君

虔于乾谿。楚<sup>三章</sup>公子棄疾殺公子比。

秋<sup>四章</sup>公會劉子、晉侯、齊侯、宋公、衛侯、鄭伯、

曹伯、莒子、邾子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、

于平丘。八<sup>五章</sup>月甲戌，同盟于平丘。

公<sup>六章</sup>不與盟。晉<sup>七章</sup>人執季孫意如以歸。

公<sup>八章</sup>至自會。蔡<sup>九章</sup>侯廬歸于蔡，陳侯吳歸

于陳。冬<sup>十章</sup>十月，葬蔡靈公。

公<sup>十一章</sup>如晉，至河乃復。吳<sup>十二章</sup>滅州來。

左傳曰：十三年春，叔弓圍費。弗克，敗焉。平子怒，令見費人，執之以爲囚俘。治區夫曰：非也。若見費人，寒者衣之，饑者食之，爲之令主，而共其乏困，費來如歸。南氏亡矣，民將叛之，誰與居邑？若憚之以威懼之以怒，民疾而叛，爲之聚也。若諸侯皆然，費人無歸，不親南氏，將焉入矣？平子從之，費人叛南氏。

楚子之爲令尹也，殺大司馬遷掩，而取其室，及卽位，奪遷居田，遷許而質許圍，蔡洧有寵於王，王之滅蔡也，其父死焉，王使與於守而行，申之會，越大夫戮焉，王奪圖韋龜中，曄又奪成然邑，而使爲郊尹，蔓成然故事蔡公，故遷氏之族及遠居，許圍蔡洧。



蔓成然皆王所不禮也。因羣喪職之族，啟越大夫常壽過作亂，圍固城，克息舟，城而居之。觀起之死也，其子從在蔡，事朝吳。曰：「今不封蔡，蔡不封矣。」我請試之。以蔡公之命，召子干、子皙及郊而告之。情強與之盟，入襲蔡。蔡公將食，見之而逃。觀從使子干食，坎用牲，加書而速行。已徇於蔡，曰：「蔡公召二子，將納之，與之盟而遣之矣。」將師而從之。蔡人聚將執之，辭曰：「失賊成軍而殺余，何益？」乃釋之。朝吳曰：「二子若能死亡，則如違之，以待所濟。若求安定，則如與之，以濟所欲，且違上，何適而可？」衆曰：「與之。」乃奉蔡公，召二子而盟於鄧。依陳蔡人以圖，楚公子比、公子黑肱、公子棄疾、蔓成然、蔡朝吳、帥陳蔡，不羹、許、葉之師，因四族之徒，以入楚。及郊，陳蔡欲爲名，故請爲武軍。蔡公知之，曰：「欲速，且役病矣。」請藩而已。乃藩爲軍。蔡公使須務牟與史痺先入，因正僕人殺犬子祿。及公子罷敵，公子比爲王，公子黑肱爲令尹，次於魚陂。公子棄疾爲司馬，先除王宮，使觀從從師于乾谿，而遂告之。且曰：「先歸復所後者。」副帥及訾梁而潰。王聞羣公子之死也，自投於車下，曰：「人之愛其子也，亦如余乎？」侍者曰：「甚焉。」小人老而無子，知擠於溝壑矣。王曰：「余殺人子多矣，能無及此乎？」右尹子革曰：「請待于郊，以聽國人。」王曰：「衆怒不可犯也。」曰：「若入於大都，而乞師於諸侯。」王曰：「皆叛矣。」曰：「若亡於諸侯，以聽大國之圖。」君也。王曰：「大福不再，祇取辱焉。」然丹乃歸於楚。王沿夏將欲入鄢，芋尹無宇之子申亥曰：「吾父再奸王命，王弗誅，惠孰大焉？」君不可忍，惠不可棄，吾其從王。」乃求王，遇諸棘闌，以歸。夏五月癸亥，王縊於芋尹申亥氏。申亥以其二女殉，而葬之。

觀從謂子干曰：「不殺棄疾，雖得國，猶受禍也。」子干曰：「余不忍也。」子玉曰：「人將忍子，吾不忍侯也。」乃行。國每夜駭曰：「王入矣。」乙卯夜，棄疾使周走而呼曰：「王至矣。」國人大驚，使蔓成然走告子干、子皙。曰：「王至矣。」國人殺君司馬，將來矣。君若早自圖也，可以無辱。衆怒如水火焉，不可爲謀。又有呼而走至者曰：「衆至矣。」二子皆自殺。丙辰，棄疾卽位，名曰熊居。葬子干於訾，實訾敖殺囚衣之王服，而流諸漢，乃取而葬之，以靖國人。使子旗爲令尹，楚師



還自徐。吳人敗諸豫章，獲其五帥。平王封陳，祭復遷邑，致羣賂，施舍寬民，宥罪，舉職。召觀從，王曰：「唯爾所欲。」對曰：「臣之先佐開卜，乃使爲卜尹，使枝如子躬聘於鄭，且致犢饗之田，事畢弗致。鄭人請曰：『聞諸道路，將命寡君以犢饗，敢請命。』」對曰：「臣未聞命。」既復，王問犢饗降服而對曰：「臣過失命，未之致也。」王執其手曰：「子毋勤，姑歸，不穀有事，其告子也。」他年芋尹申亥以王極告，乃改葬之。初，靈王卜曰：「余尙得天下，不吉。」投龜詬天而呼曰：「是區區者而不余畀，余必自取之。」民患王之無厭也，故從亂如歸。初，共王無冢適，有寵子五人，無適立焉。乃大有事於羣望，而祈曰：「請神擇於五人者，使主社稷。」乃偏以璧見於羣望，曰：「當璧而拜者，神所立也。」誰敢違之？既乃與巴姬密埋璧於大室之庭，使五人齋而長入拜。康王跨之，靈王肘加焉。子干、子皙皆遠之，平王弱抱而入，再拜皆厭紐。鬬韞屬成然焉。且曰：「棄禮違命，楚其危哉！」子干歸，韓宣子問於叔向曰：「子干其濟乎？」對曰：「難。」宣子曰：「同惡相求，如市賈焉，何難？」對曰：「無與同好，誰與同惡？取國有五難：有寵而無人，一也；有人而無主，二也；有主而無謀，三也；有謀而無民，四也；有民而無德，五也。」子干在晉十三年矣，晉楚之從，不聞達者，可謂無人。族盡親叛，可謂無主。無穀而動，可謂無謀。爲厲終世，可謂無民。亡無愛徵，可謂無德。王虐而不忌，楚君子干涉五難以弑舊君，誰能濟之？有楚國者，其棄疾乎？君陳蔡，城外屬焉，苛虐不作，盜賊伏隱，私欲不違，民無怨心，先神命之，國民信之。芋姓有亂，必季實立，楚之常也。獲神，一也；有民，二也；令德，三也；寵貴，四也；居常，五也。有五利以去五難，誰能害之？子干之官，則右尹也，數其貴寵，則庶子也，以神所命，則又遠之，其貴亡矣。其寵棄矣，民無懷焉，國無與焉，將何以立？宣子曰：「齊桓、晉文，不亦是乎？」對曰：「齊桓、衛姬之子也，有寵於僖，有鮑叔牙，賓須無，隔朋，以爲輔佐，有莒衛以爲外主，有國高以爲內主，從善如流，下善齊肅，不藏貽，舍施不倦，求善不厭，是以有國，不亦宜乎？我先君文公，狐季姬之子也，有寵於獻，好學而不貳，生十七年，有士五人，有先大夫子餘，子犯，以爲腹心，有魏甕、賈佗，以爲股肱，有齊、宋、秦、楚，以爲外主，有欒、郤、狐、先，以爲內主。亡十九年，守志彌篤，惠懷乘民，民從



而與之，獻無異親，民無異望。天方相晉，將何以代文？此二君者，異於子干，共有寵子，國有與主，無施於民，無援於外，去晉而不送，歸楚而不逆，何以冀國？

晉成虎祁，諸侯朝而歸者，皆有貳心，爲取鄭故。晉將以諸侯來討，叔向曰：「諸侯不可以不示威，乃並徵會，告於吳、秋。晉侯會吳子於良，水道不可，吳子辭，乃還。七月丙寅，治兵於邾南，甲車四千乘，羊舌肸攝司馬，遂合諸侯于平丘。子產子犬叔相鄭伯以會，子產以幘幕九張行，子犬叔以四十旣而悔之，每舍損焉及會，亦如之。犬於衛地，叔肸求貨於衛，淫芻蕘者，衛人使屠伯饋叔向羹，與一饌錦，曰：『諸侯事晉，未敢攜貳，況衛在君之宇下，而敢有異志？芻蕘者異於他日，敢請之。』叔向受羹，反錦，曰：『晉有羊舌肸者，賣貨無厭，亦將及矣。』爲此役也，子若以君命賜之，其已客從之，未退而禁之。」

晉人將尋盟，齊人不可。晉侯使叔向告劉獻公曰：「抑齊人不盟，若之何？」對曰：「盟以底信，君苟有信，諸侯不貳，何患焉？告之以文辭，董之以武師，雖齊不許，君庸多矣。天子之老，請帥王賦，元戎十乘，以先啟行，遲速唯君。叔向告於齊曰：『諸侯求盟，已在此矣。今君弗利，寡君以爲請。』對曰：『諸侯討貳，則有尋盟，若皆用命，何盟之尋？』叔向曰：『國家之敗，有事而無業，事則不經，有業而無禮，經則不序，有禮而無威，序則不共，有威而不昭，共則不明，不明棄共，百事不終，所由傾覆也。是故明王之制，使諸侯歲聘以志業，間朝以講禮，再朝而會以示威，再會而盟以顯昭明，志業於好，講禮於等，示威於衆，昭明於神，自古以來，未之或失也。存亡之道，恆由是興。晉禮主盟，懼有不治，奉承齊轍，而布諸君，求終事也。君曰：『余必廢之。』何齊之有？唯君圖之。寡君聞命矣。齊人懼，對曰：『小國言之，大國制之，敢不聽從？』既聞命矣，敬共以往，遲速唯君。叔向曰：『諸侯有間矣，不可以不示衆。』八月辛未，治兵，建而不旆。壬申，復旆之。諸侯畏之。邾人莒人愬於晉曰：『魯朝夕伐我，幾亡矣。我之不共，魯故之以。』晉侯不見公，使叔向來辭，曰：『諸侯將以甲戌盟，寡君知不得事君矣。請君無勦，子服惠伯對曰：『君信蠻夷之訐，以絕兄弟之國，棄』



周公之後，亦唯君寡君聞命矣。叔向曰：寡君有甲車四千乘在，雖以無道行之，必可畏也。況其率道，其何敵之有？牛雖瘠，償於豚上，其畏不死。南蒯子仲之憂，其庸可棄乎？若奉晉之衆，用諸侯之師，因邾莒杞鄆之怒，以討魯罪，聞其二憂，何求而弗克？魯人懼，聽命。甲戌，同盟于平丘。齊服也。令諸侯日中造於除，癸酉，退朝。子產命外僕速張於除，子大叔止之，使待明日。及夕，子產聞其未張也，使速往，乃無所張矣。及盟，子產爭承曰：昔天子班貢，輕重以列，列尊貢重，周之制也。卑而貢重者，甸服也。鄭伯男也，而使從公侯之貢，懼弗給也，敢以爲請。諸侯靖兵，好以爲事，行理之命，無月不至，貢之無藝，小國有闕，所以得罪也。諸侯修盟，存小國也，貢獻無極，亡可待也。存亡之制，將在今矣。自日中以爭，至於昏，晉人許之。既盟，子大叔咎之曰：諸侯若討，其可瀆乎？子產曰：晉政多門，貳偷之不暇，何暇討？國不競，亦陵，何國之爲？

公不與盟。晉人執季孫意如，以幕蒙之，使狄人守之。司鐸舂懷錦，奉壺飲冰，以蒲伏焉。守者御之，乃與之錦，而入晉人以平子歸。子服湫從。

⑤子產歸，未至，聞子皮卒，哭，且曰：吾已無爲爲善矣。唯夫子知我。仲尼謂子產於是行也，足以爲國基矣。詩曰：樂只君子，邦家之基。子產，君子之求樂者也。且曰：合諸侯，藝貢事，禮也。

⑥鮮虞人聞晉師之悉起也，而不警邊，且不修備。晉荀吳自著雍，以上軍侵鮮虞，及中人，驅衝銳，大獲而歸。楚之滅蔡也，靈王遷許，胡沈道房申於荆焉。平王卽位，既封陳蔡，而皆復之，禮也。隱犬子之子廬歸于蔡，禮也。悼犬子之子吳歸于陳，禮也。

冬十月，葬蔡靈公，禮也。

公如晉。荀吳謂韓宣子曰：諸侯相朝，講舊好也，執其卿而朝其君，有不好焉，不如辭之。乃使士景伯辭公於河。吳滅州來，令尹子旗請伐吳。王弗許，曰：吾未撫民人，未事鬼神，未修守備，未定國家，而用民力，敗不可悔。州來



在吳猶在楚也。子姑待之。  
 ⑤季孫猶在晉，子服惠伯私於中行穆子，  
 曰：魯事晉，何以不如夷之小國？魯兄弟也，  
 土地猶大，所命能具，若爲夷棄之，使事齊  
 楚，其何瘳於晉？親親與大，賞共，罰否，所以  
 爲盟主也。子其圖之。諺曰：臣一主二，吾豈  
 無大國？穆子告韓宣子，且曰：楚滅陳，蔡不  
 能救，而爲夷執親，將焉用之？乃歸季孫，惠  
 伯曰：寡君未知其罪，合諸侯而執其老，若  
 猶有罪，死命可也。若曰無罪而惠免之，諸  
 侯不聞，是逃命也。何免之爲？請從君惠於  
 會。宣子患之，謂叔向曰：子能歸季孫乎？對  
 曰：不能。鮑也能，乃使叔魚。叔魚見季孫，曰：  
 昔鮑也得罪於晉君，自歸於魯君，微武子  
 之賜，不至於今。雖獲歸骨於晉，猶子則肉  
 之，敢不盡情歸子而不歸鮑也。聞諸吏，將  
 爲子除館於西河，其若之何？且泣。平子懼，  
 先歸惠伯待禮。

- XIII 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, Shuh Kung led a force, and laid siege to Pe.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, the Kung-tsze Pe of Ts'oo returned from Tsin to Ts'oo, and murdered his ruler K'hsen in Kan-k'e.  
 3 The Kung-tsze K'e-tsih of Ts'oo put to death the Kung-tsze Pe.  
 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Lëw, the marquises of Tsin and Ts'e, the duke of Sung, the marquis of Wei, the earls of Ch'ing and Ts'aou, the viscounts of Keu, Choo, and T'ang, the earls of Sëeh and K'e, and the viscount of Little Choo, in T'ing-K'ew.  
 5 In the eighth month, on Këah-senh, they made a covenant together in P'ing-k'ew.  
 6 [But] the duke did not take part in the covenant.  
 7 The people of Tsin seized Ke-sun E-joo, and took him back with them [to Tsin].  
 8 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
 9 Leu, marquis of Ts'ae returned to [the rule of] Ts'ae, and Woo, marquis of Ch'in, to [the rule of] Ch'in.  
 10 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Ts'ae.  
 11 The duke was going to Tsin; but when he had got to the Ho, he returned.  
 12 Woo extinguished Chow-lae.

Par. 1. Pe,—see on IX. vii. 4. At that time, Nan E was commandant of Pe for the Ke-sun family; but from the narrative on par. 3 of last year, we learned that it was now held by his son Nan Kwae, who had carried the city with him, and transferred his allegiance from Loo, or the Ke-sun family rather, to Tsin.



The Chuen says:—"This spring, Shieh Kung laid siege to Pe, but he could not reduce it, and was himself defeated. Ping-tse, enraged, gave orders that whenever a man of Pe was seen, he should be seized and kept as a prisoner. Yai Gow-foo said to him, "This is a wrong course. If, when a man of Pe is seen suffering from cold, you clothe him, or suffering from want, you feed him, proving yourself its good lord, and ministering to the privations and distresses of its people, they will come to you as if they were coming home, and the Nan will perish. The people will revolt from them, and there will be none to dwell in the city with them. If you afflict them by your severity and frighten them with your wrath, so that they shall detest you, and be confirmed in their revolt, you will [only] be collecting [more followers] for the Nan. If all the States should deal thus with them, the men of Pe would have none to turn to. If they did not adhere to the chief of the Nan, where could they go to?" Ping-tse followed this counsel, and the people of Pe revolted from Nan [Kwae]."

Par. 2. For 乾谿 Kuei-lung has 乾溪. The Chuen on par. 9 of last year left the king of Ts'oo at this place, waiting the result of his operations against Sou. It was in the south-east of the pre, Puh-chow (亳州), dep. Yiang-chow (潁州), Gan-hway. The Kung-tse Pe was a younger brother of the king of Ts'oo, and had died to Tsai 13 years before this, when the king murdered his predecessor;—see the last par. of the 1st year, and the Chuen on the one preceding it.

The Chuen says:—"When the viscount of Ts'oo was chief minister of the State, he put to death the grand-marshals Wei Yen, and took his property to himself (See the narrative after IX. xxx. 8); and when he became viscount, he violently took his lands from Wei Ken. At the removal of [the capital of] Hou (See on ix. 2), he had taken [with him] as a hostage, Wei, [a great officer] of that State. Wei of Ts'ue was a favourite with the king, and when the king extinguished Ts'ue (See xi. 9), his father died [in that State]; but the king made Wei remain to take part in the charge [of the capital], when he proceeded [himself to Kan-ku]. At the meeting of Shin (iv. 2), a great officer of Yueh was subjected to disgrace. The king [also] took Chung-ch'ow from Tse Wei-kwei, and his city from [Wei-kwei's son], Ching Jen, making him director of the suburbs. This Ching Jen of Mau had previously been in the service of the duke of Ts'ao (The viscount's brother K'e-tsh). In this way the families of the Wei clan, with Wei Ken, Wei of Hou, Wei of Ts'ue, and Ching Jen of Mau, had all been treated with discourtesy by the king; and they took advantage of the [other] families which had lost their offices to incite Chang Shou-kwo, the great officer of Yueh, to raise an insurrection, when he laid siege to Koo-shing, reduced the city of Seli-chow, and walled and occupied it."

After the death of Kwan Ku (See on IX. xxii. 6), his son Ts'ung went to Ts'ao, and was in the service of Chao Woo, to whom he [now] said, "If the State of Ts'ao be not now restored, it never will be so. Let me try and bring it about." Accordingly, as if by the

orders of the duke of Ts'ao, he called Tse-kan (The Kung-tse Pe) and Tse-seih (to Ts'ao). When they had arrived in the suburbs, he told them all the truth [about his plot], forced them to make a covenant with him, and then they entered [the capital of] Ts'ao by surprise. The duke was about to take a meal; and when he saw them, he ran away from them. Kwan Ts'ung made Tse-kan partake of the food, and they then dug a hole, placed in it [the blood of] a victim with the words [of a covenant] over it, after which [the two princes] went hurriedly away. Ts'ung himself made the thing known through the city, saying, "The duke called his two brothers, and is going to restore them [to Ts'ao]; he has made a covenant with them, and sent them away, but he intends to raise his forces and follow them." The men of Ts'ao collected, and would have seized him, but he said to them, "Of what use will it be to kill me, after you have let the [two] traitors escape, and are raising your army?" On this they let him go, and Chao Woo said to them, "If you are able to die [for the king], your best plan is to oppose the duke, and wait till you see to whom success falls. But if you seek for rest and establishment, your best plan is to take sides with him, to secure the success of his ambition. And, moreover, if we oppose our superior, to whom can we betake ourselves with advantage?" The multitude said, "We will take sides with him;" and they proceeded to raise the standard of the duke of Ts'ao, called [back] the two other princes, and made a covenant in Ts'ao.

"The dependance [of the princess in their struggle] for the State was on the men of Ch'in, and Ts'ao, which they promised to reconstitute as States; so the three, Pa, Hih-kwang (Tse-seih), and K'e-tsh, with Ching Jen of Mau and Chao Woo of Ts'ao, led on the forces of Ch'in, Ts'ao, Puh-lang, Hou, and Shieh, and took advantage of the adherents of the 4 [disaffected] families, to enter [the capital of] Ts'oo. When they arrived at the suburbs, [the men of] Ch'in and Ts'ao wished to get a name, and asked leave to form an entrenched camp. When the duke of Ts'ao knew it, he said, "We want to be expeditious, and such a thing, moreover, would distress the labourers." He begged therefore that they would only make an enclosed encampment; which accordingly was done, and the army lodged in it. He then made Sou Woo-mow and the historiographer P'ao enter the city before them. These, by the assistance of the chief chamberlain, put to death the king's eldest son Luh, and the Kung-tse Pe-tsh. The Kung-tse Pe became king; and Hih-kwang, chief minister; [both] halting at Yu-po. The Kung-tse K'e-tsh was declared [grand-] marshal, and proceeded to clear out the royal palace, sending [also] Kwan Ts'ung to the army in Kan-ku, who thereon made known what had been done, and intimated that those who were first in coming over [to the new rule] should be restored to their places, while those who delayed should have their noses cut off. That army advanced to Tse-lung, and there dispersed."

"When the king heard of the death of his sons, he threw himself down under his chariot, saying, "Do other men love their sons as much as I did mine?" One of his attendants said, "They love them more. Small men know it at when they are old, if they have no sons, they



will be rolled into the ditches." "I have killed many sons of others," replied the king. "Was it possible that I should not come to this condition?"

Tze-khi, director of the Right, begged the king to wait in the suburbs till they heard what course the people took, but the king said, "They are all enraged, and we must not encounter them." He then proposed that they should enter a great city, and ask military assistance from the States; but the king said, "They will all revolt [from me]." He proposed further, that they should flee to some of the States, and await the deliberations of the [other] great State on his case; but the king said, "Great happiness is not obtained twice. I should only be bringing disgrace on myself." On this, Jen Tan [left the king, and] returned to Ts'oo, while the king took his way along the Hsü, wishing to enter Yen.

Shin Hae, the son of the Woo-director Woo-yu, said, "My father twice violated the king's orders (See the narrative after vii. 1), and was not punished;—what kindness could be greater? I cannot bear the king's misery, and his kindness is not to be forgotten;—I will follow him." Accordingly he sought for the king, found him at the Kueh gate, and took him home with him. In summer, in the 5th month, on Kwei-hao, the king strangled himself in his house, when Shin Hae buried him, and his own two daughters along with him.

When we compare the paragraph and this Chuen, we are startled by the contradictions between them. The Kung-tze Pe had never been a subject of his brother, and it appears contrary to rule to apply the term 殺 to him.

And in fact Pe did not put the king to death;—the king died by his own hands. And he did not die in Kao-k'o. Pe, moreover, was merely a tool in the hands of others; it is both incorrect and unjust to represent him, as the paragraph does, as the prime mover in the proceedings against the king, and then charge him with the crime of regicide. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, even Maou acknowledges an admirable subtlety and propriety in the sage's phraseology in the paragraph! The original name of king Ling was Wai (隗), but he changed it after he had murdered his predecessor, hoping probably thereby to escape somehow the charge of crime that would attach to his name.

Par. 3. For 殺 Kung and Kue here have 殺; and that term would certainly be as proper here as in the preceding par. As it seemed right, however, to the author not to acknowledge the short-lived dignity of Pe as king, but still to represent him as merely a Kung-tze, 殺 is, probably, the true reading.

The Chuen says:—Kwan Ts'ung said to Tze-kan, "If you do not kill K'e-tai, though you have got the State, you will still receive calamity." "I cannot bear to do so," was Tze-kan's reply. Tze-yuh (Ts'ung's designation) continued, "He will bear to kill you, and I cannot bear to wait [and see it];" and on this he went away. Every night there was an alarm [in the city] that the king had entered it. On the night of Tih-maou, K'e-tai made people

run all about, crying, "The king is come!" The people were greatly frightened; and then he made Ch'ing Jen of Man run and inform Tze-kan and Tze-sai, saying, "The king is come. The people have killed your marshal, and will [soon] be here. If your lordship will be quick and deal with yourself, you may escape disgrace. The multitudes are angry, as [raging] waves or flames, and no plans can be formed against them." There now came others running to [the palace], and crying out, "The multitudes are come;" on which the two princes killed themselves.

On Ping-shin, K'e-tai ascended the [vacant] seat, and [took] the name of Hsüng Kue. He buried Tze-kan in Tze, who is thence known as Tze Gao. Having killed a prisoner, he clothed the body in the king's robes, and let it float in the Han, from which he took and buried it, in order to quiet the minds of the people; and he then appointed Tze-k'e (Ch'ing Jen of Man) to be chief minister.

When the army of Ts'oo was withdrawing from Seu, the men of Woo defeated it at Yu-chang, and took [all] its five commanders (See the commencement of the narrative on par. 2 of last year). King Ping (K'e-tai) restored the States of Ch'in and Ts'ao, and the cities from which the inhabitants had been removed; paid all the bribes which he had promised; gave gifts to the people, and forgave them the dues which they owed; dealt gently with criminals, and restored their offices to those who had been deprived of them. Calling Kwan Ts'ung to him, he said, "You may have whatever office you wish." "My ancestors," replied Ts'ung, "assisted the interpreter of divinations by the tortoise-shell," and he was appointed master of such divinations. The king sent Che-joo Tze-kung on a complimentary mission to Ch'ing, and to deliver to it the lands of Ch'ow and Leih. When the [other] business [of his mission] was finished, however, he did not deliver them. An officer of Ch'ing took the liberty to say to him, "It was reported on the way that you would give our ruler Ch'ow and Leih. I venture to ask for your orders [to that effect]." He replied, "I have not yet received such orders." When he returned [to Ts'oo], the king asked him about those two places, on which he put off his robe, and replied, "I made a mistake and lost your orders about them, so that I did not give them over." The king took him by the hand, and said, "Do not be concerned about it. Go home for the present; and when I have any business, I will inform you of it." In a year or two, the Woo-director Shin Hae informed the king of the burial of king [Ling], when the coffin was removed and buried in another place.

King Ling at a former time had asked the tortoise-shell whether he might possibly get the whole kingdom; and when the answer was unfavourable, he cast the shell from him, railed at Heaven, and said, "This small thing you will not give me, but I will take it for myself." The people were distressed by his insatiable ambition, and joined in the insurrection against him as eagerly as if they had been going home.

At a period before this, King Kung had no son by his queen, whom he could have declared his heir; and though he had five among his other sons, who were favourites with him, none of



them had been appointed to the succession. He therefore celebrated a great service to the Spirits of all the hills and rivers of the State, and prayed, saying, "I ask you, Spirits, from among my five sons to choose one, who may be appointed lord of the altars." He then went all round the altars where he had sacrificed, and exhibited a peñ before each of them, saying, "He who worships right over this peñ shall be he whom you Spirits have appointed. Who will dare to oppose your will?" After this, along with [one of his concubines], a Ke of Pa, he secretly buried the peñ in the court of the ancestral temple, and made his five sons come in, after fasting, in the order of their age, to worship. King Kwang stepped over the place; king Ling touched it with his elbow; Tze-kan and Tze-seih were both a long way from it; king Ping, being then a child, was carried in, and worshipped twice, right over the button of the peñ. Tse Wei-kwei gave this child in charge to [his son] Ching Jen, saying, "T'oo will be endangered both by abandoning the proper law [of succession], and by resisting the appointment [by the Spirits of this child]."

When Tze-kan had returned [from Tsin to T'oo], Han Shien-tze asked Shuh-hiang whether he was likely to be successful. "It will be hard for him to be so," was the reply. Shien-tze said, "When those who are engaged in the same evil course seek one another's [co-operation], like traffickers in the market, what difficulty can there be?" Shuh-hiang answered, "Having had no likings in common, they will not have common dislikes. There are five difficulties in the way of taking a State. The candidate may be a favourite, but if he have no [able] men [in his service]—this is the first. He may have the men, but if he have no party [in the State]—this is the second. He may have the party, but if he have no [good] plans—this is the third. He may have the plans, but if he have not the people—this is the fourth. He may have the people, but if he have not virtue—this is the fifth. Tze-kan has been in Tsin 13 years; but among his followers, whether of Tsin or T'oo, I have not heard that there are any of distinction—it may be said that he has not the men. His family is extinct [in T'oo], and his relatives are against him—it may be said that he has no party. He is moving without any [sufficient] occasion—it may be said that he has no plans. He has been a refugee [here nearly] all his life—it may be said he has not the people. As an exile, there are no proofs that he is loved—it may be said that he has not the virtue. The king is [indeed] oppressive, and stands in awe of nothing; this prince Tze-kan may adventure in spite of these five difficulties to put him to death, but who can carry his enterprise to complete success? It is Ko-tsin, I apprehend, who will have the State of T'oo. He is ruler of Chin and T'wei, and all outside the barrier wall belongs to him. He has perpetrated no oppression; the banditti [in his jurisdiction] are quiet; he has not, to gratify himself, gone against the people. They have no feeling of animosity against him, and the Spirits formerly gave the appointment to him. The people of the State believe in him, and it has been the regular custom of T'oo, that, when there is trouble in the House of Me, the youngest son of it should get the State. Thus he has obtained the [approval of the]

Spirits—that is one advantage. He has the [confidence of the] people—that is a second. His virtue is admirable—that is a third. He is favoured and nobles—that is a fourth. His succession would be in regular order—that is a fifth. With these five advantages to set against the five difficulties of the other, who can harm him? As to the office of Tze-kan, he was director of the Right; if you calculate his favour and nobility, he was [only] one of the [king's] sons by concubines; if you judge by the appointment of the Spirits, he was far off from the token which they gave of their approval. His nobility wanting, his favour away from him, the people not cherishing him, and there being no party for him in the State—how should he become established [in T'oo]?"

Shien-tze said, "Were not the cases of Hwan of T'ee and [our] Wan of Tsin like his?" Shuh-hiang replied, "Hwan of T'ee was the son of a Ke of Wei who was a favourite with [duke] He. He had Pao Shuh-ya, Ma Sen-woo, and Selh Ping as his assistants. He had Keu and Wei to support him from abroad. He had the [chiefs] Kwih and Kuen to support him in the State itself. He followed what was good like a flowing stream. He condescended to the good, and was grave and reverent. He did not accumulate his wealth; he did not follow his desires; he gave away unwearingly; and he was never tired of seeking for good men—was it not right that with such conditions he should have the State? As to our former ruler duke Wan, he was the son of the younger Ke of Hoo, who was a favourite of [duke] Hsen. He was fond of learning, and of an unchanging will. When he was 17 years old, he had five officers [who readily followed him]. There were our great officers Tze-yu (Tzeou Tze-yu) and Tze-fan (Hoo Yen) to be his counsellors; there were Wei Ch'ow and Kiu T'o to act as limbs to him; there were T'ee, Sung, Tsin, and T'oo to support him from abroad; there were the Lwan, Kieh, Hoo, and Shien families to support him in the State itself. During his 10 years of exile, he kept his purpose with increased sincerity, while [the dukes] Hwei and Hwan neglected the people. The people followed and joined him. There was no [other] son of Hsen [remaining]; the people could not look for any other leader. Heaven was then favourably regarding Tsin, and who was there to take the place of Wan? The cases of these two princes were different from that of Tze-kan. There is [another] favourite son of [king] Kung; there is [another] lord more honoured in the State. He has shown no beneficence to the people; he has no support from abroad. When he left Tsin, none escorted him; when he returned to T'oo, none met him—how can he expect to have the State?"

Par. 4. Ping-k'ew was 9/10 north of the present dia, city of Ch'in-lie (陳留) dep. Kue-fung. The meeting at this place is memorable as being the last of those on a great scale called by Tsin. Its supremacy among the States had long been waning. The murder of the king of T'oo, and the confusion prevailing in that State, encouraged Tsin to make this final effort to recover its former position; but its day had gone by. To give more solemnity to the meeting, it secured the presence of a representa-



tive of the king in the viscount of Lâw; but Chow had long ceased to command the hearty and reverent homage of the States.

The Chuen says:—When Tsên completed [the palace of] Sze-k'e, the princes who then went to its court (In the 8th year) returned home, all alienated from it. It was about to lead the States on a punitive expedition against us, and Shuh-hêng said, "The States must have the terrors of our majesty displayed to them." They accordingly summoned a meeting on a grand scale, sending notice of it (even) to Woo. In autumn the marquis of Tsin went to have a meeting with the viscount of Woo in Lêng, who declined it, on account of the difficulty of the communication by water; and he returned [to P'ing-k'w]. In the 7th month, the military array [of Tsin] was drawn out, on Ping-yin, in the south of Choo, to the number of 4000 chariots of war, Yang-shih Foo having the duties of marshal for the occasion; and the States were forthwith assembled at P'ing-k'w. Tze-ch'an and Tze-tse-shih attended the call of Ch'ing to the conference, the former marching with curtains and coverings for 3 tents, while the latter had taken with him snow for 40. (If this, however, he repented, and reduced the number at every station where they halted, till, when they arrived at the meeting, his number was the same as that of Tze-ch'en. When they halted in Wei, Shuh-foo (Yang-shih Foo), desiring to get bribes from that State, allowed great license to his foragers and fuel-gatherers. The people sent T'oo P'ih to present to Shuh-hêng a dish of soup, and a basket of flowered silks, saying, "The other States do not dare to swerve from their service of Tsin, and how much less should Wei, dwelling as it were beneath your eaves, presume to cherish any disaffection! Your foragers and fuel-gatherers are not behaving as on former occasions;—we venture to ask you to take measures with them." Shuh-hêng accepted the soup, but returned the silks, saying, "There is that Yang-shih Foo, whose craving for bribes is insatiable;—evil will come on him. It is he who has done this. If you give him these silks with your ruler's orders, he will stop the trouble." The visitor did so; and before he retired, a prohibition was issued [to the plunderers].

Parr. 5, 6. The inartificial construction of the classic appears in these two parr., compared with the preceding one. From 4 and 5 we should certainly conclude that the duke took part in the covenant, but from 6 it appears that he did not do so.

The Chuen says:—The people of Tsin wished to renew the [existing] covenant, but they of Ts'e refused to do so. The marquis of Tsin sent Shuh-hêng to inform duke Hên of Lâw [of the difficulty], saying, "Since the people of Ts'e will not join in covenant, what is to be done?" [The duke] replied, "A covenant is for the confirmation of faith. If your ruler have good faith, the princes will not separate from him. Why should you make a trouble of this matter? Set the thing before them in civil terms, and follow this up with your military force; although Ts'e do not take the covenant, your ruler will accomplish much. An elder of the Son of Heaven, I beg to conduct the king's levies, and with ten large chariots of war lead the way before you;—by-and-by or quickly, as your ruler may

determine." Shuh-hêng then went to inform Ts'e, saying, "The princes have sought for a covenant and are here; but your lordship does not think it will be profitable, and my ruler thinks it well to ask for your views!" "When the States are about to punish the disaffected," was the reply, "then there is a renewal of covenants; but if all are obedient to your orders, why should there be any such renewal?" Shuh-hêng said, "The ruin of States [happens in this way]:—If they have [meetings of] business, but do not pay their contributions, the business becomes irregular; if they pay their contributions, but do not observe the [proper] ceremonies, there may be regularity, but there is a want of order; if they observe the ceremonies, but do not have a feeling of awe, the order comes to be without respect; if they have a feeling of awe, but do not declare it [to the Spiritual powers], their respect is not [sufficiently] displayed. The want of that display leads to the casting away of respect; the various affairs of business are not brought to a successful issue; and there ensue downfall and overthrow. For this reason the statutes of the intelligent kings required the princes every year to send a complimentary mission, that they might be kept in mind of the contributions they had to pay; after the interval [of a year], they went themselves to court for the practice of ceremonies; when the time for a second visit to court came, there was a meeting for the display of [the king's] majesty; and when the time for a second meeting came, there was a covenant for the exhibition of his clear intelligence. The keeping their duties in mind was to secure the [continuance of] friendly relations; the practice of ceremonies served to maintain the distinctions of rank; the display of majesty was before the multitude; the clear intelligence was matter of appeal to the Spirits. From antiquity downwards, these rules, we may say, were never neglected. The principles of the preservation or the ruin [of States] depended on them. It is the rule for Tsin to be lord of covenants. Fearing lest our government should be defective, we bring a victim for a covenant, and announce our purpose to your lordship, seeking the completion of the business. Your lordship, however, has said, 'I will have none of it. What have we in common?' Let your lordship consider the matter well. Our ruler will receive your commands." The people of Ts'e were afraid, and replied, "Our small State said so; but the decision is with your great State. How dare we not listen to and follow you? We have heard your commands, and will reverently proceed [to the covenant]. Let it be early or late as you please."

Shuh-hêng said, "There is disaffection among the princes. We must show our numbers." [Accordingly], in the 8th month, on Sin-wa, [Tsin] reviewed its troops, raising up their [small] flags without the banners; but [next day], Jin-shin, the banners were again attached, and the States were afraid of them.

The people of Choo and Kou made a complaint to Tsin, saying, "Morning and night Loo keeps invading us, and we are nearly ruined. That we cannot pay our contributions is caused by Loo." The marquis of Tsin would not see the duke, and sent Shuh-hêng to decline his presence at the meeting, saying, "The States are going to make a covenant on K'ao-shuh;



but my ruler knows that he cannot serve your lordship;—and prays your lordship not to trouble yourself." Tze-fuh Hwuy-pih replied, "Your ruler believes the accusations of those Man and E, and cuts off his communications with a brother State, casting from him the descendants of the duke of Chow. Such is his pleasure. Our ruler has heard your order." Shuh-hsiang said, "Our ruler has here 4000 chariots of war. Although he were acting contrary to right, it would be necessary to fear him; but when he is acting in accordance with what is right, who can prove his opponent? An ox may be meagre; but if it fall upon a pig, would you not fear the pig would die? Can you forget your troubles with Nan K'uei and Tze-chung? If we lead on the multitudes of Tsin, using also the forces of the other States, and taking advantage of the anger against you of Choo, K'uei, and T'ao; if we come thus to punish Loo for its offences, with the opportunity afforded by these two spirits of trouble;—what can we seek that we shall not get?"

"The people of Loo were frightened by these threats and accepted Tsin's commands. On Kesh-sueh the States made a covenant together in Ping-k'uei;—together, as T'ie had submitted.

"Orders were given that the princes should repair to the cleared space [in front of the altar] at mid-day; and on Kwei-yew, when they retired from the court [of Tsin], Tze-ch'an commanded the servants, who had attended them on the journey, to pitch the tents [of Ch'ing] there. Tze-t'ae-shuh, however, stopped them, and told them to wait till the next day. In the evening, Tze-ch'an, hearing that the tents were not yet pitched, made the servants go immediately to do it; but by this time there was no space left for them. When they came to make the covenant, Tze-ch'an disputed about the amount of the contributions required [from Ch'ing], saying, "Formerly, the sons of Heaven regulated the amount of the contributions according to the rank of the States. Where the rank was high, the contribution was heavy;—this is the rule of Chow. [Only] from the Wei tenure, was a heavy contribution required, where the rank was low. Ch'ing ranks as [the territory of] an earl or a baron, and yet its contribution is on the scale of that of a duke or a marquis. I am afraid we cannot render it, and venture to make a matter of request concerning it. The States have agreed to abstain from wars, and to make the cultivation of friendly relations their business, but the commands of your messengers come to us every month. There is no regular rule for our contributions; and when our small State fails [in rendering what is required], it is held to be an offender. The object of the princes in making covenants is to preserve the small States. When our contributions and offerings have no limit set to them, we have only to wait till our ruin comes. The rule for our preservation or ruin must be made to day." The contention was continued from mid-day till dusk, when Tsin at last gave way.

"After the covenant, Tze-t'ae-shuh blamed Tze-ch'an, saying, "If the States had [determined to] punish us, was it right to take such a liberty [with Tsin]?" Tze-ch'an replied, "The government of Tsin is in the hands of many families. They have no leisure, with their differences and extravagances, to punish [any other

State]. If a State do not show itself strong, it will be insulted, and no longer be fit to be a State."

Par. 7. Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 隱如 for 意如. The Chuen says:—"The duke did not take part in the covenant, and the people of Tsin seized Ke-sun E-joo, and confined him in a tent, with some Tsin to guard it. Shih, the herald, carrying some flowered silk in his bosom, and having a vessel with ice to drink in his hand, crawled to the tent. The guards stopped him, but he gave them the silk, and entered. The people of Tsin then took Ping-tze back with them, Tze-pih Tz'auou (Hwuy-pih) going in attendance on him."

[The Chuen appends here:—"When Tze-ch'an was returning [from the meeting], before he got to Ch'ing, he heard that Tze-p'ie was dead. He wept and cried, "There is an end of me! There is none [now] to help me in doing good. It was only he who knew me." Chung-ne said, "On this occasion Tze-ch'an proved himself fit to be the foundation of his State. The ode (Shie, II. ii. ode VII. 1) says,

"Objects of complacency are these gentlemen,  
The foundation of my State."

Tze-ch'an was a superior man whom one could desire as the object of his complacency." He also said, "When the States were assembled, to adjust the business of their contributions was according to rule."]

Par. 8. [The Chuen appends here:—"The people of Shen-yu, having heard that all the forces of Tsin had been raised [to go to Ping-k'uei], ceased all care of their borders, and took no other precautions. On this, Sen-woo of Tsin proceeded with the 1st army from Choo-yang, and made an incursion into their territory; and when he had reached Chung-jin he made a rush upon them, took great spoil, and returned."]

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"When Te'oo extinguished Te'ae, king Ling removed Hia, Hoo, Shin, T'ao, Fang, and Shih within the boundaries of King (—Te'oo). On the accession of king Ping, when he re-instated Ch'in and Te'ae, he restored all these other States;—which was proper. Leu, son of the eldest son Yin, returned to Te'ae;—which was proper; and Woo, son of the eldest son T'ao, returned to Ch'in;—which was proper."

The eldest son of the last marquis of Te'ae, whose name was Yew and who is called in this Chuen by his posthumous title, was sacrificed by Te'oo, as related in xi. 9. His son Leu had since then remained in Te'oo. Woo was the son of Yen-ze, the heir-prince of Ch'in, whose murder is related in viii. 1. He also had been kept in Te'oo. But why the two princes should appear in the text, as if they had all along been the marquises of their States, does not immediately appear. Taken in connection with there being no mention of their restoration by the new king of Te'oo, there is some ground for believing that Confucius wished, so far as it was possible, to ignore all the proceedings of Te'oo in regard to Te'ae and Ch'in. This cannot be argued, however, from the omission of 復 before 歸, as there had been no previous mention of Leu and Woo, as retiring from their States.







左傳曰十四年春意如至自晉尊晉罪己也尊晉罪己禮也。

○南蒯之將叛也盟費人司徒老祁慮癸僞廢疾使請於南蒯曰臣願受盟而疾與若以君靈不死請待聞而盟許之二子因民之欲叛也請朝衆而盟遂劫南蒯曰羣臣不忘其君畏子以及今三年聘命矣子若弗圖費人不忍其君將不能畏子矣子何所不逞欲請送子請期五日遂奔齊侍飲酒於景公公曰叛夫對曰臣欲張公室也子韓皙曰家臣而欲張公室罪莫大焉司徒老祁慮癸來歸費齊侯使鮑文子致之。

○夏楚子使然丹簡上國之兵於宗丘且撫其民分貧振窮長孤幼養老疾收介特救災患有孤寡赦罪戾請養恩舉淹滯禮新敘舊祿勸合親任良物官使屈罷而東國之兵於召陵亦如之好於邊疆息民五年而後用師禮也。

秋八月莒著丘公卒郊公不慝國人弗順欲立著丘公之弟庚與蒲餘侯惡公子意恢而善於庚與郊公惡公子鐸而善於意恢公子鐸因蒲餘侯而與之謀曰爾殺意恢我出君而納庚與許之。

○楚令尹子旗有德於王不知度與養氏比而求無厭王患之九月甲午楚子殺闕成然而滅養氏之族使闕辛居鄆以無忘舊勳。

冬十二月蒲餘侯茲夫殺莒公子意恢郊公奔齊公子鐸逆庚與於齊齊隰黨公子鉏送之有賂田。

○晉邢侯與雍子爭鄆田久而無成士景伯如楚叔魚攝理韓宣子命斷舊獄罪在雍子雍子納其女於叔魚叔魚蔽罪邢侯邢侯怒殺叔魚與雍子於朝宣子問其罪於叔向叔向曰三人同罪施生戮死可也雍子自知其罪而略以買直耐也鬻獄邢侯專殺其罪一也已惡而掇美爲昏貪以敗官爲墨殺人不忌爲賊夏書曰昏墨賊殺臯陶之刑也請從之乃施邢侯而尸雍子與叔魚於市仲尼曰叔向古之遺直也治國制刑不隱於親三數叔魚之惡不爲末減曰義也夫可謂直矣平丘之會數其賄也以寬衛國晉不爲暴歸魯季孫稱其詐也。



也 榮 殺 加 除 三 不 刑 也 言 侯 爲 國 以  
夫 猶 親 三 言 爲 書 以 其 之 虐 晉 寬  
義 益 利 惡 而 頗 晉 正 貪 獄 邢 不 魯

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, E-joo arrived from Ts'in.  
2 In the third month, T'ang, earl of Ts'au, died.  
3 It was summer, the fourth month.  
4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Woo of Ts'au.  
5 In the eighth month, K'eu-ts'ih, viscount of Keu, died.  
6 In winter, Keu put to death the Kung-tsze, E-k'wei.

Par. 1. Tso says that the style of this par., where the name only is given, and not the clan-name, is expressive of honour to Ts'in and of Loo's depreciation of itself; and he adds that this was according to propriety. But this criticism may be called in question. The 至 indicating the announcement of the minister's return in the ancestral temple of the State, shows that that return was a subject on which Loo congratulated itself; but we need not cast about for any explanation of the omission of the clan-name. The K'ang-hu editors themselves refer with approbation to the view of Sun Fuh (孫復):— '[Only] when a great officer had been seized, was his arrival recorded. In that record he must be named. The clan-name is not given, because it had been previously mentioned (L. c. in Par. 7 of last year).'

[A narrative hero gives the end of Nan K'wae's revolt (See xli. 8):— When Nan K'wae was about to revolt, he bound the people of Pe by a covenant. Sze-too Laou-k'e and Loo K'wei, pretending that they had been taken ill, sent to beg of Nan K'wae, saying, "Your servants wished to take the covenant, but we have become ill. If by your influence we do not die, we ask that we may take it when we are somewhat better." K'wae agreed; and [by and by], taking advantage of the wish of the people to revolt [from him], they asked him to call the multitude together that they might receive the covenant. They then seized him, and said to him, "His servants have not forgotten their [proper] lord; but [yet] we have listened to your commands. If you do not take speedy measures [for your own safety], the people of Pe cannot endure [to be separated from] their lord, and will not be able to stand in awe of you. Allow us to escort you to any place whatever that you wish to go to." K'wae begged a delay of 5 days, and then he fled to T'au. When he was standing by and drinking with duke King, the duke called him by the name of "Revolted." "I wished," he replied, "to increase the power of the ducal House." T'au-han Seih said, "There could not be a greater crime than for you, the minister of a Family [merely], to wish to increase the authority of the ducal House." Sze-too Laou-k'e and Loo K'wei came and returned Pe [to Loo], and the marquis of T'au also sent Pau Wai-tze to surrender [his claim to] it.]

Par. 3. [There is appended here an account of the procedure of king Ping in T'au:—

'In summer, the viscount of Ts'au sent Jen Tan to inspect the military forces of the upper part of the State in Tsung-k'ew; and at the same time to comfort the people, giving assistance to the poor and relief to the distressed; nurturing orphans and the young; nourishing the old and the sick; getting hold of the promising; helping sufferers from calamity; remitting the taxes of orphans and widows; pardoning [certain classes of] offenders; making strict inquiry after the perverses and bad; lifting up those whose way was obstructed; showing courtesy to new comers, and giving facilities to old residents; rewarding merit, and bringing relatives together; giving employment to the virtuous, and using officers according to their ability. He also sent K'eh P'u to inspect the forces of the east of the State at Shao-ling, and to take there the same methods. They were to maintain peace on the borders, so that when the people had rested, they might be employed on military services. All this was proper.]

Par. 3. The Chuen says:— 'In autumn, in the 8th month, duke Choo-k'ew of Keu died, and [his son], duke K'au showed no grief, [in consequence of which] the people were not willing to obey him, and wished to raise K'ang-yu, the younger brother of Choo-k'ew, to the State. Poo-yu How hated the Kung-tsze E-k'wei, and was friendly with K'ang-yu. Duke K'au hated the Kung-tsze Toh, and was on good terms with E-k'wei. The Kung-tsze Toh formed an alliance with Poo-yu How, and concerted a plan with him, saying, "If you will kill E-k'wei, I will drive our ruler out, and we can then make K'ang-yu ruler." How agreed to this.'

The death of the viscount of Keu is recorded here, it having been, we must suppose, officially notified to Loo. We have no subsequent entry however, of his burial, probably because Loo, smarting under the indignities which it had received through Keu from Tain, would not send an officer to attend it. [There is here appended a short narrative about T'au:— T'au-k'e, chief minister of T'au, had been of great service to the king, and knew not how to keep himself within rule. He formed a friendship with the Head of the Yang family, and was insatiable in his desires. The king was vexed about it; and in the 2th month, on K'eh-wai, he put Tow Ching-jen to death and extinguished the branches of the Yang family. He made Tow Sin (Son of Ching-jen), however, reside in Yun, to show that he did not forget the old services [of his family].]



Par. 6. The Chun says:—'In winter, in the 12th month, Poo-yu How (See on par. 5) and Tsao Foo killed the Kung-tze E-k'wei of Keu, on which duke K'ao fled to T'ao. The Kung-tze T'oh met Kang-yu in T'ao, from which he was escorted by Seli Tang and the Kung-tze T'ao of that State, T'ao being promised a bribe of lands.'

The 其 in the text—'its,' but that word would be awkward in English before 公子. E-k'wei was, I suppose, a brother of duke K'ao; and we might translate,—'Keu put to death E-k'wei, the brother of its ruler.' We should have thought that it would have been more appropriate to intimate in the text the flight of duke K'ao. Keu being a small State, we never read in the classic of its 'great officers,' else the paragraph would have run 莒殺其大夫公子意恢. Comp. IX, xix. 10, 11; et al.

[We have a narrative here of affairs in Tsin:—Hing-how of Tsin (The son of Woo-shin of T'ao; see the 1st narrative after VIII. II. 8, et al.) and Yung-tze (Also a refugee from T'ao; see the 3d narr. after IX. xxvi. 7) had a dispute about some lands of Ch'uh, which continued after a long time unsettled. When Sze King-pih went to T'ao, Shuh-yu was charged for the time with the administration of his duties, and Han Senen-tze ordered him to settle this old litigation. Yung-tze was in the wrong, but he presented his daughter as a gift to Shuh-yu, who thereon decided that Hing-how was in the wrong; and he, enraged, killed both Shuh-yu and Yung-tze in the court. Senen-tze consulted Shuh-hsing about this crime, and was answered, 'The three were all equally guilty. You must put him who is alive to death, and expose his body, and you must [further]

disgrace the [two that are] dead. Yung-tze knew that he was wrong, and gave a bribe to buy a verdict in his favour; Foo sold his judgment in the dispute; and Hing-how took it on him to kill them. Their crimes were equally heinous. To try to make himself right when he was wrong was an instance of moral blindness; through covetousness to defeat the end of his office was an instance of black impurity; to put men to death without fear [of the law] was the act of a ruffian. One of the Books of Hsia says, 'The morally blind, the blackly impure, and ruffians, are to be put to death.' Such was the punishment appointed by Kaou-yao. I beg you to follow it.' Accordingly Hing-how was put to death, and his body exposed, and the corpses of Yung-tze and Shuh-yu were [also] exposed, in the market place.

Chung-ne said, 'The justice of Shuh-hsing was that which was transmitted from antiquity. In the government of the State, and determining the punishment [for an assigned crime], he concealed nothing in the case of his own relative. Thrice he declared the wickedness of Shuh-yu without making any abatement. Whether we may say that he was righteous [is doubtful], but he may be pronounced to have been straightforward. At the meeting of Ping-k'ew, he declared his [brother's] craving for bribes;—this was to give relief to Wei, and save Tsin from the practice of cruelty. In getting Ke-sun to return to Loo, he declared his [brother's] deceit;—this was to relieve Loo, and save Tsin from the exercise of oppression. In this legal action of Hing-how, he mentioned his [brother's] covetousness;—this was to keep the records of punishment correct, and save Tsin from partiality. By his three declarations he took away three evils, and secured three advantages. He put his brother to death and increased [his own] glory;—but this has the semblance of righteousness [only].'"]

Fifteenth year.

十有五年春王正月  
吳子夷末卒  
三月癸酉有事于武宮  
籥人叔弓卒去樂卒事  
夏蔡朝吳出奔鄭  
六月丁巳朔日有食之  
秋晉荀吳帥師伐鮮虞  
冬公如晉



左傳曰十五年春將禘於武公戒百官梓慎曰禘之日其有咎乎吾見赤黑之祲非祭祥也喪氛也其在蒞事乎二月癸酉禘叔弓蒞事霑入而卒去樂卒事禮也

楚費無極害朝吳之在蔡也欲去之乃謂之曰王唯信子故處子於蔡子亦長矣而在下位辱必求之吾助子請又謂其上之人曰王唯信吳故處諸蔡二三子莫之如也而在其上亦難乎弗圖必及於難夏蔡人逐朝吳朝吳出奔鄭王怒曰余唯信吳故真諸蔡且微吳吾不及此汝何故去之無極對曰臣豈不欲吳然而前知其爲人之異也吳在蔡蔡必速飛去吳所以如其翼也

六月乙丑王太子壽卒

秋八月戊寅王穆后崩

晉荀吳帥師伐鮮虞圍鼓鼓人或請以城叛穆子弗許左右曰師徒不勦而可以獲城何故不爲穆子曰吾聞諸叔向曰好惡不愆民知所適事無不濟或以吾城叛吾所甚惡也人以城來吾獨何好焉賞所甚惡若所好何若其弗賞是失信也何以庇民力能則進否則退量力而行吾不可以欲城而適姦所喪滋多使鼓人殺叛人而繕守備圍鼓三月鼓人或請降使其民見曰猶有食色姑修而城軍吏曰獲城而弗取勦民而頓兵何以事君穆子曰吾以事君也獲一邑而教民怠將焉用邑邑以買怠不如完舊買怠無卒棄舊不祥鼓人能事其君我亦能事吾君率義不爽好惡不愆城可獲而民知義所有死命而無二心不亦可乎鼓人告食竭力盡而後取之克鼓而反不戮一人以鼓子蕞鞮歸

冬公如晉平丘之會故也

十二月晉荀躒如周葬穆后籍談爲介既葬除喪以文伯宴樽以魯壺王曰伯氏諸侯皆有以鎮撫王室晉獨無有何也文伯揖籍談對曰諸侯之封也皆受明器於王室以鎮撫其社稷故能薦彝器於王晉居深山戎



狄之與鄰，而遠於王室，王靈不及，拜戎不暇，其何以獻器？王曰：叔氏而忘諸乎？叔父唐叔，成王之母弟也，其反無分乎？密須之鼓，與其大路，文所以大蒐也。闕鞏之甲，武所以克商也。唐叔受之，以處參虛，匡有戎狄，其後襲之二路，鉞鉞鉅戣，彤弓虎賁，文公受之，以有南陽之田。撫征東夏，非分而何？夫有勳而不廢，有績而載，奉之以土田，撫之以彝器，旌之以車服，明之以文章，子孫不忘，所謂福也。福祚之不登叔父焉，在且昔而高祖孫伯翳，司晉之典籍，以爲大政，故曰籍氏。及辛有之二子董之，晉於是乎有董史。牧司典之後也，何故忘之？籍談不能對，賓出。王曰：籍父其無後乎？數典而忘其祖，籍談歸，以告叔向。叔向曰：王其不終乎？吾聞之，所樂必卒焉。今王樂憂，若卒以憂，不可謂終。王一歲而有三年之喪二焉，於是乎以喪賓宴，又求彝器，樂憂甚矣，且非禮也。彝器之來，嘉功之由，非由喪也。三年之喪，雖貴遂服禮也。王雖弗遂，宴樂以早，亦非禮也。禮王之大經也，一動而失二禮，無大經矣。言以考典，典以志經，忘經而多言，舉典將焉用之。

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, E-mei, viscount of Woo, died.  
 2 In the second month, on Kwei-yew, there was a sacrifice in the temple of duke Woo, when Shuh Kung died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were [consequently] sent away, and the sacrifice was finished [without them].  
 3 In summer, Chaou Woo of Ts'ae fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
 4 In the 6th month, on Ting-sze, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
 5 In autumn, S'ün Woo of Tsin led a force and invaded S'een-yu.  
 6 In winter, the duke went to Tsin.

Par. 1. Kung-yang makes the name of the viscount of Woo 夷昧.

Par. 2. 有事, we saw on VII. viii. 3, denotes the celebration of a sacrifice; and the Chuen says expressly that Loo now celebrated a 禘 (禘) sacrifice. It could not be 'the great 禘 sacrifice,' however, for that was performed in the grand temple; nor could it be a repetition of 'the fortunate 禘' (吉禘) for that would have fallen on the previous year. We must suppose this

was a special 禘 (特禘), celebrated, probably, in contemplation of some military enterprise. See the account of the erection of the temple of duke Woo on VIII. vi. 2. The paragraph has its place in the classic not because of any thing peculiar in the sacrifice, but because of the death of Shuh Kung at it, and the consequent action taken. Comp. VII. viii. 3, 4.

The Chuen says:—[The duke] being about to offer a 禘 sacrifice in the temple of duke Woo, orders had been given to all the officers to fast [in preparation for it]. Tso Shih said, "I fear some misfortune will happen on the day of the



sacrifice, for I have seen a red and black halo inauspicious for it; it is a vapour of death. Will it take effect on the officer in charge of the business? In the 2d month, on Kwei-yew, the sacrifice was being performed, with Shuh Kung as manager, when he died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were then all sent away, and the business was concluded [without them]—which was according to rule.

At the sacrifice mentioned in VII. viii. 3, only the civil dancers put away their flutes, but on this occasion all the music used at the service was stilled. The death of Shuh Kung happening at it, and while he was engaged in the superintendence of it, was a more striking event than that of Suy, which took place at a distance. It was not deemed proper, however, to suspend the sacrifice altogether.

Par. 3. For 朝 Kung-yang has 昭, and he leaves out the 出. The part which Chao Woo played in the revolution which seated king Ping in Ts'oo appears in the narrative on xiii. 2. He had been a faithful minister of Ts'ao.

The Chuen says:—*Fel Woo-keih of Ts'oo felt hurt at Chao Woo's being in Ts'ao, and resolved to remove him. He accordingly said to him, "In you only does the king repose confidence, and he has therefore placed you in Ts'ao. You are also grown up, and it is a disgrace that you should be in an inferior position. You must seek a higher one, and I will assist you in preferring your request."* At the same time he spoke to the men who were above him, saying, "The king reposes confidence only in Chao Woo, and has therefore placed him in Ts'ao. You are not deemed equal to him;—will you not find it hard to be above him? If you do not take early measures for your safety, you will find yourselves in difficulties." [In consequence of this], in summer they drove Chao Woo from Ts'ao, when he fled to Ch'ing. The king was angry, and said, "It is only in Woo that I have confidence, and therefore I placed him in Ts'ao. But for him, moreover, I should not have reached my present position. Why have you sent him away?" Woo-keih replied, "Do not I wish Woo [well]? But I knew before what a different man he is from others. With him in Ts'ao, it would be sure soon to take wings and fly. The removal of Woo was the way to slip its wings."

Par. 4. This eclipse took place on the 10th of April, a.c. 523, and was visible in the forenoon.

[There are appended here the following notices:—*In the 6th month, on Yih-ch'ow, Shou, the eldest son of the king, died. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Mow-yin, the queen Muh died.*]

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—*When he invaded Seen-yu, Seen Woo laid siege to Koo. Some of the inhabitants offered to revolt to him and surrender the city, but he (Muh-tze in the Chuen was Woo's designation. He often appears as Chung-hang Muh-tze) declined the proposal. The people about him said, "Since you could [in this way] get possession of the city without any tedious efforts of the army, why do you not adopt it?" He replied, "I have heard from Shuh-hsing that, when the likings and dislikings [of superiors] are all correct, the people know to*

*whom to commit themselves, and their affairs are all successful. If any one were to revolt with a city of ours, I should hate him extremely; when other people come to revolt with their city to us, why should I show a liking for them? If I rewarded them whom I should be hating extremely, what should I do in the case of those whom I loved? And if I did not reward them, it would be a breach of faith. How should I thus protect the people? [My way is] to advance when I am able, and to retire when my strength fails, acting on the calculation of my resources. I must not from any wish to get possession of the city have dealings with traitors. What I should lose [thereby] would be much greater [than my gain]."* [He then informed] the people of Koo that they might kill those who proposed to revolt, and put their defences in good order.

When he had invaded Koo 3 months, some of the officers in it proposed to surrender it, and sent a party of the people to see Woo; but he said to them, "You still look as if you had plenty of food. Repair your walls for the present." The officers of the army said to him, "When you might get the city, you do not take it, making the people toil and continuing the troops here. In what way do you thus serve our ruler?" He replied, "I act thus to serve our ruler. If I took the city, and thereby taught the people to be indifferent to their duty, of what use would the city be? Than to pay the price of that indifference for the city it is better that they should maintain it in their old allegiance. If you trade with that indifference, there will be no success in the end; it is inauspicious to abandon old allegiance. When the people of Koo are able to serve their ruler, our people will also be able to serve theirs. By following the course of righteousness without swerving from it, being correct in my likings and dislikings, I shall get the city, and the people will know in what righteousness consists; they will be prepared to die without any wavering in their allegiance:—is not that desirable?"

When the people of Koo announced that their provisions and other resources were exhausted, then he took the city. When he returned from its reduction, he had not put a single man to death. He took Yuen-tz, viscount of Koo, back with him to Ts'ao.

Par. 6. Tso says this visit was on account of the meeting of Ping-k'ew, meaning, acc. to Tso, that it was to thank Ts'ao for the liberation of Koo. We may suppose it was with a less worthy object,—to get to be on fair terms with Ts'ao at any price.

[We have a narrative here of the royal court and an envoy of Ts'ao:—*In the 12th month, Sien Leih of Ts'ao went to Chow to the funeral of queen Muh, Ts'ieh Tan being the assistant-commissioner. When the funeral was over, and the king had put off his mourning, he invited [Wan-pih] (Sien Leih) to a feast, at which the spirits were served from a tankard presented by Loo. The king said [to his guest], "Elder Sir, the States, with the single exception of Ts'ao, have all [sent offerings] to comfort the royal House;—how is this?" Wan-pih motioned to Ts'ieh Tan, who thereupon replied, "At the establishment of the States, all [the rest] received brilliant articles from the royal House for the protection and comfort of their altars, so that they*



are able to present valuable gifts to the king. But the royal beneficence did not extend to Tsin, placed among high hills, in the neighbourhood of the Jung and the Teih, and far away from the royal House. It has hardly had time to repay its obligations to the Jung; how should it have presented such articles [to the court]? "Have you forgotten, younger Sir?" said the king. "Our uncle T'ang-shuh (First lord of Tsin) was own brother to king Ch'ing; was it likely that he should not share [in the royal presents]? There were the drums and the great chariot of Melh-ssu, which [king] Wan used at his grand reviews; and the cuirass of Keesh-kung in which [king] Woo subdued Shang;—T'ang-shuh received them, to occupy the tract corresponding to T'ain [in the heavens], and to subdue to himself the Jung and the Teih. Afterwards, there were the two chariots of [king] Ssang, the axes large and small, the flavoured spirits of black millet, the red bow and a party of life-guards:—duke Wan received these (See the Chuen on V. xviii. 8), that he might hold the lands of Nan-yang, and [according to circumstances] either comfort or punish the eastern States of the kingdom. Now when the services [of Tsin] were [thus] not left without acknowledgment, when its merits were recorded, when it was invested with territory, gratified with valuable articles, distinguished with chariots and robes, and made illustrious with banners, so that the descendants [of its princes] could not forget [the royal favours], this is what may be pronounced blessing. If blessing and bounty have not lighted on [the State of] our uncle [T'ang-shuh], on whom have they done so? Moreover, your ancestor Sun Pih-yun had charge of the archives of Tsin, and was consulted on the great matters of the government, in consequence of which he got the clan-name of Teih. When the two sons of Sin-yew, the Tungs, went to Tsin, that State had [also] the historiographers of that surname. You are the descendant of the superintendent of the archives;—how is it that you are so forget-

ful of these matters?" Teih T'an could not reply; and when his guests went out, the king said, "Mr. Teih will not, we may anticipate, leave any posterity. He must have numbered the archives, and yet he has forgotten [the work of] his ancestors!"

When Teih T'an returned [to Tsin], he told all this to Shuh-hsang, who said, "The king will, probably, not complete his years. I have heard that a man is sure to die of that in which he delights. Now the king seeks pleasure in the midst of his grief. If he die [in the midst] of grief, it cannot be said that he has completed his years. In one year, he has had two deaths for each of which he should have mourned 3 years. At such a time to feast with the guests at his mourning, and to be further asking for gifts of valuable articles, shows excessively what he delights in in the midst of his grief. And moreover such conduct is contrary to the rules of propriety. Gifts of valuable articles are presented [by the States] on occasions of extraordinary merit, and not on occasions of mourning. When a death that should be mourned for 3 years has occurred, even the noblest should, according to rule, complete the mourning for it. If the son of Heaven should not complete that, yet to feast and seek pleasure at an early period must be pronounced contrary to propriety. The rules of propriety are the king's great canons. On one occasion to neglect two of them shows that he has no great canons. Words serve to make the archives; the archives serve to record the canons. Forgetting the canons, and making a flourish of words, what use does his reference to the archives serve?"

*Sixteenth year.*

十<sup>一</sup>有六年春齊侯  
伐徐。  
楚子誘戎蠻子殺  
之。  
夏公至自晉。  
秋八月己亥晉侯  
夷卒。  
九月大雩。  
季孫意如如晉。  
冬十月葬晉昭公。



④左傳曰：十六年春，王正月，公在晉，晉人止公，不書，諱之也。

齊侯伐徐。二月丙申，齊師至於蒲隧。徐人行成。徐子及邾人、莒人會齊侯盟於蒲隧，賂以甲父之鼎。叔孫昭子曰：諸侯之無伯，害哉！齊君之無道也，與師而伐遠方，會之有成而還，莫之亢也，無伯也夫。詩曰：宗周既滅，靡所止戾。正大夫離居，莫知我艱，其是之謂乎。

楚子聞蠻氏之亂也，與蠻子之無質也，使然丹誘我蠻子嘉穀之，遂取蠻氏。既而復立其子焉，禮也。

⑤三月，晉韓起聘於鄭，鄭伯享之。子產戒曰：苟有位於朝，無有不共恪。孔張後至，立於客間，執政禦之，適客後，又禦之，適縣間，客從而笑之，事畢，富子諫曰：夫大國之人，不可不慎也。幾爲之笑而不陵我，我皆有禮，夫猶鄙我國而無禮，何以求榮？孔張失位，吾子之耻也。子產怒曰：發命之不更，出令之不信，刑之頗類，獄之放紛，會朝之不敬，使命之不聽，取陵於大國，罷民而無功，罪及而弗知，僑之耻也。孔張，君之昆孫，子孔之後也，執政之嗣也，爲嗣大夫，承命以使，周於諸侯，國人所尊，諸侯所知，立於朝而祀於家，有祿於國，有賦於軍，喪祭有職，受賑歸賑，其祭在廟，已有著位，在位數世，世守其業，而忘其所，僑焉得耻之？隣邪之人，而皆及執政，是先王無刑罰也。子寧以他規我。

⑥宣子有環，其一在鄭商，宣子調諸鄭伯。子產弗與，曰：非官府之守器也。寡君不知，子大叔、子羽謂子產曰：韓子亦無幾求，晉國亦未可以貳，晉國韓子不可偷也。若屬有讒人交關其間，鬼神而助之，以興其凶怒，悔之何及？吾子何愛於一環，其以取憎於大國也？盡求而與之。子產曰：吾非偷晉而有二心，將終事之，是以弗與。忠信故也。僑聞君子非無賄之難，立而無令名之患。僑聞爲國非不能事大字小之難，無禮以定其位之患。夫大國之人，令於小國，而皆獲其求，將何以給之？一共一否，爲罪滋大。大國之求，無禮以斥之，何馨之有？吾且爲鄙邑，則失位矣。若韓子奉命以使，而求玉焉，貪淫甚矣，獨非罪乎？出一玉以起二罪，吾又失位。韓子成貪，將焉用之？



且吾以玉買罪，不亦銳乎？韓子買諸賈人，既成買矣。商人曰：必告君大夫。韓子請諸子產，曰：日起請夫環，執政弗義，弗敢復也。今買諸商人，商人曰：必以聞，敢以爲請。子產對曰：昔我先君桓公與商人皆出自周，庸大比耦，以艾殺此地，斬之蓬蒿藜藿，而共處之。世有盟誓，以相信也。曰：爾無我叛，我無強賈，毋或召奪。爾有利市寶賄，我勿與知。恃此質誓，故能相保，以至於今。今吾子以好來辱，而謂敝邑強奪商人，是教敝邑背盟誓也。毋乃不可乎？吾子得玉而失諸侯，必不爲也。若大國令而共無藝，鄭鄙邑也，亦弗爲也。僑若獻玉，不知所成，敢私布之。韓子辭玉曰：起不敏，敢求玉以徼二罪，敢辭之。

夏四月，鄭六卿餞宣子於郊。宣子曰：二三君子請皆賦，起亦以知鄭志。子驪賦：野有蔓草。宣子曰：孺子善哉，吾有望矣。子產賦：鄭之羔裘。宣子曰：起不堪也。子大叔賦：褰裳。宣子曰：起在此，敢勸子至於他人乎？子大叔拜。宣子曰：善哉。子之言是，不有是事，其能終乎？子游賦：風雨子旗。賦有女同車。子柳賦：澤兮。宣子喜曰：鄭其庶乎？二三君子以君命貺起，賦不出鄭志，皆昵燕好也。二三君子數世之主也，可以無懼矣。宣子皆獻馬焉，而賦我將。子產拜，使五卿皆拜，曰：吾子靖亂，敢不拜德。宣子私覲於子產，以玉與馬。曰：子命起舍夫玉，是賜我玉而免吾死也，敢不藉手以拜。

公至自晉。子服昭伯語季平子曰：晉之公室，其將遂卑矣。君幼弱，六卿彊而奢傲，將因是以習，習實爲常，能無卑乎？平子曰：爾幼，惡識國。

秋八月，晉昭公卒。

九月，大雩，旱也。

冬，大旱，使屠擊祝欸，暨柏，有事於桑山，斬其木，不雨。子產曰：有事於山，藝山林也，而斬其木，其罪大矣。奪之官邑。

冬十月，季平子如晉，葬昭公。平子曰：子服回之言猶信，子服氏有子哉。



- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Seu.
- 2 The viscount of Ts'oo inveigled the viscount of the Man-jung [into his power], and put him to death.
- 3 In summer, the duke arrived from Tsin.
- 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, on Ke-hae, E, marquis of Tsin, died.
- 5 In the ninth month, we had a great sacrifice for rain.
- 6 Ke-sun E-joo went to Tsin.
- 7 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'aon of Tsin.

[The Chuen has here a note about the duke's remaining in Tsin over the new year:—This spring, the duke was detained there by the people of Tsin. The text does not mention it, concerning [the disgrace].]

Par. 1. The marquis of Ts'e, aware of the decay of Tsin, was now scheming to revive the old presidency of his State, and make himself another duke Hwan. During the time of Hwan, Seu had taken the side of the northern States. After his time it came under the power of Ts'oo, and we have nothing about it in the text in all the years of Szeu, Ch'ing, and Siang. Soon after the accession of Ch'aon, it became an object of suspicion to Ts'oo, as being inclined to side against it with Woo; and the marquis of Ts'e now took advantage of the disorders of Ts'oo to try and secure its adherence to himself. But he was not another Hwan, and Ts'e's time had gone by.

The Chuen says:—“The marquis of Ts'e invaded Seu. In the 3d month, on Ting-shin, his army arrived at Poo-ny, when the people of Seu made their submission, and the viscount, with officers of Tan and Ken, had a meeting in that place, and made a covenant with the marquis, who received, as a bribe, the tripod of K'eah-fou. Shuh-sun Chien-tze said, “Alas for the [small States] that there is now no leader among the princes! The ruler of Ts'e, devoid of principle, raises an army and invades a distant region. He assembles a conference, is successful, and returns;—no one resisting him. Such is the consequence of there being no leader! To this state of things may be applied the words of the ode (She II. iv., ode X. 2),

“The honoured House of Chow is [nearly] extinguished;

There is none to put an end to the disorders.

The Heads of the officers have left their places,

And none know my toil.”

Par. 2. For 魯 Kung-yang has 曼. In the Chuen on VIII. vi. 4, we read of the Man-she. They were a tribe of the Jung, whose principal town or city was in the south-west of the prea. Joo (Chow (汝州), in Ho-nan.

The Chuen says:—“The viscount of Ts'oo, having heard that the Man-she were all in disorder, and that their viscount K'ia had no good faith, made Joo Tan inveigle him [into his power], and put him to death. He then took

[the territory of] the Man-she, but he proceeded to appoint K'ia's son in his place;—which was proper.” Against this concluding decision of Ts'oo the K'ang-he editors strongly protest;—considering all the circumstances of the case.

[We have here three narratives connected with Han Szeu-tze of Tsin in Ch'ing:—

1st. “In the 3d month, Han K'e of Tsin went on a complimentary visit to Ch'ing, when the earl gave him an entertainment. Tze-ch'an had warned [the various officers] beforehand, that all of them who could claim positions in the court should behave with the utmost respect. K'ung Chung, however, came late, and stood among the visitors. From that place the director [of the ceremonies] made him remove. He then took his place behind the visitors, from which also he was removed; and he [finally] went among the instruments of music,—followed by the smiles of the guests. When the ceremony was over, Foo-tze reproved [Tze-ch'an], saying, “With the officers of the great State we ought to be particularly careful. If we often give them occasion to laugh at us, they will despise us. Though we all of us observed the rules of ceremony, those men would think meanly of us; but when a State does not observe the rules of ceremony, how can it seek for glory? K'ung Chung's losing his place was a disgrace to you.” Tze-ch'an replied with indignation, “If I issued commands which were not proper, gave out orders without sincerity, took advantage of circumstances to be partial in punishing, allowed litigations to be confused, were disrespectful at meetings [of the States] and at other courts, caused the orders of the government to be disregarded, brought on us the contempt of a great State, warbled the people without accomplishing anything, or allowed crimes to occur without taking knowledge of them;—any of these things would be a disgrace to me. But K'ung Chung is the descendant of Tze-kung who was the elder brother of one of our rulers, [thus] the heir of a chief minister and himself by inheritance a great officer. He has been sent in missions to Chow, is honoured by the people of other States, and is known to the princes. He has had his place in our court, and maintains the sacrifices in his family [temple]. He has endowments in the State, and contributes his levies to the army. At funerals and sacrifices [of our ruling House] he has [regular] duties; he receives of the sacrificial flesh from our ruler, and sends of his own to him. At the sacrifices in our ancestral temple, he has his assigned place. He has been in office under several



raiders, and from one to another he has kept his position. Though he forgot his proper course, how can that be a disgrace to me? That prejudiced and corrupt men should all lay everything on me as minister, is because the former kings did not appoint sufficient punishments and penalties. You had better find fault with me for something else?"

2d. "Seuen-tze had a ring of jade, the fellow of which was in the possession of a merchant of Ch'ing, and he begged it from the earl. Tze-ch'uan, however, refused it, saying, "It is not an article kept in our government treasury;—our ruler knows nothing about it." Tze-t'ao-shuh and Tze-yu said to him, "It is not a great request which Han-tze has made, nor can we yet show any swerving from our allegiance to the State of Tsin;—Han-tze of that State is not to be slighted. If any slanderous persons should stir up strife between it and Ch'ing, and the Spirits should assist them, so as to arouse its evil indignation, regrets (for your refusal) would be in vain; why should you grudge a ring, and thereby bring on us the hatred of the great State? Why not ask for it and give it to him?" Tze-ch'uan replied, "I am not slighting Tsin, nor cherishing any disaffection to it. I wish all my life to serve it, and therefore I do not give [Han-tze this ring];—[the refusal] is a proof of my loyalty and good faith. I have heard that a superior man does not consider it hard to be without wealth, but that his calamity is to be in office and not acquire a good name. I have heard that the minister of a State does not consider the ability to serve great States and foster small ones to be his difficulty, but thinks it a calamity when he does not keep to the rules of propriety so as to establish his position. Now, when the officers of a great State are sent to a small State, if they all get what they seek, what will there be to give to them [all]? If one be gratified and another denied, the number of its offences will be [demanded to be] increased. If the requisitions of the great State are not repulsed on the principles of propriety, it will become inevitable; we shall become [as one of], its border cities, and so lose our position. If Han-tze, sent here on his ruler's commission, asks for this gem, it shows an excessive greed;—shall we make an exception of this as if it were not a crime? Why should we produce this piece of jade, thereby originating two crimes;—the loss of our own position, and the development of Han-tze's greed? Would it not be very trivial traffic with a piece of jade to purchase such crimes?"

"Han-tze [himself then went to] purchase [the ring] from the merchant. When the price had been settled, the merchant said that he must inform the ruler, and the great officers [of the transaction], on which Han-tze made a request to Tze-ch'uan, saying, "Formerly, I asked for this ring, and when you thought that my doing so was not right, I did not presume to repeat the request. Now I have bought it of the merchant, who says that he must report the transaction, and I venture to ask [that you will sanction it]." Tze-ch'uan replied, "Our former ruler, duke Hwan, came with the [ancestor of this] merchant from Chow. Thus they were associated in cultivating the land, together clearing and opening up this territory, and cutting down its tangled southernwood and

oach. Then they dwell in it together, making a covenant of mutual faith to last through all generations, which said, "If you do not revolt from me, I will not violently interfere with your traffic. I will not beg or take anything from you, and you may have your profitable markets, precious things, and substance, without my taking any knowledge of them." Through this attested covenant, [our rulers and the descendants of that merchant] have preserved their mutual relations down to the present day. Now your Excellency having come to us on a friendly mission, and asking our State to take away [the ring] from the merchant by force, this was to request us to violate that covenant;—is not such a thing improper? If you get the jade, and lose a State, you would not [wish to] do the thing. If when your great State commands, we must satisfy it without any law, [Ch'ing becomes one of your border cities, and I would not wish to be party to such a thing. If we present the jade to you, I do not know what the consequence may be, and venture privately thus to lay the case before you." Han-tze then declined the jade, saying, "I presumed in my stupidity to ask for the jade, which would have occasioned two [such] crimes;—let me now presume to decline it."

3d. "In summer, in the 4th month, the 6 ministers of Ch'ing gave a parting feast to Seuen-tze in the suburbs, when he said to them, "Let me ask all you gentlemen to sing from the odes, and I will thence understand the views of Ch'ing." Tze-t'ao, (Han Ying-t'ao, son of Tze-p'ei) then sang the Yü yü man ts'ou (Shu, I. vii. ode xx.), and Seuen-tze said, "Good! young Sir. I have the same desire." Tze-ch'uan sang the K'ao k'ao of [the odes of] Ch'ing (I. vii. ode vi.); and Seuen-tze said, "I am not equal to this." Tze-t'ao-shuh sang the K'ien chang (I. vii. ode xiii.), and Seuen-tze said, "I am here. Dare I trouble you to go to any other body?" on which the other bowed to him. Seuen-tze then said, "Good! your song is right. If there were not such an understanding, could [the good relations of our States] continue?" Tze-yü sang the Fung yü (I. vii. ode xvi.); Tze-k'ue (Fung She, son of Kung-ran T'wan) sang the Yü nou t'ang ken (ode ix.); Tze-k'ue (Yin K'uei, son of Yin T'wan or Tze-shih) sang the T'oh he (ode xi.). Seuen-tze was glad, and said, "Ch'ing may be pronounced near to a flourishing condition! You, gentlemen, received the orders of your ruler to confer on me this honour, and the odes you have sung are all those of Ch'ing, and all suitable to this festive friendliness. You are all Heads of clans that will continue for several generations; you may be without any apprehensions." He then presented them all with horses, and sang the Go tsang (IV. i. bk. I. ode vii.). Tze-ch'uan bowed in acknowledgment, and made the other ministers do the same, saying, "You have quieted the confusion [of the States]; must we not acknowledge your virtuous services." [After this], Seuen-tze went privately to Tze-ch'uan, and presented him with a piece of jade and [two] horses, saying, "You ordered me to give up that [ring of] jade;—it was giving me a piece of jade, and saving my life. I dare not but make my acknowledgments with these things in my hand."



Compare with the last of these narratives the latter half of the Chuen on IX. xxvii. 5.]

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—When the duke arrived from Tsai (He had been allowed at last to get away; see the note at the beginning of the year), Tze-fuh Ch'ou-pih (Son of Hway-pih). The Tze-fuh were an offshoot from the Chung-shan clan) said to K'e Ping-tze, "The ducal House of Tsai will soon be reduced to a low condition. The ruler is young and weak, and the six ministers are strong, extravagant, and arrogant. They will take advantage of this [feebleness of the ruler] to practise [their bad ways], till the practice becomes a regular thing. Must not [the House] be reduced low?" Ping-tze said, "You are young; how should you know [any thing about] a State?"

Par. 4. Tze repeats this, merely with the difference of "duke Ch'ou" instead of the marquis's name.

Par. 5. Tze observes that the sacrifice was because there was a drought; and he appends the following narrative about Ch'ing, which was suffering in the same way:—"There was a great drought in Ch'ing, and T'oo Keih, with the priest K'wan, and an attendant Foo, were sent to sacrifice on mount Sang, when they cut down the trees; but there came no rain. Tze-ch'an said, "A sacrifice on a hill is intended for the nourishment of its forests. But these have cut down the trees;—their crime could not be greater." He then took from them their offices and lands."

Par. 6, 7. The Chuen says:—Ping-tze had gone to Tsai, to attend the funeral of duke Ch'ou. He [then] said, "The words of Tze-fuh Hway (Ch'ou-pih; see the Chuen on par. 3) would seem to be true. The family of Tze-fuh has a [worthy] son!"

*Seventeenth year.*

十<sup>一</sup>有七年春小邾  
子來朝。  
夏<sup>二</sup>六月甲戌朔日  
有食之。  
秋<sup>三</sup>鄭子來朝。  
八月<sup>四</sup>晉荀吳帥師  
滅陸渾之戎。  
冬<sup>五</sup>有星孛于大辰。  
楚<sup>六</sup>人及吳戰于長  
岸。

左傳曰十七年春小邾穆公來朝公與之燕季平子賦采芻穆公賦菁菁者莪昭子曰不有以國其能久乎  
夏六月甲戌朔日有食之視史請所用幣昭子曰日有食之天子不舉伐鼓於社諸侯用幣於社伐鼓於朝禮也平子禦之曰止也唯正月朔慝未作日有食之於是乎有伐鼓用幣禮也其餘則否大史曰在此月也日過分而未至三辰有災於是乎百官降物君不舉辟移時樂奏鼓祝用幣史用辭故夏書曰辰不集於房警奏鼓嗇夫馳庶人走此月朔之謂也當夏四月謂之孟夏平子弗從昭子退曰夫子將有異志不君君矣  
秋鄭子來朝公與之宴昭子問焉曰少皞氏鳥名官何故也鄭子曰吾祖也我知之昔者黃帝氏以雲紀故爲雲師而雲名炎帝氏以火紀故爲火師而火名



共工氏以水紀，故爲水師而水名。犬皞氏以龍紀，故爲龍師而龍名。我高祖少皞擊之立也，鳳鳥適至，故紀於鳥。爲鳥師而鳥名，鳳鳥氏，歷正也。玄鳥氏，司分者也。伯趙氏，司至者也。青鳥氏，司啟者也。丹鳥氏，司閉者也。祝鳩氏，司徒也。鵲鳩氏，司馬也。鴈鳩氏，司空也。爽鳩氏，司寇也。鵲鳩氏，司事也。五鳩，鳩民者也。五雉，爲五工正，利器用，正度量，夷民者也。九扈，爲九農正，扈民無淫者也。自顓頊以來，不能紀遠，乃紀於近，爲民師而命以民事，則不能故也。仲尼聞之，見於郊子而學之，既而告人曰：吾聞之，天子失官，學在四夷，猶信。

晉侯使屠蒯如周，請有事於雒，與三塗，長弘，謂劉子曰：客容猛，非祭也。其伐戎乎？陸渾氏甚睦於楚，必是故也。君其備之。乃警戎備。九月，丁卯，晉荀吳帥師涉自棘津，使祭史先用牲於雒。陸渾人弗知，師從之。庚午，遂滅陸渾，數之以其貳於楚也。陸渾子奔楚，其衆奔甘鹿。周大獲，宣子夢文公攝荀吳而授之陸渾，故使穆子帥師獻俘於文宮。

冬，有星孛于大辰。西及漢，申須曰：彗所以除舊布新也。天事恆象，今除於火，火出必布焉。諸侯其有火災乎？梓慎曰：往年吾見之，是其徵也。火出而見，今茲火出而章，必火入而伏，其居火也久矣。其與不然乎？火出於夏爲三月，於商爲四月，於周爲五月。夏數得天，若火作，其四國富之。在宋，衛陳鄭乎？宋，大辰之虛也。陳，犬皞之虛也。鄭，祝融之虛也。皆火房也。星孛及漢，漢，水祥也。衛顓頊之虛也。故爲帝丘。其星爲大水，火之牡也。其以丙子，若壬午作乎？水火所以合也。若火入而伏，必以壬午，不過其見之月。鄭裨竈言於子產曰：宋，衛陳鄭將同日火。若我用瓊瑩玉瑱，鄭必不火。子產弗與。

吳伐楚，陽句爲令尹，卜戰不吉。司馬子魚曰：我得上流，何故不吉？且楚故司馬令龜，我請改卜。令曰：魴也。以其屬死之。楚師繼之，尙大克之。吉。戰于長岸，子魚先死。楚師繼之，大敗吳師，獲其乘舟餘皇，使隨人與後至者守之。環而塹之，及泉，盈其隧，炭陳以待命。吳公子光請於其衆曰：先喪王之乘舟，豈唯光之罪？衆亦有焉。請藉取



以取大亂之。從對呼從對。餘曰。於人鬣之。死之。  
歸。餘敗吳楚而楚皆之。師皇。我舟濟者使衆以  
皇之。人師殺人送三夜則呼側。伏三長許救

- XVII. 1 In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, the viscount of Little Choo came to Loo to court.  
2 In summer, in the sixth month, on Kēah-seuh, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
3 In autumn, the viscount of T'an came to the court of Loo.  
4 In the eighth month, Seun Woo of Tsin led a force, and extinguished the Jung of Luh-hwān.  
5 In winter, there was a comet in Ta-shin.  
6 A body of men from Ts'oo fought a battle with Woo in Ch'ang-gan.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—This spring, duke Mu of Little Choo came to our court. The duke feasted with him, when Ko P'ing-tze sang the T'ao shuh (Sho, II. vii. ode VIII.), and duke Mu responded with the Ts'ing-ts'ing chay go (II. iii. ode II). Ch'ao-tze said, "Is he not able to rule his State, so that it will continue long?"

Par. 2. This eclipse occurred in the afternoon of August 14th, A.C. 524. The Chuen says:—When the eclipse occurred, the priest and the historiographer asked for the offerings of silk which should be employed. Ch'ao-tze said, "On the occurrence of an eclipse, the son of Heaven does not have his table fully spread, and causes the drum to be beaten at the altar of the land, while the princes of States present offerings of silk at that altar, and cause the drum to be beaten in their courts. This is the rule." P'ing-tze opposed it, saying, "Stop; it is only in the first month, before the evil influence has shown itself, that it is the rule, on the occurrence of an eclipse, to beat the drum and present those offerings. On other occasions there is no such rule." The grand historiographer said, "That is just this month. After the sun has passed the equinox and before he has arrived at the solstice, when any calamity happens to the sun, moon, or stars, the various officers put off their elegant robes, the ruler does not have his table fully spread, and withdraws from his principal chamber, till the fumes [of the eclipse] is past; the musicians beat the drums, the priest presents his offerings, and the historiographer makes an address. Hence in one of the Books of Hsia (Shoo, III. iv. 4) it is said, 'The sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind [musicians] beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped and the common people ran about.' That is said of the first day of this month;—it was in the 4th month of Hsia, which is called the first month of summer (The 4th month of Hsia was the 6th of Chow. But the present text of the Shoo places the eclipse in the 9th month of the year)." [Notwithstanding this], P'ing-tze would not follow their counsel, on which Ch'ao-tze retired, and said, "He will [soon] show that he is disaffected. He is not treating our ruler as his ruler."

Par. 3. T'an,—see VII. iv. 1. The viscount of T'an traced their lineage up to Kin-t'ien (金天氏), the dynastic title of Shao-hao (少昊), the oldest son of Hwang Te.

The Chuen says:—When the viscount of T'an came to our court, the duke feasted with him, and Ch'ao-tze asked what was the reason that Shao-hao named his officers after birds. The viscount replied, "He was my ancestor, and I know [all about] it. Before him, Hwang-te came to his rule with [the omen of] a cloud, and therefore he had cloud officers, naming them after clouds; Yen-te (Shin-nung) came to his with the [omen of] fire, and therefore he had fire officers, naming them after fire; Kung-kung came to his with [the omen of] water, and therefore he had water officers, naming them after water; T'ao-hao (Fuh-he) came to his with [the omen of] a dragon, and therefore he had dragon officers, naming them after dragons. When my ancestor Shao-hao came to his [the omen of] a phoenix, and therefore he arranged his government under the nomenclature of birds, making bird officers, and naming them after birds. There were so and so Phoenix-bird, minister of the calendar; so and so Dark-bird (The swallow), master of the equinoxes; so and so Pih-chiao (The shrike), master of the solstices; so and so Green-bird (A kind of sparrow), master of the beginning [of spring and autumn]; and so and so Carnation-bird. (The golden pheasant), master of the close [of spring and autumn];—so and so Chuh-k'ew, minister of instruction; so and so T'ou-k'ew, minister of War; so and so Shu-k'ew, minister of Works; so and so Shwang-k'ew, minister of Crime; so and so K'ueh-k'ew, minister of affairs. These five K'ew kept the people collected together. The five Che (Pheasants) presided over the five classes of mechanics;—they saw to the provision of implements and utensils, and to the correctness of the measures of length and capacity, keeping things equal among the people. The nine Hoo were the ministers of the nine departments of husbandry, and kept the people from becoming dissolute. After the time of Chuen-hu [who came after Shao-hao], they were not able to



arrange their offices by [such symbols coming] from afar, and did so by what was near at hand. Their officers being over the people, they named them from the business of the people, not being able to do otherwise."

"Chung-ue having heard of this, he had an interview with the viscount of T'au, and learned from him. Afterward he said to people, "I have heard that, when the officers of the son of Heaven are not properly arranged, we may learn from the wild tribes all round about. The remark seems to be true."

At this time Confucius was 27 years old. Tso, by mistake, makes him 28.

Par. 4. For 陸渾 Kung-yang has 黃渾, and K'uei-lung omits the 之 between 渾 and 戎. For these Jung, see on VII. ii. 4.

The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tsai sent T'oo K'uei to Chow, to ask leave to sacrifice to the Loh and to [the hill of] Saa-t'ou. Ch'ang Hwang said to the viscount of Loh, "The countenance of our visitor looks fierce. Their object is not sacrifice, but probably an attack on the Jung. The chief of Luh-hwan is very friendly with T'oo; that must be the reason [for their movement]. You should make preparations for it." Accordingly orders were given for preparations against the Jung.

In the 3th month, on Ting-mau, Seun Woo of Tsai led a force, crossed [the Ho] at the ford of Keih, and made an officer of sacrifice first offer victims to the Loh. The people of Luh-hwan knew nothing [of their object, till] the army came after him; and on Kang-woo he took the opportunity to extinguish the [tribe of] Luh-hwan, denouncing it for its disaffection and adherence to T'oo. The viscount of it fled to T'oo, and the multitude to Kan-tsh, where [the troops of] Chow captured many of them. Seun-tze had dreamed that duke Wan led Seun Woo and gave him Luh-hwan, in consequence of which he made Muh-tze command the expedition and [afterwards] present his prisoners in [the temple of] duke Wan.

Par. 5. Ta-shin is another name for Ta-ho (大火), the seventh of the signs of the Chinese Zodiac, embracing part of Libra and Scorpio,—the constellations of Fang, Sin, and Wei (房心尾).

In the tract of the Azure Dragon. The Chuen says:—In winter there was a comet on the west of Ta-shin, which travelled [eastward] to the Milky way. Shin See said, "This troum-star serves to take away what is old and arrange something new. The doings of Heaven are constantly attended by such appearances. Now the operation of taking away occurring in Ho, when Ho appears again, the new arrangement will be seen. We may conclude that the States are going to have the calamity of fire." Tso Shin said, "Last year I saw it, when it was still small. It was visible when Ho appeared. Now, this year, when Ho appeared, it was brilliant;—it must have remained concealed when Ho disappeared, and it has thus dwelt about Ho for a long time. It must happen as you say. Ho appears in the 3d month of Hsia, the 4th of Shang, and the 5th of Chow. The numbers of Hia are the more correct deductions from the heavens. When Ho [again] appears, the 4

States to which this comet has reference will be, I apprehend, Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing. Sung is the region corresponding to Ta-shin; Ch'in was the old abode of T'ao-hsun; Ch'ing, that of Chuh-yung;—all of them abodes of fire. The comet is travelling to the Han of the sky, and the Han is ominous of water. Now Wei was the abode of Chuen-hen, hence we have Te-k'uei in it, and its star is Ta-shway (Great Water). Water is the husband of fire. The calamity will arise, probably, on a Ping-tze day or a Jin-woo, when there is a meeting of water and fire."

"The Taoou of Ch'ing said to Tze-ch'ien, "There are going to be fires in Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing on the second day. If we sacrifice with a twin goblet and a libation cup of jade, Ch'ing will escape the fire." Tze-ch'ien did not agree to the proposal."

Par. 6. Ch'ang-gzu was in T'oo, close on the southern bank of the Yang-tze,—in the pres. dis. of Tang-t'oo (當塗) Dep. T'ao-ping (太平), Gan-hway.

The Chuen says:—Woo invaded T'oo. Yang Kuei, the chief minister [of T'oo], consulted the tortoise-shell about fighting, and got an unfavourable reply. The marshal Tze-yu said, "We are at the upper part of the stream; why should it be unfavourable? Moreover, it is the old custom of T'oo for the marshal to give the charge to the shell;—allow me to divine again." [Accordingly], he propounded the matter, saying, "If I and my followers die in the conflict, and the army of T'oo continue it, may we inflict a great defeat on the enemy?" The answer was favourable, and they fought at Ch'ang-gzu. Tze-yu died in the first onset, but the army of T'oo came on afterwards and greatly defeated that of Woo, capturing the [king's] vessel, Yu-hwang. The men of Suy and others who came late [for the fight] were then set to guard it. A ditch was dug all round it, down to the waterp-rings, and along the channel [between it and the river] was piled up [lighted] charcoal. At the same time the army was drawn up, waiting further orders.

"The Kung-tze Kwang of Woo made a request to all his men, saying, "That we lost the vessel of our former kings is not my fault only, but you all share in it. I would ask your help to retake it, and you will thus save me from death." They all agreed; and he then sent three men with long beards to his hill by the side of the vessel, saying to them, "When we cry out Yu-hwang, you must answer." The army followed in the night, and thrice cried out Yu-hwang, when the men responded one after another. The men of T'oo came at the cries, and killed them; but their army fell into confusion, and the men of Woo gave them a great defeat, retook the Yu-hwang, and carried it back with them."

The men with long beards were intended to appear as if they belonged to the army of T'oo, few of the people of Woo having the distinction of such an appendage. This circumstance helped to throw the army of T'oo into confusion.



## Eighteenth year.

十有八年春，王三月，曹伯須卒。夏五月壬午，宋衛陳鄭災。六月，邾人入郕。秋，葬曹平公。冬，許遷于白羽。

⑤左傳曰：十八年春，王二月乙卯，周毛得殺毛伯過而代之。葛弘曰：毛得必亡，是昆吾稔之日也。侈故之以而毛得以濟侈於王都，不亡，何待三月？曹平公卒。

夏五月，火始昏見。丙子，風。梓慎曰：是謂融風，火之始也。七日，其火作乎？戊寅，風甚。壬午，大甚。宋衛陳鄭皆火。梓慎登大庭氏之庫以望之，曰：宋衛陳鄭也。數日皆來告火。裨竈曰：不用吾言，鄭又將火。鄭人請用之。子產不可。子犬叔曰：竇以保民也。若有火，國幾亡，可以救亡。子何愛焉？子產曰：天道遠，人道邇，非所及也。何以知之？竈焉知天道？是亦多言矣。豈不或信？遂不與。亦不復火。鄭之未災也，里析告子產曰：將有大祥。民震動，國幾亡。吾身泯焉，弗良及也。國遷其可乎？子產曰：雖可，吾不足以定遷矣。及火，里析死矣。未葬，子產使與三十人遷其柩。火作，子產辭晉公子公孫於東門，使司寇出新客，禁舊客勿出於宮。使子寬子上巡羣屏攝。至於大宮，使公孫登徙大龜，使祝史徙主禱於周廟。告於先君，使府人庫人各儆其事。商成，公儆司宮，出舊宮人，寘諸火所不及。司馬司寇列居火道，行火所燬。城下之人，伍列登城。明日，使野司寇各保其徵。郊人助祝史除於國北，禱火於玄冥，同祿祈於四鄺。書焚室而寬其征，與之材。三日哭，國不市，使行人告於諸侯。宋衛皆如是。陳不救火，許不弔災。君子是以知陳許之先亡也。

六月，邾人藉稻。邾人襲郕，郕人將閉門。邾人羊羅攝其首焉，遂入之，盡俘以歸。郕子曰：余無歸矣。從帑於邾，邾莊公反，郕夫人而舍其女。



秋，葬曹平公。往者見周原伯魯焉，與之語，不說學。歸以語閔子馬。閔子馬曰：周其亂乎？夫必多有是說，而後及其大人。大人患失而惑，又曰：可以無學，無學不害，不害而不學，則苟而可。於是乎下陵上替，能無亂乎？夫學殖也，不學將落。原氏其亡乎？

○七月，鄭子產爲火故，大爲社，祓禱於四方，振除火災，禮也。乃簡兵大蒐，將爲蒐除。子大叔之廟在道南，其寢在道北，其庭小，過期三日，使除徒陳於道南。廟北曰：子產過汝，而命速除，乃毀於而。鄉子產朝過而怒之，除者南毀子產及衝，使從者止之，曰：毀於北方，火之作也。子產授兵登陴，子大叔曰：晉無乃討乎？子產曰：吾聞之，小國忘守則危，況有災乎？國之不可小，有備故也。既晉之邊吏讓鄭曰：鄭國有災，晉君大夫不敢寧居，卜筮走望，不愛牲玉，鄭之有災，寡君之憂也。今執事撓然授兵登陴，將以誰罪？邊人恐懼，不敢不告。子產對曰：若吾子之言，敝邑之災，君之憂也。敝邑失政，天降之災，又懼讒慝之聞，謀之以啟貪人，薦爲敝邑不利，以重君之憂，幸而不亡，猶可說也。不幸而亡，君雖憂之，亦無及也。鄭有他竟，望走在晉，既事晉矣，其敢有二心？

楚左尹王子勝言於楚子曰：許於鄭，仇敵也，而居楚地，以不禮於鄭，晉鄭方睦，鄭若伐許，而晉助之，楚喪地矣。君盍遷許，許不專於楚，鄭方有令政，許曰：余舊國也，鄭曰：余俘邑也。葉在楚國，方城外之蔽也，土不可易，國不可小，許不可俘，譬不可啟，君其圖之。楚子說，冬，楚子使王子勝遷許於析，實白羽。

- XVIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Seu, earl of Ts'aou, died.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-woo, the calamity of fire occurred in [the capitals of] Sung, Wei, Ch'in, and Ch'ing.  
 3 In the sixth month, a body of men from Choo entered Yu.  
 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke P'ing of Ts'aou.  
 5 In winter, H'eu removed [its capital] to Pih-yu.

[The Chuen gives here a short narrative about affairs in Chow:—This spring, in the king's 2d month, eu, Yih-mao, Maou Tih of Chow killed Kwo, earl of Maou, and took his place. Chang H'wang said, "Maou Tih is sure to become a fugitive. It was on this day that [the

wickedness of] Keun-woo (The pr. of the H'ia dyn.) reached its height,—in consequence of his extravagance. And [now, on this day] Maou Tih has consummated his extravagance in the king's capital. What are we to wait for but his becoming a fugitive?"]



Par. 1. Tso repeats this par. with the change of "duke Ping" for the earl's name.

Par. 1. We have here the fulfillment of the ratifications in connection with the onset of the preceding winter. The Chuen says:—In summer, in the 5th month, the Ho star made its first appearance at dusk. On Ping-tze there was wind, and Tze Shin said, "This is called a north-east wind; it is a prelude of fire. In 7 days, we may presume, the fire will break-out." On Mow-yin the wind was great; on Jin-woo it was vehement; and the capitals of Sung, Wei, Ch'iu, and Ch'ing all caught fire. Tze Shin went up on the top of the magazine of Ta-t'ing to look in the direction of them, and said, "In a few days, messengers from Sung, Wei, Ch'iu and Ch'ing will be here with announcements of fire."

'P'o Tsoon said, "If you do not do as I said (See at the end of the narrative on par. 5 of last year), Ch'ing will suffer from fire again." The people [also] begged that his advice should be taken, but Tze-ch'ian still refused. Tze-t'ao-shuh said, "The use of precious articles is to preserve the people. If there be [another] fire, our city will be nearly destroyed. If they can save it from that destruction, why should you grudge them?" Tze-ch'ian replied, "The way of Heaven is distant, while the way of man is near. We cannot reach to the former; what means have we of knowing it? How should Tsoon know the way of Heaven? He is a great talker, and we need not wonder if his words sometimes come true." Accordingly he would not agree to the proposal, and there was no repetition of the fire.

'Before the calamity occurred in Ch'ing, Lo Seih said to Tze-ch'ian, "There are great portents of something to occur. The people will be alarmed and excited; the city will be nearly ruined; I myself will die, and not survive till its occurrence. Would it be proper to remove the city to another site?" "It might be so," was the reply, "but I am not sufficient to determine on such a removal." When the fire occurred, Lo Seih was dead; but as he was not yet buried, Tze-ch'ian made 30 men remove his coffin. When the fire broke out, Tze-ch'ian dismissed a Kung-tse and Kung-sun of T'ia, [who had just arrived], at the east gate. He made the minister of Crises send recent visitors out of the city, and prohibit older visitors from leaving their houses. He made Tze-k'wan and Tze-shang go round and inspect all the places of sacrifice, and go on to the grand temple. He made Kung-sun T'ang remove the great tortoise-shell; the priests and historiographers remove the Spirit-tablets to the stone niches in the Chow temple, and announce [the calamity] to the former rulers; and the officers in charge of the treasuries and magazines to look well after their departments. Shing Ch'ing-kung kept the keepers of the palace on guard, sent out all the old inmates of the harem, and put them in a place which the fire could not reach. The ministers of War and Crime took post in order along the course of the fire, and went where it was burning. The people at the foot of the wall were sent up upon it in companies of five.

'Next day, orders were given to the magistrates in the country to take good care of the people under them. The people of the suburbs assisted the priests and historiographers in

clearing the ground on the north of the city. Deprecatory sacrifices against fire were offered to Hsuen-ming (The Spirit of water) and Hsuey-luh (The Spirit of fire); and prayers were offered on the walls all round about. A writing was made of the houses that had been burned; their taxes were remitted; and materials were supplied to the owners. For three days there was a [general] weeping, and markets were not opened. Messengers were sent to announce [the calamity] to the [other States].

'Sung and Wei [also] adopted similar measures. But Ch'iu took no measures against the fire, nor did Hsu send any message of condolence. From this a superior man might know that Ch'iu and Hsu would be the first of the States to perish.'

Par. 3. Yu was a small State whose principal city was 15  $\frac{1}{2}$  north from the pres. dep. city of E-chow. Sung restored Yu in the next year, but before long we shall find that it was absorbed by Loo.

The Chuen says:—In the 6th month, the people of Yu were engaged upon the public lands, when a body of men from Choo surprised the city. One of the people was about to shut the gate, but a Shoo-lie, Yang Lo, cut off his head; on which the attackers entered it, made all in it prisoners, and carried them off to Choo. The viscount of Yu (We must suppose he had been with the people in the fields) said, "I have nowhere to go to;" and he followed his family to Choo. Duke Ch'wang of Choo returned to him his wife, but kept his daughter.'

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—In autumn, when there was the burial of duke Ping of Tsoon, our officer who had gone to attend it had an interview with Loo, earl of Yuen, and in conversation with him found that he did not like learning. On his return he told this to Min Tze-ma, who said, "There will [soon] be disorder in Chow. There must be many there who talk in that way, before such an idea reaches the great men. The great men are troubled at errors [of some who have learned], and become deluded [on the subject], till they say, "Learning may be done without. The want of learning does no harm." But it is an accidental circumstance when the want of learning does no harm. From such a condition inferiors will be usurping, and superiors will be set aside:—is it possible that disorder should not ensue? Learning is like cultivation; if people do not learn, there will be decadence and decay. We may judge that the family of Yuen will come to ruin."

[We have here a sequel to the narrative under par. 2:—Tze-ch'ian of Ch'ing, in consequence of the fire, celebrated a great sacrifice at the altar of the land, and ordered exorcisms and deprecatory sacrifices throughout the State, in order to remove entirely the plague of the fire;—all which was in accordance with propriety. He then inspected the weapons, and was going to hold a review. For this it was necessary to clear the way. The temple of Tze-t'ao-shuh was on the south of the road, and his dwelling-house on the north of it, so that the space between was small. [Orders were given to clear them away,] but three days after the time [it was not done, and Tze-t'ao-shuh] made the workmen stand with their implements on the south of the road and the north of the temple,



saying to them, "When Tse-ch'an passes by you, and orders you to clear away quickly, then fall to pulling down right before you." [Soon after] Tse-ch'an passed by, as he was going to court, and was angry [at the dilatoriness], so the clearers began pulling down on the south. However, when he came to the cross way, he made his attendants stop them, saying, "Pull down on the north." When the fire occurred, Tse-ch'an gave out weapons, and sent men on the parapets. Tse-t'ao-shuh said to him, "Is not Tsin likely to call us to account for this?" "I have heard," was the reply, "that, when a small State forgets to keep guard, it is in a perilous position; how much more must it be so on an occasion of calamity! It is being prepared which keeps a State from being made little of." By and by, the officer of Tsin, on the borders, came to complain to Ch'ing, saying, "When Ch'ing suffered such a calamity, the ruler of Tsin and the great officers did not dare to dwell at ease. They consulted the tortoise-shell and the reeds, and ran to sacrifice to the hills and streams, grudging neither victims nor gems. The calamity of Ch'ing was a grief to our ruler. And now, your minister, with looks of determination, is giving out weapons and sending men up on the parapets. On whom is he going to lay the blame? We are afraid, and dare not but lay our thoughts before you." Tse-ch'an replied, "According to what you say, the calamity of our State was a grief to your ruler. There were defects about our government, and Heaven sent down the calamity. We are further afraid, lest some evil, slanderous people should take the opportunity to form a plot and excite the enviousness of people against us, which would be still more disadvantageous to our State, and increase the grief of your ruler. If we are fortunate enough to escape ruin, we shall be

able to explain [our conduct]. If we are not so fortunate, however much your ruler may be grieved for our fate, explanation will be too late. Ch'ing has other neighbours on its borders; its hope is in Tsin, and to it is its recourse. We serve Tsin;—how should we dare to admit a spirit of disaffection to it?"

Par. 5. Pih-yu was a city of Ts'oo, called also Seih (析), by which name it is mentioned in the Chuen on V. xxv. 5. It was in the pres. Tang Chow (鄆州), dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In the time of duke Yin, the capital of Hsu was Hsu-ch'ang (See on L. xi. 3). In the 15th year of duke Ch'ing, it was removed to Sheh (葉). See VII. xv. 1). In ix. 2, a further removal to E is recorded. In the 13th year, king Ling of Ts'oo appears to have removed it further within Ts'oo; but his successor, king P'ing, removed Hsu back to Sheh; from which the change in the text was made.

The Chuen says:—"The king's son Shing of Ts'oo, director of the Left, said to the viscount, "Hsu's natural position to Ch'ing is that of an enemy; and through its situation in the territory of Ts'oo, it observes no ceremony to Ch'ing. Tsin and Ch'ing are now on good terms. If Ch'ing attack Hsu and is assisted by Tsin, Ts'oo will lose the territory;—why not remove Hsu? Hsu cannot at present be entirely devoted to Ts'oo. Ch'ing has now good government, so that Hsu says, "It is my old State;" and Ch'ing says [of Hsu], "It is the State which I captured." Sheh in the State of Ts'oo is like a screen outside the barrier wall. The country is not to be thought little of; the State [of Ch'ing] is not to be slighted; Hsu is not to be captured; enmity is not to be excited;—your lordship should consider the case." In winter the viscount of Ts'oo employed this Shing to remove Hsu to Seih, i.e., to Pih-yu."

*Nineteenth year.*

十<sup>二</sup>有九年春  
宋公伐邾  
夏五月戊辰  
許世子止弑  
其君買  
己卯地震  
秋齊高發帥  
師伐莒  
冬葬許悼公



⑤左傳曰：十九年春，楚工尹赤遷陰於下陰，令尹子瑕城郢。叔孫昭子曰：楚不在諸侯矣，其僅自完也，以持其世而已。

⑥楚子之在蔡也，鄭陽封人之女奔之，生犬子建，及即位，使伍奢爲之師，費無極爲少師，無龍焉。欲譖諸王，曰：建可室矣。王爲之聘於秦，無極與逆，勸王取之。正月，楚夫人羸氏至自秦。

鄢夫人，宋向戌之女也，故向寧請師。二月，宋公伐邾，圍蟲。三月，取之，乃盡歸鄢俘。邾人，郕人，徐人，會宋公。乙亥，同盟於蟲。

夏，許悼公薨。五月，戊辰，飲犬子止之藥，卒。犬子奔晉，書曰：弑其君。君子曰：盡心力以事君，舍藥物可也。

⑦楚子爲舟師以伐濮，費無極言於楚子曰：晉之伯也，邇於諸夏，而楚僻陋，故弗能與爭。若大城城父，而竄犬子焉，以通北方，王收南方，是得天下也。王說，從之。故犬子建居於城父，令尹子瑕聘於秦，拜夫人也。

秋，齊高發帥師伐莒。莒子奔紀鄆，使孫書伐之。初，莒有婦人，莒子殺其夫，已爲鬻婦，及老，託於紀鄆，紡焉以度而去之。及師至，則投諸外，或獻諸子占。子占使師夜縋而登，登者六十人，縋絕，師鼓譟，城上之人亦譟。莒共公懼，啟西門而出。七月，丙子，齊師入紀。

⑧是歲也，鄭驪偃卒。子游娶於晉大夫，生絳，弱，其父兄立子瑕。子產憎其爲人也，且以爲不順，弗許，亦弗止。驪氏聾，他日，絳以告其舅冬，晉人使以幣如鄭，問驪乞之立故。驪氏懼，驪乞欲逃，子產弗遣，請龜以卜，亦弗子。大夫謀對，子產不待而對客曰：鄭國不天，寡君之二三臣，札瘥天昏，今又喪我先大夫偃，其子幼弱，其一二父兄，懼隊宗主，私族於謀，而立長親，寡君與其二三老曰：抑天實剝亂是，吾何知焉？諺曰：無過亂門，民有兵亂，猶懼過之，而況敢知天之所亂乎？今大夫將問其故，抑寡君實不敢知，其誰實知之？平丘之會，君尋舊盟，曰：無或失職，若寡君之二三臣，其卽世者，晉大夫而專制其位，是晉之縣鄙也，何國之爲？辭客幣而報其使，晉人舍之。



歸者彼於我淵○鄭勞無於撫曰城王必○楚人城州來沈尹戌曰楚人  
 蹶由楚之謂矣舍前之忿可也乃  
 者何罪諺所謂室於怒市於色  
 彼尹子瑕言蹶由於楚子曰  
 於龍龍亦無求於我乃止也  
 我龍龍不我覲也龍圖我獨何  
 淵國人請為榮焉子產弗許曰  
 ○鄭大水龍圖於時門之外消  
 勞罷死轉忘寢與食非撫之也  
 無寇讐今宮室無量民人日駭  
 於內而樹德於外民樂其性而  
 撫之矣戌曰吾聞撫民者節用  
 曰王施舍不倦息民五年可謂  
 城州來以挑吳能無敗乎待者  
 王曰吾未撫吾民今亦如之而  
 必敗昔吳滅州來子旗請伐之  
 ○楚人城州來沈尹戌曰楚人

- XIX. 1 In the [duke's] nineteenth year, the duke of Sung invaded Choo.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Mow-shin, She, heir-son of Heu, murdered his ruler Mae.  
 3 On Ke-maou, there was an earthquake.  
 4 In autumn, Kaou Fuh of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu.  
 5 In winter there was the burial of duke Taou of Heu.

[The Chuen introduces here two short narratives relative to Ts'oo.]

1st. 'This spring, Ch'ih, director of Works in Ts'oo, removed Yin to Hea-yin; and Tse-hsi, the chief minister, walled Keah. Ch'ao-tse said, "Ts'oo cannot occupy itself about the States [now]; it can barely maintain itself, and try to preserve the succession of its rulers, one after another."

2d. '[One time], when the viscount of Ts'oo had gone [on a mission] to Ts'ao, the daughter of the border warden of Yun-yang had sought his company, and the issue was [recognized as] the eldest son K'ien. When he succeeded to the State, he appointed Woo Ch'ay tutor to K'ien, and Fei Woo-keih assistant-tutor. Woo-keih was no favourite with his charge; and wishing to discredit him with the king, he suggested that it was time K'ien should be married. The king [accordingly] engaged for K'ien a daughter of Ts'ao, and Woo-keih took part in meeting her, and advised the king to take her for himself. In the 1st month, she, the lady Ying, [who became] wife of the ruler of Ts'oo, arrived from Ts'ao.'

Par. 1. See on the 3d par. of last year. The Chuen here says:—'The wife of [the viscount of] Yu was a daughter of Hsiao Shieh of Sung, and therefore Hsiao Ning [now] begged that an expedition might be undertaken [against Choo]. In the 2d month, the duke of Sung invaded that State; and laid siege to Ch'ung, which he took in the third month. Choo then returned all the captives whom it had taken from Yu. Officers of Choo, E, and Sea, had a meeting with the duke of Sung; and on Tih-hsi they made a covenant together in Ch'ang.'

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—In summer, duke Taou of Heu had fever; and in the 5th month,

on Mow-shin, he drank some medicine from his eldest son Che, and died. The son then fled to Tsin. On the words of the text,—"murdered his ruler," the superior man will say, "If a man use all his mind and strength in serving his ruler, he may let his physic alone." K'uh-ling gives rather a different account of this matter:—"Che did not commit the murder, but it is here said that he did so,—in reproof of Che. Che said, "I have been a party with the murderer." He therefore would not take his father's place, but resigned the State to his younger brother, wept and refused proper nourishment, so that he died within a year. Therefore the superior man here reproves him; as he reproved himself." K'ung-yang, also, without going into particulars, says that Che was not the murderer. The critic concludes from K'uh-ling's account that Che's crime was that he had not tasted, as he ought to have done, the medicine supplied to his father before he gave it to him, whereas Tao would seem to say that he had himself ignorantly prepared the medicine, a wrong use, which led to his father's death. Whatever the real facts were, it is difficult to reconcile the bare, hard statement of the text with our ideas of historical justice.

Par. 3. 地震.—see VI. ix. 11. Of the 3 earthquakes mentioned in the Ch'ün Ts'ew two occurred in the time of duke Ch'ao; this one, and one in his 23d year.

[The Chuen appends a narrative here about affairs in Ts'oo:—The viscount of Ts'oo prepared a naval expedition to invade Fuh. Fei Woo-keih said to him, "Tsin's leading position is owing to its being near to the great States, while Ts'oo, through its remote and obscure



position, is unable to contend with it. If you wall Shing-foo on a great scale, and place your eldest son there, to communicate with the northern regions, while your majesty keeps together those of the south, you will get possession of all under heaven." The king was pleased, and took his advice. In consequence of this, K'ien, the king's eldest son, dwelt in Shing-foo. [About the same time], the chief minister Tse-ch'ien went on a complimentary mission to T'ien, to make acknowledgments for [the king's] wife.]

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"When Kaou Fah invaded Ken, the viscount of that State fled to Ke-chang, and Fah sent Sen-shoo to attack it. At an earlier period, the viscount of Ken had put to death the husband of a woman of Ken, who thenceforth lived as a widow; and in her old age she had taken up her residence in Ke-chang, where she span a rope with which she measured [the height of the wall] and then kept concealed; but when the troops [of T'ien] came, she threw it over the wall, [hanging down] outside. Some one showed it to Tse-ch'ien (Sen-shoo), who made his soldiers climb up by means of it. When 60 of them had got up, the rope broke; but the troops then beat their drums and shouted, the men on the wall shouting also, so that duke Kung of Ken became frightened, opened the west gate, and left the place. In the 7th month, on Ping-tse, the army of T'ien entered Ke."

Par. 5. Many of the critics think that this entry of the burial of duke Taou of Hen is a conformation by the sage of his son's share in his death. Confucius is thus made to charge the son first with the murder of his father, of which he was not guilty, and then in this indirect way to withdraw the charge!

[We have here four narratives appended in the Chuen:—

1st, of affairs in Ch'ing. 'This year, Sze Yen (Tse yew; 子游) of Ch'ing died. He had married the daughter of one of the great officers of T'ien, by whom he had Sze, who was still young [when his father died]. The elder members of his family, however, raised Tse-h'ien, (an uncle of Yen, called Sze K'ieh; 駟乞) in his room. Tse-ch'ien, who disliked his character, and because the proceeding, moreover, was not according to the natural order, did not approve of the appointment, neither did he stop it; thereby alarming the Sze family. In the meantime, Sze sent word to his mother's brother of it; and in the winter the people of T'ien sent a messenger with some offerings of silk to Ch'ing, and to ask about the cause of the appointment of Sze K'ieh. The Sze family were frightened in consequence, and K'ieh wished to run away. Tse-ch'ien would not allow him to go; and when he begged leave to consult the tortoise-shell, neither would the minister agree to that. The great officers were consulting what reply should be given [to the envoys of T'ien], but without waiting [for the result of their deliberations]. Tse-ch'ien replied to him, "Through want of the blessing of Heaven on Ch'ing, several of our ruler's officers have died in pestilences, great and small; or by too early deaths, or even before they had got any name; and now we have lost our late great officer Yen. His son being young and feeble, the elders of the family, fearing lest their ancestral temple

should be without a [proper] master, consulted privately among themselves, and appointed the oldest of his near relatives. Our ruler and the elders [of his council] said [to themselves], "Heaven, perhaps, is causing [the family] to fall into disorder;—why should we take knowledge of it?" There is the common saying about not passing by the gate of a family in disorder. If in [any family of] the people there be the confusion of strife, and we are still afraid to pass by it, how much more should we be afraid in a case where the disorder is caused by Heaven! Your Excellency now asks the cause [of this appointment]; but since our ruler does not presume to take knowledge of it, who is there that really knows it? At the meeting of Ping-k'ew, in renewing the old covenants, your ruler said, "Let no State fall in the discharge of its duties;" but if, when any of the ministers of our ruler leaves the world, the great officers of T'ien must determine who shall be his successor, this is to make Ch'ing a district or border of T'ien;—it ceases to be a State." He then declined the offerings, and replied to the mission by one to T'ien, the people of which let the matter drop."

2d, relating to affairs in T'ao. "The people of T'ao called Chow-lai (See XIII. 12. T'ao must have retaken the place), on which Sze, director of Shin, said, "The men of T'ao are sure to be defeated there. Formerly, when Woo extinguished Chow-lai, Tse-ko asked leave to attack it, but the king said, "I have not yet comforted the minds of the people." The state of things is still the same; and we are wailing Chow-lai to provoke Woo;—is it possible we should not be defeated?" An attendant who was by him said, "The king has been unwearied in his beneficence, and has allowed five years' rest to the people;—he may be said to have comforted their minds." Sze replied, "I have heard that he who comforts the minds of the people is moderate in all his internal expenditure, and establishes the proofs of his virtue abroad, so that the people rejoice in their life, and there are no marauders nor enemies. Now [the king's] palaces are [built and beautified] without measure; the people are kept in daily terror, so that they are dying or removing, wearied with their toils, and forgetful both of their sleep and food. There is no comforting of them."

3rd, relating to affairs in Ch'ing. "There were great floods in Ch'ing; and [some] dragons fought in the pool of Wei, outside the She gate. The people asked leave to sacrifice to them; but Tse-ch'ien refused it, saying, "If we are fighting, the dragons do not look at us; when dragons are fighting, why should we look at them? We may offer a supprecatory sacrifice, but that is their abode. If we do not seek anything of the dragons, they will not seek anything from us." On this [the people] desisted [from their request].

4th, relating to T'ao and Woo. 'Tse-h'ien, the chief minister, spoke to the viscount of T'ao about Kwei-yew (See the Chuen on V. 8) saying, "What offence is he chargeable with?" The words of the common saying might be applied to T'ao,—He is angry with the members of his family, and he shows his anger in the market-place. It would be well to put away the former resentment against him." [The viscount] accordingly sent Kwei-yew back to Woo].



## Twentieth year

二十<sup>一</sup>年春王正月。

①左傳曰：二十年春，王二月己丑，日南至，梓慎望氛曰：「今茲宋有亂，國幾亡，三年而後弭。」蔡有大喪，叔孫昭子曰：「然則戴桓也，汰侈無禮已甚，亂所在也。」

夏曹公孫會自鄭

②費無極言於楚子曰：「建與伍奢將以方城之外叛，自以爲猶宋、鄭也，齊、晉又交輔之，將以害楚，其事集矣。」王信之，問伍奢，伍奢對曰：「君一過多矣，何信於讒？」王執伍奢，使城父司馬奮揚殺犬子，未至而使遣之。三

出奔宋。

秋盜殺衛侯之兄

月，犬子建奔宋，王召奮揚，奮揚使城父人執己以至。王曰：「言出於余口，入於爾耳，誰告建也？」對曰：「臣告之。」君王命臣曰：「事建如事余。」臣不佞，不能苟重，奉初以還，不忍後命，故遣之。旣而悔之，亦無及已。王曰：「而敢來，何也？」對曰：「使而失命，召而不來，是再奸也。逃無所入，王曰：『歸從政如他日。』無極曰：『奢之子材，若在吳，必憂楚國，盍以免其父召之。』彼仁必來，不然，將爲患。」王使召之曰：「來，吾免而父。」棠君尙謂其弟員曰：「爾適吳，我將歸死，吾知不逮，吾能死，爾能報，聞免父之命，不可以莫之奔也。親戚爲戮，不可以莫之報也。奔死免父，孝也。度功而行，仁也。擇任而往，知也。知死不辟，勇也。父不可棄，名不可廢，爾其免之，相從爲愈。」伍尙歸，奢聞員不來，曰：「楚君大夫其盱食乎？」楚人皆殺之。員如吳，言伐楚之利於州于公子光曰：「是宗爲戮，而欲反其讐，不可從也。」員曰：「彼將有他志，余姑爲之求士，而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。」

絜。

冬十月宋華亥向

寧、華定出奔陳。

十<sup>五</sup>有一月辛卯蔡

侯廬卒。

侯廬卒。

之求士，而鄙以待之，乃見鱣設諸焉，而耕於鄙。



⑤宋元公無信多私而惡華向華定華亥與向寧謀曰亡愈於死先諸華亥僞有疾以誘羣公子公子問之則執之夏六月丙申殺公子寅公子御戎公子朱公子固公孫援公孫丁拘向勝向行於其廬公如華氏請焉弗許遂劫之癸卯取犬子與母弟辰公子地以爲質公亦取華亥之子無惑向寧之子羅華定之子啟與華氏盟以爲質

衛公孟縶狎齊豹奪之司寇與鄆有役則反之無則取之公孟惡北宮喜褚師圃欲去之公子朝通於襄夫人宣姜懼而欲以作亂故齊豹北宮喜褚師圃公子朝作亂初齊豹見宗魯於公孟爲驂乘焉將作亂而謂之曰公孟之不善予所知也勿與乘吾將殺之對曰吾由子事公孟子假吾名焉故不吾遠也雖其不善吾亦知之抑以利故不能去是吾過也今聞難而逃是僭子也子行事乎吾將死之以周事子而歸死於公孟其可也丙辰衛侯在平壽公孟有事於蓋獲之門外齊子氏帷於門外而伏甲焉使祝靈寘戈於車薪以當門使一乘從公孟以出使華齊御公孟宗魯驂乘及閭中齊氏用戈擊公孟宗魯以背蔽之斷肱以中公孟之肩皆殺之公聞亂乘驪自閭門入慶比御公公南楚驂乘使華寅乘貳車及公宮鴻臚魋駟乘於公公戴寶以出褚師子申遇公於馬路之衢遂從過齊氏使華寅肉袒執器以當其闕齊氏射公中南楚之背公遂出寅閉郭門踰而從公公如死鳥析朱鉏宵從寶出徒行從公齊侯使公孫青聘於衛既出聞衛亂使請所聘公曰猶在竟內則衛君也乃將事焉遂從諸死鳥請將事辭曰亡人不佞失守社稷越在草莽吾子無所辱君命賓曰寡君命下臣於朝曰阿下執事臣不敢貳主人曰君若惠顧先君之好照臨敝邑鎮撫其社稷則有宗祧在乃止衛侯固請見之不獲命以其良馬見爲未致使故也衛侯以爲乘馬賓將擲主人辭曰亡人之憂不可以及吾子草莽之中不足以辱從者敢辭賓曰寡君之下臣君之牧圉也若不獲扞外役是不有寡君也臣懼不免於戾請以除死親執鐸終夕與於燎齊氏之宰渠子召北宮子北宮氏之宰不與聞謀殺渠子遂伐齊氏滅之丁巳晦公入



與北宮喜盟於彭水之上。秋七月，戊午朔，遂盟國人。八月辛亥，公子朝、褚師圃、子玉霄、子高魴出奔晉。閏月，戊辰，殺宣姜。衛侯賜北宮喜謚曰貞子。賜析朱鉏謚曰成子，而以齊氏之墓予之。衛侯告宰於齊，且言子石、齊侯將飲酒。徧賜大夫曰：「二三子之教也。」苑何忌辭曰：「與於青之賁，必及於其罰。」在康誥曰：「父子兄弟，罪不相及。」況在羣臣，臣敢貪君賜，以干先王。琴張聞宗魯死，將往弔之。仲尼曰：「齊豹之盜，而孟縶之賊，汝何弔焉？」君子不食姦，不受亂，不爲利疚於回，不以同待人，不蓋不義，不犯非禮。

宋華向之亂，公子城、公孫忌、樂舍、司馬彊向宜向鄭、楚建、鄒甲出奔鄭。其徒與華氏戰於鬼閭，敗子城。子城適晉。華亥與其妻必盟而食，所質公子者而後食。公與夫人，每日必適華氏。食公子而後歸。華亥患之，欲歸公子。向寧曰：「唯不信，故質其子。若又歸之，死無日矣。」公請於華賈，遂將攻華氏。對曰：「臣不敢愛死，無乃求去憂而滋長乎？」臣是以懼，敢不聽命。公曰：「子死亡有命，余不忍其詢冬。」十月，公殺華向之質而攻之。戊辰，華向奔陳。華登奔吳。向寧欲殺大子，華亥曰：「于君而出，又殺其子，其誰納我？」且歸之有庸，使少司寇慝以歸。曰：「子之齒長矣，不能事人。」以三公子爲質，必免。公子既入，華慳將自門行。公遽見之，執其手曰：「余知而無罪也。」入復而所。

疾，爲諸侯憂，是祝史之罪也。諸侯不知其謂我不敬，君盍誅於祝固。史鰌以辭賓，公說。告晏子，晏子曰：「日采之盟，屈建問范會之德於趙武。趙武曰：『夫子之家事治，言於晉國，現情無私。』其祝史祭祀，陳信不愧，其家事無猜，其祝史不祈，建以語康王。康王曰：『神人無怨，宜夫子之光輔五君，以爲諸侯主也。』」公曰：「據與欵，謂寡人能事鬼神，故欲誅於祝史。子稱是語，何故？」對曰：「若有德之君，外內不廢，上下無怨，動無違事，其祝史厲信，無愧心矣。是以鬼神用饗，國受其福。祝史與焉，其所以蕃祉老壽者，爲信君使也。其言忠信於鬼神，其適遇淫君，外內頗邪，上下怨疾，動作辟違，從欲厭私，高臺深池，撞鐘舞女，斬刈民力，輪掠其聚，以成其違，不恤後人，暴虐淫從，肆



行非度，無所還忌，不思謗讒，不憚鬼神，神怒民痛，無悛於心，其祝史薦信，是言罪也，其蓋失數美，是矯誣也，進退無辭，則虛以求媚，是以鬼神不饗其國，以禍之，祝史與焉，所以天昏孤疾者，爲暴君使也，其言僭慢於鬼神，公曰：然則若之何？對曰：不可爲也。山林之木，衡鹿守之，澤之萑蒲，舟蛟守之，藪之薪蒸，虞侯守之，海之鹽蜃，祈望守之，縣鄙之人，入從其政，偏介之關，暴征其私，承嗣大夫，強易其賄，布常無藝，微斂無度，宮室日更，淫樂不遠，內寵之妾，肆奪於市，外寵之臣，僭令於鄙，私欲養求，不給，則應民人苦病，夫婦皆詛，祝有益也，詛亦有損，聊攝以東，姑尤以西，其爲人也多矣，雖其善祝，豈能勝億兆人之詛？君若欲誅於祝史，修德而後可，公說，使有司寬政，毀關，去禁，薄斂，已責。

十二月，齊侯田於沛，招虞人以弓，不進，公使執之，辭曰：昔我先君之田也，旃以招大夫，弓以招士，皮冠以招虞人，臣不見皮冠，故不敢進，乃舍之。仲尼曰：守道不如守官，君子韙之。

齊侯至自田，晏子侍於遼臺，子猶馳而造焉。公曰：唯據與我和夫？晏子對曰：據亦同也，焉得爲和？公曰：和與同異乎？對曰：異。和如羹焉，水火醯醢鹽梅，以烹魚肉，燂之以薪，宰夫和之，齊之以味，濟其不及，以洩其過，君子食之，以平其心，君臣亦然。君所謂可而有否焉，臣獻其否，以成其可，君所謂否而有可焉，臣獻其可以去其否，是以政平而不干民無爭心。故詩曰：亦有和羹，既戒既平，饜嘏無言，時靡有爭，先王之濟五味，和五聲也，以平其心，成其政也，聲亦如味，一氣二體，三類四物，五聲六律，七音八風，九歌，以相成也，清濁，小大，短長，疾徐，哀樂，剛柔，遲速，高下，出入，周疏，以相濟也。君子聽之，以平其心，心平德和。故詩曰：德音不瑕，今據不然，君所謂可，據亦曰可，君所謂否，據亦曰否，若以水濟水，誰能食之？若琴瑟之專壹，誰能聽之？同之不可也如是。飲酒樂，公曰：古而無死，其樂若何？晏子對曰：古而無死，則古之樂也，君何得焉？昔爽鳩氏始居此地，季荝因之，有逢伯陵因之，蒲姑氏因之，而後大公因之，古者無死，爽鳩氏之樂，非君所願也。



曰和之至也。及子產卒，仲尼聞之，出涕曰：古之遺愛也。

○鄭子產有疾，謂子大叔曰：我死，子必為政。唯有德者能以寬服民，其次莫如猛。夫火烈，民望而畏之，故鮮死焉；水懦弱，民狎而翫之，則多死焉。故寬難，疾數月而卒。犬叔為政，不忍猛而寬，鄭國多盜，取人於萑苻之澤。犬叔悔之，曰：吾早從夫子，不及此。與徒兵以攻萑苻之盜，盡殺之，盜少止。仲尼曰：善哉！政寬則民慢，慢則糾之以猛；猛則民殘，殘則施之以寬；寬以濟猛，猛以濟寬，政是以和。詩曰：民亦勞止，汜可小康。惠此中國，以綏四方。施之以寬也。毋從譏隨，以謹無良。式遏寇虐，慘不畏明。糾之以猛也。柔遠能邇，以定我王。平之以和也。又曰：不競不絀，不剛不柔，布政優優，百祿是遒。

- XX. 1 In the [duke's] twentieth year, it was spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, the Kung-sun Hwuy of Ts'aou fled from Mung to Sung.  
 3 In autumn, some ruffians killed Chih, the elder brother of the marquis of Wei.  
 4 In winter, in the tenth month, Hwa Hae, Hëang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
 5 In the eleventh month, on Sin-maou, Leu, marquis of Ts'ae, died.

[The Chuen introduces under this spring two narratives. The 1st is astrological; and Tao-shu, in introducing it, seems to change the 'king's first month' of the text into the king's 2d month, the 1st day of which was the day of the winter solstice. The officers of the calendar had omitted to make an intercalary month after the 12th month of last year, which they ought to have done, making this year commence on the day of the solstice. The 5th year of duke Ho commenced on that day; seven periods of 19 years (= 133 years) had intervened. This 20th year of Ch'aou, therefore, was the 1st of another period, and should, had the intercalation been always correctly made, have fallen on the solstice. There is here the indication of another error in the calendar, for in this year, which was Ke-maou (己卯), the solstice fell on Sin-maou, (辛卯), two days later than Tao-shu's Ke-ch'ow.

"This year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ke-ch'ow, the sun reached the limit of his southern path (i. e., it was the winter solstice). Tseu Shin, having looked at all the indications of the sky, said, "This year there will be confusion in Sung. That State will be nearly brought to ruin, and it will be 8 years before the evil is arrested. There will [also] be a great death in Ts'aou." Shuh-sun Ch'ang-tse said, "Well then, [the evil in Sung] will

arise from [the descendants of dukes] Tse and Hwan; their ambitious extravagance and want of propriety are excessive; it is there that the disorder will be fount."

2d, relating to affairs in Ts'oo. "Fei Woo-keih said to the viscount of Ts'oo, "Këen, with Woo Ch'ay, is intending to revolt with the territory, beyond the barrier wall, considering himself there equal to Sung or Ch'ing. Tse and Tse also will both assist him, with the intention of injuring Ts'oo. The thing will be successful." The king believed him, and asked Woo Ch'ay, who replied "The one fault which you committed (Appropriating to himself his son's bride) was more than enough; why do you believe slanderers?" The king then made him be seized, and sent Fun Yang, the marshal of Shing-foo, to kill his own eldest son, but that officer warned Këen to go away before his arrival; and in the 3d month that prince fled to Sung. The king then called Fun Yang [back to the capital], who made the people of Shing-foo seize him, and carry him thither. "The words," said the king, "went forth from my mouth, and entered into your ears,—who told Këen of them?" "I did," was the reply. "O ruler and king, you had [formerly] commanded me to serve Këen as I would serve yourself. In my want of ability I could not allow myself in any way to deviate from this, but regulated my conduct by that first command. The second I could not bear to



execute, and therefore sent the prince away. When the thing was done, I repented of it; but that was then of no avail." The king asked, "How [in these circumstances] did you dare to come here?" Yang said, "I had been sent on a commission which I had failed to execute; if I had refused to come when called here, I should have been twice a traitor; and though I might have made my escape, no place would have received me." The king said, "Return, and discharge the duties of your office as before."

Woo-keih said [to the king], "The sons of Ch'ey are men of ability. If they should be in Woo, it would be to the grief of Te'oo. Why not call them, making their coming a condition of their father's pardon? They are virtuous and loving, and are sure to come. If you do not do so, there will be trouble hereafter." On this the king sent to call them, saying, "Come, and I will liberate your father." Shung, the commandant of Tang, said to his younger brother Yün, "Do you go to Woo, and I will return [to the capital], and die. My wisdom is not equal to yours. I can die, and you can repay. Having received this summons, based on the promise to liberate our father, it would not do not to go. When one's nearest relatives are slaughtered, it would not do not to repay the injury. To hurry to death for the liberation of our father is filial duty; to set on a calculation of what can be accomplished is virtue; to select one's duty to be performed and go to it is wisdom; to know death is before him and not try to avoid it is valour. Our father must not be abandoned; our name must not be allowed to perish. Do you exert yourself to the utmost. Our best plan is for each to allow the other to take his way."

Woo Shung then returned [to Ying] and when Ch'ey heard that Yün had not come, he said, "The ruler of Te'oo and his great officers will [now] take their meals late." Both father and son were put to death in Te'oo. Yün went to Woo, and spoke to Chow-yu of the advantages of attacking Te'oo. The Kung-tze Kwang, however, said, "He wishes to revenge the murder of the members of his family, and should not be listened to." [On this] Yün said, "That Kwang has another object in his mind. I will in the meantime seek for braves to take service with him, and will wait in the borders of the State [for the development of his ambition]." Accordingly, he introduced Chuen Shieh-chou [to Kwang], and commenced farming himself on the borders.]

Par. 2. For 鄆 Kah-löng has 鄆. Mung was a city of Ts'aoou, in the north of the pres. dept. of Ts'aoou-chow. The specification of Hwuy's flight as not taking place from Ts'aoou simply, but from Mung in Ts'aoou, has led to much speculation among the critics. We must suppose that Mung was the city belonging to Hwuy's family; but whether he had been holding it in revolt against the earl of Ts'aoou, or what other unsatisfactory relations there had been between them, can only be matter of conjecture. Comp. XXII. 2.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Sung:—Duke Yuan of Sung was without good faith, and had many private favourites, while he hated the class of Hwa and Hsäng. Hwa Ting and Hwa Hui consulted with Hsäng

Ning, saying, "It is better to be driven into exile than to die. Let us anticipate [the duke]." [Accordingly], Hwa Hui pretended to be ill, to inveigle [into his power] the scheme of the ducal House; and when they came to inquire for him, he made them be seized. In the 6th month, on Ping-shin, he put to death the Kung-tzes Yin, Yu-jung, Choo, and Koo, and the Kung-suns Yuen and Ting, and confined Hsäng Shing and Hsäng Hsing in his granary. The duke went to the house of the Hwa to beg [the liberation of those two], but Hui refused it, and made the duke himself a prisoner. On Kwei-maou he received the duke's eldest son Lwan, and his full brother Shin, with the Kung-tze Te, as hostages. The duke on his part took Woo-tseih the son of Hwa Hui, Lo the son of Hsäng Ning, and K'w the son of Hwa Ting, as hostages; and made a covenant with the Hwa.]

Par. 3. For 紂 Kung and Kuh have 紂. This Chih was the rightful heir of the State of Wei. For the reason why he was passed over, and the succession given to his younger brother, see on VII. 8. The Chuen says:—"Kung-mäng Chih of Wei treated Tse' P'aoou with contempt, and deprived him of his office of minister of Crime, and of [his city] Kuang, which he would restore to him when he was engaged on service, and take from him [again] when he was not so engaged. He [also] hated Pih-kung He and Poo superintendent of markets, and wished to put them out of the way. [At the same time] the Kung-tze Chaoou had an intrigue with Seuen Kiang, the widow of duke Ssang; and, being afraid, he wished to take advantage of circumstances to raise an insurrection. In this way, Tse' P'aoou, Pih-kung Hui, Poo the superintendent of markets, and the Kung-tze Chaoou united in an insurrection."

"Before this, Tse' P'aoou had introduced Tsung Loo to Kung-mäng, who appointed him to the 3d place in his chariot. Contemplating the insurrection, [P'aoou now] said [to Loo], "You are acquainted with the badness of Kung-mäng. Do not ride in his chariot with him, for I am going to kill him." Loo replied, "It is through you that I am in the service of Kung-mäng. You recommended me on the ground of my character, and therefore he has not been distant to me. Although he is bad, and I was aware of it, yet for the sake of it I have served him, and would not leave him;—that was my fault. If now I should slink away on hearing of the [impending] calamity, I should falsify your words about me]. Do what you have in hand. I will die in it, and thereby complete my service of you. I will return and die with Kung-mäng."

"On Ping-shin, the marquis of Wei was at Ping-shou, and Kung-mäng had a sacrifice outside the Kae-hwoh gate. Tse-tze's family pitched a tent outside the gate, and concealed men-at-arms in it. He made the priest Wa place a spear amid the faggots in a waggon which was set to stop up the gate, and at the same time he sent a carriage to follow Kung-mäng, if he should get out. Hwa Tse' was acting as chariot-eeer to Kung-mäng, Tsung Loo being the 4th person in the chariot; and when they came to the wain in the gate, one of the Tse's took the spear to strike Kung-mäng, whom Tsung Loo tried to cover with his back. The blow cut off



his arm, and then fell on the shoulder of Kung-ming, both of whom were slain.

"When the duke heard of the insurrection, he hurried rapidly to the capital, which he entered by the Yach gate. King Pe drove his chariot, in which was also Kung-nan Ts'ao, while Hwa Yin occupied the supporting chariot. When they arrived at the palace, Kung Liew-tzu got as a 4th man into the chariot of the duke, who then took into it his most valuable articles and left. Tsao-shin, a superintendent of the markets, met him in the Ma loo street, and followed him. When he passed the home of the Ts'ao, he made Hwa Yin, with the upper part of his body bared, hold an umbrella to cover where he was exposed. One of the Ts'ao's let fly an arrow at the duke, which hit Nan Ts'ao in the back. In this way the duke got out of the city, and Yin shut the gate of the suburbs behind them, getting over the wall himself afterwards and following. The duke went to Sze-nenou. Seih Choo-ts'ao in the night got out at a hole, and followed him on foot.

"The marquis of Ts'ao had sent Kung-sun Tsing on a complimentary mission to Wei. When he had left [the capital of Ts'ao], he heard of the confusion in Wei, and sent to ask where he should go to accomplish his mission. The marquis said, "He is still within the boundaries of the State, and is the ruler of Wei; do you discharge your mission to him." Tsing then went to Sze-nenou, and begged there to deliver his message. [The marquis of Wei], however, declined to receive it, saying, "A fugitive, without ability, I have failed in guarding my altars, and am here in the jungle. There is no place in which you can condescend to deliver your ruler's message." The guest replied, "My ruler charged me in his court that I should report myself humbly as one of your officers. I dare not think of anything else." The host rejoined, "If your ruler, kindly regarding the friendship between his predecessors and mine, [has sent you] on a bright visit to my poor State, to support and comfort its altars, there is my ancestral temple, [where I should receive you]." On this [the envoy] desisted from his purpose. The marquis begged earnestly to see him, but could not obtain a favourable reply. Tsing, however, sent him [some good] horses in place of seeing him, [that being impossible] while he had not yet discharged his commission; and the marquis employed them for his chariot.

"The guest proposed keeping watch at night; but the host declined [the service], saying, "The sad circumstances of my condition as a fugitive must not be allowed to affect you, Sir. Your followers must not be subjected to the duties arising from my position here in the jungle. I venture to decline your proposal." The guest replied, "I am an inferior officer of my ruler, as a gentleman or a groom of your Lordship. If I am not allowed to share in guarding you when you are thus alone, I shall be forgetting my duty to my ruler. I am afraid I shall not escape the charge of being an offender, and beg you to deliver me from the risk of death." He then himself took bell in hand, and joined all night long the torch-bearers.

"K'eu-tze, the steward of the Ts'ao family, had called Pih-kung-tze [to an interview with him]. The steward of Pih-kung was not privy to the matter, and laid a plot to kill K'eu-tze, after which

he attacked the Ts'ao family, and extinguished it. On Ting-se, the last day of the moon, the marquis [again] entered [his capital], and made a covenant with Pih-kung [he near the river Pang]. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-woo, he imposed a covenant on the people. In the 8th month, on Sin-hae, the Kung-tze Chou, Poo the superintendent of markets, Tsao-yuh Szeou, and Tsao-kaou Pang, fled to Ts'ao. In the intercalary month, on Mow-shin, Seuen K'ang was put to death. The marquis conferred on Pih-kung the honorary epithet of Ching-tze, and on Seih Choo-ts'ao that of Ching-tze, and bestowed on them the burial place of the Ts'ao family. He announced the [restoration of] tranquillity to Ts'ao, making mention of the [admirable] behaviour of Tsao-shih [The Kung-sun Tsing]. The marquis of Ts'ao was about to drink, [when the message arrived], and he gave [a cup] to the great officers all round, saying, "There is a lesson for you, gentlemen." Yuen Ho-ko declined the cup, saying, "If we share in Ts'ao's reward, we must also share in any punishment [he may incur]. In the Announcement to the prince of K'ang (Shoo, V. ix. 8; but the words quoted are not in the text, and they are a very roundabout deduction from what it says), it is said, 'The crimes of father or son, younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual's self; how much more is this rule applicable to officers! I do not presume to desire your gift in violation of [that rule of] the former kings.'

"When K'ia Chang (A disciple of Confucius; see Ann. IX. xl. 4) heard of the death of Tsang Loo, he wished to pay a visit of condolence to his family. Chung-ku, however, said to him, "Why should you pay such a visit for him, through whom Ts'ao P'ao proved a ruffian and Mung Chih was murdered? A superior man does not eat [the bread of] the wicked, nor receive [the advances of] rebels; he does not for the sake of gain endanger himself by corruption, nor treat others evilly, nor conceal unrighteousness, nor violate the rules of propriety."

On the 說 in the text compare on IX. x. 8. The individual intended by the term here is Ts'ao P'ao.

PAR. 4. Kung-yang has 申 for 寧. The Chuen says:—"On the insurrection of the Hwa and the Hseng in Sung, the Kung-tze Shing (A son of duke P'ing, XI. 1), the Kung-sun Ke, Yoh Shuy, the marshal K'ang, Hseng E, Hseng Ching, Keon of Ts'ao (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of this year) and Keab (The reading here is uncertain, whether 申 or 甲) of E, left the State to flee to Ching. Their followers fought with the Hwa clan at K'uei-yen, where Tsao-shing was defeated, after which he went to Ts'ao. Hwa Hae and his wife were accustomed to wash their hands and then feed the Kung-tzees who were hostages with them, taking afterwards their own meal. The duke and his wife every day would go to their house with food for the Kung-tzees, and then return to the palace. Hwa Hae was annoyed at this, and wished to send the Kung-tzees home. Hseng Ning said to him, "It was because he has not good faith, that you took his son as a hostage. If you send them back, we shall die very soon." The duke begged [the assistance] of Hwa Pe-ay, and



proposed to attack the Hwas; but that officer replied, "I do not grudge dying [for you], but while you wish to get rid of your sorrow, will it not be increased and prolonged [by such a step]? This is why I am afraid of it; should I [otherwise] presume not to obey your command?" The duke said, "My son will die according as it is appointed for him, but I cannot bear the disgrace [of my position]."

In winter, in the 10th month, the duke put to death the hostages left with him by the Hwa and Hsiao, and attacked those clans, when their chiefs fled to Ch'in, and Hwa Tung to Woo. Hsiao Ning had wished to put to death the [duke's] eldest son, but Hwa Hse said, "We have opposed our ruler and are going forth; if we also kill his son, who will receive us? And moreover to send him back will be an act of merit." [Accordingly], he made the sub-minister of Crime, K'ang, take [the hostages] back to the duke, saying to him, "You are advanced in years, and cannot take service in any other [State]. If you take these three Kung-tses back as evidence of your faith, you will be pardoned." As the Kung-tses entered [the palace], Hwa K'ang was going away from the gate, when the duke suddenly saw him, took him by the hand, and said, "I know that you are not guilty. Come in, and resume your office."

Par. 5. For 歷 Tso-sha has 歷. See the record of Lou's succession to the marquessate of T'ao in XIII. 9.

[We have here four narratives in the Chuen—

1st, relating to affairs in T'ao.—The marquess of T'ao had a scabbiness which issued in intermittent fever, and for a whole year he did not get better, so that there were many visitors from the various States [in the capital], who had come to inquire for him. K'ou of Leang-k'ou and E K'wan said to him, "We have served the Spirits more liberally than former rulers did; but now your lordship is very ill, to the grief of all the princes;—it must be the crime of the priests and the historiographers. The States, not knowing this, will say that it is because we have not been reverential [to the Spirits]; why should your lordship not put to death the priest K'ou and the historiographer Yin, and thereupon give an answer to your visitors?" The marquess was pleased and laid the proposal before Gau-tse, who replied, "Formerly, at the covenant of Sung, K'uei K'uei asked Chao Woo of what kind had been the virtue of Fan Hsuy (See the narrative on IX. xxvii. 2, 5), and was answered, "The affairs of his family were well regulated; when conversing [with his ruler] about the State, he told the whole truth, without any private views of his own. His priests and historiographers, at his sacrifices, set forth the truth, and said nothing to be ashamed of. The affairs of his family afforded no occasion for doubt or fear, and his priests and historiographers did not pray about them." K'uei reported this to King K'ang, who said, "Since neither Spirits nor men could resent his conduct, right was it he should distinguish and aid five rulers, and make them lords of covenants." The marquess said, "K'ou and K'wan said that I was able to serve the Spirits, and therefore they wished the priest and historiographer to be executed; why have you repeated these words [in reference to their proposal]?" Gau-tse replied, "When a virtu-

ous ruler is negligent of nothing at home or abroad, when neither high nor low have any cause for dissatisfaction, and none of his movements are opposed to what circumstances require, his priests and historiographers set forth the truth, and he has nothing to be ashamed of in his mind. Therefore the Spirits accept his offerings, and the State receives their blessing, in which the priests and historiographers share. The plenty and happiness [of the State] and the longevity [of the people] are caused by the truth of the ruler; the words [of the priests and historiographers] to the Spirits are real and faithful accordingly. If they meet with a ruler abandoned to excesses, irregular and vicious at home and abroad, causing dissatisfaction and hatred to high and low, his movements and actions deflected from and opposed to the right, following his desires and satisfying his private aims, raising lofty towers and digging deep ponds, surrounding himself with the music of bells and with dancing girls, consuming the strength of the people, and violently taking from them their accumulations of wealth;—[if they meet with a ruler] who thus carries out his violation of the right, not caring for his posterity, oppressive and cruel, giving the reins to his lusts, wildly proceeding without rule or measure, without reflection or fear, giving no thought to the maledictions of the people, having no fear of the Spirits, and however the Spirits may be angry and the people may suffer, entertaining no thought of repentance;—the priests and historiographers, in setting forth the truth, must speak of his offences. If they cover his errors and speak of excellences, they are bearing false testimony; when they would advance or retire, they have nothing which they can rightly say, and so they may vainly seek to flatter. Therefore the Spirits will not accept the offerings, and the State is made to suffer misery, in which the priests and historiographers share. Short lives, premature deaths, bereavements and sicknesses, are caused by the oppression of the ruler; the words [of the priests and historiographers] are false, and an insult to the Spirits."

The duke said, "Well then, what is to be done?" Gau-tse replied, "[What is proposed] will be of no avail. The trees of the hills and forests are watched over [for your use] by the *Ang-shi*; the reeds and flags of the marshes by the *chow-k'ou*; the fire-wood of the mires by the *ye-kou*; and the salt and cockles of the sea [shore] by the *ke-mang*. The people of the districts and borders are made to enter and share in the services of the capital. At the barrier-passes near the capital, oppressive duties are levied on the private [baggage of travellers]. The places of the great officers which should come to them by inheritance are forcibly changed for bribes. There are no regular rules observed in issuing the common measures of government. Regulations and exactions are made without measure. Your palaces and mansions are daily changed. You do not shun licentious pleasures. The favourite concubines in your harem send forth and carry things away from the markets; your favourite officers abroad issue false orders in the borders;—thus nourishing the gratification of what they selfishly desire. And if people do not satisfy them, they [make them criminals] in return. The people are pained and distressed; husbands and wives join



In cursing [the government]. Blessings are of benefit, but curses are injurious. From Leang-shieh on the east, and from Koo-yew on the west, the people are many. Although your prayers may be good, how can they prevail against the curses of millions? If your lordship wishes to execute the priest and the historiographer, cultivate your virtue, and then you may do it." The marquis was pleased, and made his officers institute a generous government, pull down the barrier-passes, take away prohibitions, make their exactions more light, and forgive debts.

24, relating to an incident in Tse:—In the 11th month, the marquis of Tse was hunting in Pei, and summoned the forester to him with a bow. The forester did not come forward, and the marquis caused him to be seized, when he explained his conduct, saying, "At the huntings of our former rulers, a flag was used to call a great officer, a bow to call an inferior one, and a fur cap to call a forester. Not seeing the fur cap, I did not dare to come forward." On this he was let go. Chung-ne said, "To keep the rule [of answering a ruler's summons] is not so good as to keep [the special rule for] one's office. Superior men will hold this man right."

25, still relating to the marquis of Tse and Gan-tze:—When the marquis of Tse returned from his hunt, Gan-tze was with him in the tower of Ch'uen, and Tze-yu (Ken of Leang-k'ue of the 1st narrative) drove up to it at full speed. The marquis said, "It is only Ken who is in harmony with me!" Gan-tze replied, "Ken is an assessor merely; how can he be considered in harmony with you?" "Are they different," asked the marquis,—"harmony and assent?" Gan-tze said, "They are different. Harmony may be illustrated by soup. You have the water and fire, vinegar, pickle, salt, and plums, with which to cook fish. It is made to boil by the firewood, and then the cook mixes the ingredients, harmoniously equalizing the several flavours, so as to supply whatever is deficient and carry off whatever is in excess. Then the master eats it, and his mind is made equable. So it is in the relations of ruler and minister. When there is in what the ruler approves of anything that is not proper, the minister calls attention to that impropriety, so as to make the approval entirely correct. When there is in what the ruler disapproves of anything that is proper, the minister brings forward that propriety, so as to remove occasion for the disapproval. In this way the government is made equal, with no infringement of what is right, and there is no quarrelling with it in the minds of the people. Hence it is said in the ode (She IV. III. ode II.).

"There are also the well-tempered soups, Prepared beforehand, the ingredients rightly proportioned.

By these offerings we invite his presence without a word;

Nor is there now any contention in the service."

As the ancient kings established the doctrine of the five flavours, so they made the harmony of the five notes, to make their minds equable and to perfect their government. There is an analogy between sounds and flavours. There are the breath, the two classes of dancers, the three subjects, the materials from the four quarters, the five notes, the six pitch-pipes, the seven

sounds, the eight winds, the nine songs;—[by these nine things the materials for music] are completed. Then there are [the distinctions of] clear and thick, small and large, short and long, fast and slow, solemn and joyful, hard and soft, lingering and rapid, high and low, the commencement and close, the close and the diffuse, by which the parts are all blended together. The superior man listens to such music, that his mind may be composed. His mind is composed, and his virtues become harmonious. Hence it is said in the ode (She, I. xv. ode VII. 2),

"There is no flaw in his virtuous fame."

Now it is not so with Ken. Whatever you say 'Yes' to, he also says 'Yes.' Whatever you say 'No' to, he also says 'No.' If you were to try to give water a flavour with water, who would care to partake of the result? If lutes were to be confined to one note, who would be able to listen to them? Such is the insufficiency of mere assent."

They were drinking and joyous, when the marquis said, "If from ancient times till now there had been no death, how great would [men's] pleasure have been!" Gan-tze replied, "If from ancient times till now there had been no death, how could your lordship have shared in the pleasure of the ancients? Anciently the Shwang-kew occupied this territory. To them succeeded [the House of] Ke-shih. Pih-liang of Fung followed; and then the House of P'oo-koo, after which came [your ancestor] Tse-king. If the ancients had not died, the happiness of the Shwang-kew is what you never could have desired."

26, the dying counsels of Tze-ch'ian:—Tze-ch'ian was ill, and said to Tze-tse-shuh, "When I die, the government is sure to come into your hands. It is only the [perfectly] virtuous, who can keep the people in submission by clemency. For the next class [of rulers] the best thing is severity. When fire is blazing, the people look to it with awe, and few of them die from it. Water again is weak, and the people despise it, and make sport with it, so that many die from it. It is difficult therefore to carry on a mild government."

After being ill several months, he died, and Tze-shuh received the administration of the govt. He could not bear to use severity, and tried to be mild. The consequence was that there were many robbers in the State, who plundered people about the marsh of Hwan-foo. Tze-shuh repented of his course, saying, "If I had sooner followed the advice of Tze-ch'ian, things would not have come to this." He then raised his troops, and attacking the robbers of Hwan-foo, killed them all, on which robbers [generally] diminished and disappeared. Chung-ne said, "Good! When govt. is mild, the people despise it. When they despise it, severity must take its place. When govt. is severe, the people are slaughtered. When this takes place, they must be dealt with mildly. Mildness serves to temper severity, and severity to regulate mildness;—it is in this way that the administration of government is brought to harmony. The ode says (III. II. ode IX. 1.):—

"The people indeed are heavily burdened:—But perhaps a little ease may be got for them. Deal kindly in this centre of the kingdom, And so give rest to the four quarters of it;—"



that has reference to the employment of mildness. [Again]:—

<sup>2</sup> Give an indulgence to deceit and obsequiousness,  
In order to make the unconscientious careful,  
And repress robbers and oppressors,  
Who have no fear of the clear [will of Heaven];—

that has reference to the substitution for it of severity. [And further]:—

<sup>3</sup> So may you encourage the distant  
And help the near,  
And establish [the throne of] our king;—

that has reference to the harmonious blending of both of these. Another ode (IV. lil. ode IV. 4) says:—

He was neither violent nor remiss,  
Neither hard nor soft.  
Gently he spread his instructions abroad,  
And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him;—

that has reference to the perfection of such harmony." When T'ze-ch'andied and Chung-no heard of it, he shed tears and said, "He afforded a specimen of the love transmitted from the ancients!"

*Twenty-first year.*

二十有一年春王三月葬蔡平公。夏晉侯使士鞅來聘。宋華亥向寧華定自陳入于宋南里以叛。秋七月壬午朔日有食之。八月乙亥叔輒卒。冬蔡侯朱出奔楚。公如晉至河乃復。

⑤左傳曰二十一年春天王將鑄無射汾州鳩曰王其以心疾死乎夫樂天子之職也夫音樂之興也而鐘音之器也天子省風以作樂器以鍾之輿以行之小者不窳大者不櫛則和於物物和則嘉成故和聲入於耳而藏於心心億則樂窳則不咸櫛則不睿心是以感實生疾今鐘櫛矣王心弗堪其能久乎

三月葬蔡平公蔡大夫朱失位位在卑大夫送葬者歸見昭子昭子問蔡故以告昭子歎曰蔡其亡乎若不亡是君也必不終詩曰不解于位民之攸堅今蔡侯始即位而適卑身將從之

夏晉士鞅來聘叔孫爲政季孫欲惡諸晉使有司以齊餉國歸費之禮爲士鞅士鞅怒曰鮑國之位下其國小



而使鞅從其牢禮，是卑敝邑也。將復諸寡君，魯人恐，加四牢焉，爲十一牢。

宋華賈遂生華貍，華多僚，華登，貍爲少司馬，多僚爲御士，與貍相惡，乃譖諸公，曰：「貍將納亡人，亟言之。」公曰：「司馬以吾故亡其良子，死亡有命，吾不可以再亡之。」對曰：「君若愛司馬，則如亡，死如可逃，何遠之有？」公懼，使侍人召司馬之侍人宜僚，飲之酒，而使告司馬。司馬歎曰：「必多僚也，吾有譏子而弗能殺，吾又不死，抑君有命，可若何？」乃與公謀逐華貍，將使田孟諸而遣之。公飲之酒，厚酬之，賜及從者。司馬亦如之。張句尤之，曰：「必有故，使子皮承宜僚以劍而訊之，宜僚盡以告。」張句欲殺多僚，子皮曰：「司馬老矣，登之謂甚，吾又重之，不如亡也。」五月，丙申，子皮將見司馬而行，則遇多僚御司馬而朝。張句不勝其怒，遂與子皮、白在、鄭翩殺多僚，劫司馬以叛，而召亡人壬寅，華向入，樂大心、豐愆、華慆、懷諸橫，華氏居廬門，以南里叛。六月，庚午，宋城舊鄆，及桑林之門，而守之。秋七月，壬午朔，日有食之。公問於梓慎，曰：「是何物也？」禍福何爲？對曰：「二至二分，日有食之，不爲災，日月之行也，分同道也，至相過也，其他月則爲災，陽不克也，故常爲水。」

於是叔輒哭，日食，昭子曰：「子叔將死，非所哭也。」八月，叔輒卒。

○冬十月，登以吳師救華氏，齊烏枝鳴戍宋，廚人濮曰：「軍志有之，先人有奪人之心，後人有待其衰，盍及其勞，且未定也，伐諸？」若人而固，則華氏衆矣，悔無及也。從之。丙寅，齊師敗吳師於鴻口，獲其二帥，公子苦、淮、偃州員、華登帥其餘以敗宋師。公欲出，廚人濮曰：「吾小人，可藉死，而不能送亡君，請待之。」乃徇曰：「揚徽者，公徒也，衆從之。」公自揚門見之，下而巡之，曰：「國亡君死，二三子之耻也，豈專孤之罪也？」齊烏枝鳴曰：「用少莫如齊致死，齊致死，莫如去備，彼多兵矣，請皆用劍從之。」華氏北，復卽之。廚人濮以裳裹首，而荷以走，曰：「得華登矣。」遂敗華氏於新里。翟僂新居於新里，既戰，說甲於公而歸。華姓居於公里，亦如之。十一月，癸未，公子城以晉師至，曹貍胡會晉荀吳、齊苑何忌、衛公子朝救宋。丙戌，與華氏戰於赭丘，鄭翩願爲觀，其御願爲鵠，子祿御公子城，莊董



爲右，千驍御呂封人華豹，張弓爲右，相遇，城還，華豹曰：「城也，城怒而反之，將注，豹則闕矣。」曰：「平公之靈，尙輔相余，豹射出其間，將注，則又闕矣。」曰：「不狎鄙，抽矢，城射之，殪，張弓抽受而下，射之，折肢，扶伏而擊之，折軫，又射之，死。」千驍請一矢，城曰：「余言汝於君，對曰：『不死，伍乘，軍之大刑也。』」千刑而從子，君焉用之？子速諸，乃射之，殪，大敗華氏，圍諸南里，華亥搏膺而呼，見華龜曰：「吾爲纍氏矣。」龜曰：「子無我廷，不幸而後亡，使華登如楚，乞師，華龜以車十五乘，徒七十人，犯師而出，食於睢上，哭而送之，乃復入，楚遷越帥師，將逆華氏，大宰犯諫曰：「諸侯唯宋事其君，今又爭國，釋君而臣是助，無乃不可乎？」王曰：「而告我也。」後既許之矣。蔡侯朱出奔楚，費無極取貨於東國，而謂蔡人曰：「朱不用命於楚，君王將立東國，若不先從王，欲楚必圍蔡。」蔡人懼，出朱而立東國，朱愬於楚，楚子將討蔡，無極曰：「平侯與楚有盟，故封其子有二心，故廢之。」靈王殺廳大子，其子與君同惡，德君必甚，又使立之，不亦可乎？且廢置在君，蔡無他矣。公如晉，及河，鼓叛晉，晉將伐鮮虞，故辭公。

- XXI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-first year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke Ping of Ts'ae.
- 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'in sent Sze Yang to Loo on a complimentary mission.
- 3 Hwa Hae, Hwang Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung entered Nan-le [in the capital] of that State from Ch'in, and held it in revolt.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-woo, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 5 In the eighth month, on Yih-hae, Shuh Cheh died.
- 6 In winter, Choo, marquis of Ts'ae, fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 7 The duke was going to Ts'in; but when he had got to the Ho, he returned.

[The Chuen introduces here the following narrative:—'This spring, the king by Heaven's grace proposed to cast [the bell] Woo-yih (The name of the 11th of the musical pipes). The musician Chou-k'ew said, "The king is likely to die from disease of the heart! Music comes within the duties of the son of Heaven. The notes are the vehicle of music. The bell is the vessel that contains the notes. The son of Heaven examines the manners [of the people],

to guide him in making his [instruments of] music. In his instruments he collects the notes, and by these notes the music goes forth. The smaller notes must not be too small, nor the greater too great. [This being the case], there ensues a harmony with things without, and admirable music is the result. Hence the harmonious sounds enter the ear, and descend into the heart. When repose is given to the heart, there is pleasure. If the notes be too



small, the heart is not satisfied; if they be too large, it cannot bear them. It is consequently agitated, and the agitation produces disease. This bell will be too large, and the king's heart will not be able to endure it. Is it possible he can continue long?"

K'ung Ying-tah traces the history of this bell to the commencement of the Suy dynasty, about the end of the 6th century, when it was destroyed.]

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—"At the burial of duke P'ing, Choo, his heir son (太子) must here be—世子, erred in not taking his proper place, and took a lower one (i. e., a place below an elder brother, the son of a concubine). Our great officer, who had gone to the burial, saw Ch'ou-tze on his return, and, being asked by him about the affairs of T'wae, told him of this incident. Ch'ou-tze said, with a sigh, "Is T'wae going to perish? If it do not perish, this ruler will not die in his State. The ode says (She, III. li. ode V. 4.):—

'Not idly occupying his office,  
The people will have rest in him.'

Since the marquis of T'wae, immediately on his accession, [thus] took a lower [place than was proper], so it will happen to his person."

Par. 2. The object of this mission, Tso thinks, was to open communications between the new ruler of Tsin and the court of Loo. But it was now the 5th year of duke King of Tsin—he had been remiss in his attentions to the faithful Loo. What is more remarkable,—this was the last mission of the kind sent to Loo by Tsin, which thereby acquiesced in its own decline. Nor does the text of the classic mention any *ping* or friendly mission of compliment from any other State to Loo, which had fallen much from the high position which it had once occupied in the kingdom.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, when See Yang of Tsin came on a complimentary mission, Shuh-sun was the principal minister of the State. Ke-sun wishing to bring on him the enmity of Tsin, made the officers pay to the envoy the same ceremonies which had been paid to Pao Kwoh of T'wae when he came to return Pe (See the narrative appended to XIV. 1). See Yang was angry, and said, "The rank of Pao Kwoh was inferior to mine, and his State was smaller [than Tsin]; and to treat me with the same number of oxen which he received, is to lower my State. I will report the thing to my ruler." The people of Loo became afraid, and added four sets of animals, making [in all] eleven."

Par. 3. Kung-yang has 畔 for 叛. In 南里 we are to take 里 in the sense of 'neighbourhood,' according to the 1st meaning given to the character in the dictionary (里, 居也. 里者, 止也. 五十家共居止也). A certain neighbourhood inside the wall of the capital went by this name of Nan-le, or 'the south district.'

The Chuen says:—"Hwa Pe-say (See on par. 4 of last year) had [3 sons], Ch'oo, To-liao, and Tang. Ch'oo was assistant-minister of War,

and To-liao was charioteer [to the duke], cherishing a hostile feeling to Ch'oo, whom he slandered to the duke, saying, "Ch'oo will bring the fugitives back (See the narrative referred to). He often speaks of it." The duke replied, "The minister of War on my account has lost his good son (Hwa Tang, one of the fugitives). Death and exile are as determined. I must not cause him the loss of another son in the same way." "If your Grace," said To-liao, "[thus] loves the minister of War, you had better abandon the State. If death can be avoided, no matter to what distance you flee." The duke became frightened, and made one of his attendants call E-liao, an attendant of the minister of War, entertain him with spirits, and instruct him to inform the minister [of what was agitated]. The minister heard it with a sigh, and said, "This must have been To-liao. I have a slanderous son, and have not been able to put him to death. I myself also have not [managed to] die [before this]. But since the duke issues his commands, what can be done?" He then took counsel with the duke about driving Ch'oo from the State, and proposed to send him to hunt at Mang-choo, and thence to send him away. The duke entertained Ch'oo to drink, and gave him large presents at the feast, making gifts also to his followers. [His father] the minister did the same. Chang Kae was surprised at it, and said, "There must be a reason for this." He made Tse-p'o (Hwa Ch'oo) question E-liao with his sword at his neck, and all the truth was thus disclosed to them. Kae wanted to kill To-liao, but Tse-p'o said, "The minister is old, and [the exile of] Tang was too great a trial to him. I should [thus] be increasing [his sorrow]. My best plan is to flee."

"In the 5th month, on Ping-shin, Tse-p'o was going to see the minister and take his leave, when he met To-liao driving their father to court. Chang Kae could not restrain his anger, and along with Tse-p'o, K'ew Jin, and Ch'ing P'een, he killed To-liao. [At the same time] they carried off the minister, thereon declared a revolt, and recalled the exiles. On Jin-yin, the Hwa and Hwang entered the State. Yoh Ta-shin, Fung K'eeo, and Hwa Kang tried to withstand them at Hung. The house of the Hwa family was near the Loo gate, and they took possession therefore of the south district (Nan-le, which was adjacent), and held it in revolt. In the 6th month, on Kang-woo, [the duke] repaired the old wall of the city and the gate of Sang-lin, and appointed guards at them."

Par. 4. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of June 24, B.C. 590. The Chuen says:—"In the occurrence of this eclipse the duke asked Tso Shih saying, "What is this for? What calamity does it indicate, or what blessing?" "At the solstices and equinoxes," was the reply, "an eclipse of the sun does not indicate calamity. The sun and the moon, in their travelling, are at the equinoxes, in the same path; and at the solstices, they pass each other. On other months, an eclipse indicates calamity. The yang principle cannot overcome [the yin], and hence there is always [disaster from] water."

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 葬 for 輓. Shuh Ch'eh was the son of Shuh Kiang, styled Pih-chang (白張). He has not appeared in



connexion with the business of the State, and this record of his death must have been made simply because of his relationship to the ducal house.

The Chuen says:—"At this time Shih Chieh wept because of the eclipse of the sun. Ch'ou-tze said, 'Tze-shih will [soon] die. He weeps when there is no occasion for it.' Accordingly, in the 8th month, Shih Chieh died."

[The Chuen resumes here the narrative of the troubles in Sung:—"In winter, in the 10th month, Hwa Tang came with an army of Woo, to relieve the Hwas. [About the same time], Woo Cho-ming of Tse [had arrived] to garrison [the capital of] Sung. Puh, the commandant of Ch'oo, said, 'We find in the 'Art of War,' that, if beforehand with the enemy, we should make up our minds to attack them, and that, if behindhand with them, we should wait the decay [of their strength]. [Why should we not attack them now], while they are tired and have not yet got settled? If they enter [the city] and establish themselves, the Hwas will be very numerous, and our regrets will then be too late.' His advice was followed; and on Ping-yin the armies of Tse and Sung defeated that of Woo at Hung-k'ow, capturing its two commanders, the Kung-tze Koo-k'an, and Yen-chow Yun. Hwa Tang led the remainder of the army, and with it defeated the army of Sung, on which the duke wanted to quit [the city and flee]. Puh of Ch'oo said to him, 'A small man like myself can take the opportunity to die [for you], but I cannot escort you in your flight. I beg your Grace to wait [the result of another battle].' He then sent round [the city] saying, 'They who display a flag will be for the duke.' The people all did so, and the duke, who saw them from the Yang gate, descended, and went round among them, saying, 'If the State perish and your ruler die, it will be a disgrace to you, and not the fault of me alone.' Woo Cho-ming of Tse said, 'It is better that we all be prepared to sacrifice our lives than that we [merely] use a small force. And that we be so prepared the best plan is to cast away our long weapons. The enemy have many such weapons, but let us all use swords.' This was agreed to, and the Hwas were put to flight. They followed and engaged them again, when Puh of Ch'oo took his lower garment, wrapped up a head in it, with which he ran about, shouting, 'I have got Hwa Tang.' On this they defeated the Hwas at Sin-le."

Tse Leu-sin dwelt in Sin-le, and after the fight he took off his armour before the duke, and returned to his allegiance. Hwa T'ow, who lived in Kung-le, did the same.

In the 11th month, on Kwei-wu, the Kung-tze Shing (See on par. 4 of last year) arrived with a force from Tsin. Han Hoo of Tseao effected a junction with Sem Woo of Tsin; and along with Yuen Ho-ke of Tse, and the Kung-tze Chao of Wei, they came to the relief of Sung. On Ping-seuh they fought with the Hwas at Chay-k'ow. Ching P'ien wished to draw the troops up in the crane fashion, while his chariotier preferred that of the goose. Tse-luh (Hseng E) drove the Kung-tze Shing, and Chwang Kin was spearman on the right. Kan Ch'ow drove Hwa P'ao's warden of Lea, with Chang Kae as spearman. These two chariots met, and Shing was withdrawing, when

Hwa P'ao called out, "Shing!" on which he was angry and returned (to the fight). As he was adjusting his arrow to the string, P'ao had already bent his bow. [Shing] said, "May the powerful influence of duke Ping [now] assist me!" On this the arrow of P'ao went past between him [and Tse-luh]. [Again] he was adjusting his arrow, when [P'ao] had again bent his bow. "If you don't let me return your shot," said [Shing], "it will be mean." [P'ao on this] took away his arrow, and Shing shot him dead. Chang Kae took his spear, and descended from the chariot. An arrow [from Shing] broke his thigh, but he supported himself on the ground, and struck at Shing, breaking the cross-board of his chariot. Another arrow killed him; and then Kan Ch'ow begged for his death from an arrow. "I will report you to our ruler," said Shing; but he replied, "He who does not die, being in the same file or the same chariot, is doomed to the greatest punishment in the army. If I expose myself to this doom and follow you, how should the ruler use me? Be quick." On this [Shing] shot him dead. A great defeat was inflicted on the Hwas, and they were besieged in Nan-le.

Hwa Hse bent his breast and cried out. Seeing Hwa Ch'oo, he said, "I am [another] Luan (See the rebellion and fate of Luan Ying of Tsin in Sung's 23d year)." "Do not frighten me," said Ch'oo. "It will be my misfortune if I die after you." They then sent Hwa Tang to T'ao, to ask assistance. Hwa Ch'oo, with 15 chariots and 70 footmen, broke through the duke's army, ate with Tang near the Suy, wept and escorted him on his route, and then returned and re-entered [Nan-le]. Wei Yuch of Tseao led a force to [rescue and] meet the Hwas. Fan, the grand-administrator, remonstrated, saying, "Of all the States it is only in Sung that they have served their ruler, but there also they are now contending for the capital. Is it not improper to pass over the ruler, and assist his subjects?" The king said, "You mention this too late. I have promised them my assistance!"

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"Fei Woo-keih of Tseao took bribes from Tung-k'woh (An uncle of Choo), and said to the people of Tseao, 'Choo is not observant of the orders of T'ao; our ruler and king intends to set up Tung-k'woh in his room. If you do not anticipate the king's wishes, he will lay siege to Tseao.' The people of Tseao were afraid, expelled Choo, and made Tung-k'woh marquis. Choo complained to T'ao, and the viscount was about to punish Tseao, when Fei Woo-keih said to him, 'The marquis Ping had a covenant with T'ao, and therefore he was raised to the State. His son was disabled, and therefore we [now] displace him. King Ling put to death Yin, heir-son [of Tseao]. His son (Tung-k'woh) and you had the same object of hatred, and his gratitude to you must be extreme. Is it not proper further to make him the marquis of Tseao? Moreover to make and unmake rests with you. Tseao has no other [to look to].'"

Par. 6. "The Chuen says, 'The duke was going to Tsin; but when he arrived at the Ho, Koo (See on XV. 5) had revolted from Tsin, which was going to attack Sien-yu. In consequence of this the duke's visit was declined.'



## Twenty-second year.

<sup>一章</sup>二十有二年春，齊侯伐莒。

<sup>二章</sup>宋華亥、向寧、華定，自宋南里出

<sup>三章</sup>奔楚。大蒐于昌間。

<sup>四章</sup>夏四月乙丑，天王崩。

<sup>五章</sup>六月，叔鞅如京師，葬景王。

<sup>六章</sup>王室亂。

<sup>七章</sup>劉子單子以王猛居于皇。

<sup>八章</sup>秋，劉子單子以王猛入于王城。

<sup>九章</sup>冬十月，王子猛卒。

<sup>十章</sup>十有二月，癸酉朔，日有食之。

左傳曰：二十二年春，王二月甲子，齊北郭啟帥師伐莒，莒子將戰，苑羊牧之諫曰：齊帥賤，其求不多，不如下之。大國不可怒也。弗聽。敗齊師於壽餘。齊侯伐莒，莒子行成。司馬遷如莒，盟。莒子如齊，盟。盟於稷門之外。莒於是乎大惡其君。楚遷越使告於宋曰：寡君聞君有不令之臣，爲君憂，無寧以爲宗羞。寡君請受而戮之。對曰：孤不佞，不能媚於父兄，以爲君憂，拜命之辱。抑君臣日戰，君曰：余必臣是助，亦唯命。人有言曰：唯亂門之無過。君若惠保敝邑，無亢不衷，以獎亂人，孤之望也。唯君圖之。楚人患之，諸侯之成謀曰：若華氏知困而致死，楚耻無功而疾戰，非吾利也。不如出之，以爲楚功，其亦無能爲也已。敕宋而除其害，又何求。乃固請出之。宋人從之。己巳，宋華亥、向寧、華定、華貙、華登、皇奄傷、省、臧、士平出奔楚。宋公使公孫忌爲大司馬，邊卬爲大司徒，樂祁爲司城，仲幾爲左師，樂大心爲右師。



樂輓爲大司寇，以靖國人。

王子朝賓起，有寵於景王。王與賓孟說之，欲立之。劉獻公之庶子伯蚡事單穆公，惡賓孟之爲人也，願殺之。又惡王子朝之言，以爲亂，願去之。賓孟適郊，見雄雞自斷其尾，問之，侍者曰：「自憚其犧也。」遽歸告王，且曰：「難其憚爲人用乎？人異於是，犧者實用人，人犧實難。」己犧何害？王弗應。夏四月，王田北山，使公卿皆從，將殺單子。劉子王有心疾，乙丑，崩於榮錡氏。戊辰，劉子擊卒，無子。單子立劉咎。五月，庚辰，見王，遂攻賓起，殺之。盟羣王子於單氏。

晉之取鼓也，既獻而反鼓子焉，又叛於鮮虞。六月，荀吳畧東陽，使師僞糴者，負甲以息於昔陽之門外，遂襲鼓，滅之，以鼓子嘉鞮歸，使涉佗守之。

丁巳，葬景王。王子朝因舊官百工之喪職秩者，與靈景之族以作亂，帥郊，要餞之甲，以逐劉子。壬戌，劉子奔揚。單子逆悼王於莊宮，以歸。王子還夜取王，以如莊宮。癸亥，單子出，王子還與召莊公謀曰：「不殺單旗，不捷。」與之重盟，必來，皆盟而克者多矣。從之。樊頃子曰：「非言也，必不克。」遂奉王以追單子及領，大盟而復，殺擊荒，以說劉子。如劉，單子亡。乙丑，奔於平時。羣王子追之，單子殺還姑，發弱，廢延，定，稠子朝奔京。丙寅，伐之。京人奔山。劉子入于王城。辛未，鞏簡公敗績於京。乙亥，甘平公亦敗焉。叔鞮至自京師，言王室之亂也。閔馬父曰：「子朝必不克，其所與者，天所廢也。」

單子欲告急於晉，秋七月，戊寅，以王如平時，遂如圃車，次于皇。

劉子如劉，單子使王子處守于王城，盟百工於平宮。辛卯，鄒睞伐皇，大敗，獲鄒睞。壬辰，焚諸王城之市。八月，辛酉，司徒醜以王師敗績於前城。百工叛，己巳，伐單氏之宮，敗焉。庚午，反伐之。辛未，伐東園。冬十月，丁巳，晉籍談荀躒帥九州之戎，及焦瑕，溫，原之師，以納王于王城。庚申，單子劉咎，以王師敗績於郊。前城人敗陸渾於社。



南,丑,師,城,行,晉,次,師,黠,於,司,籍,十,位,也,子,十  
 伐,軍,軍,詭,箕,於,軍,泉,陰,馬,談,二,館,己,猛,一  
 京,於,其,濟,遺,任,於,次,於,督,荀,月,於,丑,卒,月  
 毀,其,京,東,師,樂,人,汜,於,侯,帥,庚,子,敬,不,乙  
 其,西,楚,南,取,徵,閏,於,社,氏,師,賈,戌,旅,王,成,酉  
 辛,王,前,右,月,解,王,於,軍,辛,晉,氏,即,喪,王

- XXII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-second year, in spring, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Keu.  
 2 Hwa Hae, Hseng Ning, and Hwa Ting of Sung, fled from Nan-le of that State to Ts'oo.  
 3 We had a grand review in Ch'ang-k'een.  
 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Yih-ch'ow, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.  
 5 In the sixth month, Shuh Yang went to the capital to the burial of king King.  
 6 The royal House was in confusion.  
 7 The viscounts of Lëw and Shen, having with them the king Mäng, took up their residence in Hwang.  
 8 In autumn, the viscounts of Lëw and Shen entered the royal city with the king Mäng.  
 9 In winter, in the tenth month, the king's son Mäng died.  
 10 In the twelfth month, on Kwei-yëw, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—This spring, in the 2d month, on K'ieh-tze, Pih-kwoh K'e of Ts'e led a force and invaded Keu. The viscount of Keu was going to fight, when Yuen-yang Muh-che remonstrated with him, saying, "The force of Ts'e is a poor one, and its demands are not great. Our best plan is to yield to it; a great State should not be angered." The viscount would not listen to this counsel, and defeated the troops of Ts'e at Show-yu. [On this], the marquis of Ts'e [himself] invaded Keu, when the viscount made his submission. The marquis Tsou went to Keu to superintend a covenant, and the viscount went to Ts'e for the same purpose. The covenant was made outside the T'awh gate. In consequence of all this Keu conceived a great hatred of its ruler.

Par. 2. Read the narrative after par. 5 of last year. The Chuen here says:—Wei Yoch of Ts'oo sent a message to [the duke of] Sung, saying, "My ruler has heard that you have some bad officers, who are occasioning you sorrow. Had you not better [send them away], to the disgrace of their ancestral temples? My ruler begs to receive them, and execute them." [The duke] replied, "From my want of ability I was not able to love my uncles and elder brothers, thereby occasioning sorrow to your ruler. I thank you for the condescension of your message. Ruler and subjects, we are here fighting daily, and your ruler says, 'I must assist the subjects.' Still I accept his commands. But people have a saying, that one should not pass by the door of a house in confusion. If your ruler vouchsafed his kind protection to my

poor State, it is my hope that he will not give honour to the worthless, thereby encouraging men to create disorder. Let your ruler think of the case."

The people of Ts'oo were troubled by this reply; but [the officers in charge of] the auxiliaries from different States took counsel together, saying, "If the Hwa, knowing to what straits they are reduced, should sell their lives dearly, and if Ts'oo, ashamed of not accomplishing its object, should fight with spirit, this will not be to our advantage. The better plan is to send [the rebels] away, as if it were brought about by Ts'oo; nor can they do anything after this. We came to succour Sung, and we shall remove the authors of its injury;—what more should we seek for?" They therefore begged earnestly that [the rebels] might be allowed to go away, and the people of Sung agreed. On Ke-tze, Hwa Hae, Hseng Ning, Hwa Ting, Hwa Ch'oo, Hwa Tang, Hwang Yen-shang, Sing Tsang, and Sze Ping, went forth and fled to Ts'oo. The duke made Kung-sun Ke grand-minister of War, P'een Yang grand-minister of Instruction, Yoh K'e minister of Works, Chung Ke master of the Left, Yoh Ts'ain master of the Right, and Yoh Wan grand minister of Crime,—in order to quiet the minds of the people.

Par. 3. Kung-yang has 姦 for 間. Too says nothing on the situation of Ch'ang-k'een, but it has been referred, with every appearance of correctness, to a place in the pres. dis. of Sze-shway (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. 蒐 is



to be taken here as in VIII. 6, XI. 5. See what is said on it under VIII. 6. Hsu Han (許翰; Sung dyn.) says:—'In the 8th year a 蒐 appears as taking place in autumn; and one in the 11th year in summer; at both of which seasons it was inappropriate. The observance of it now in the spring was appropriate so far as the season was concerned; but all the notices of 蒐 in the time of duke Ch'ao have for their principal object the condemnation of the great officers, whose power was excessive.' Most of the critics think that the duke himself took no part in any of these reviews.

Par. 4. This was king King (景王) who was now in the 33th year of his reign. The Chuen says:—'His son Chaou, and Pin K'e (Chaou's tutor) were favourites with king King, who had spoken to Pin M'ang (i. e., Pin K'e) about his wish to make Chaou his successor. Pin-fan, son by a concubine to duke Hsien of L'ow, did service to duke Mu of Shen, and, hating the character of Pin M'ang, wished to put him to death. He also disliked the words of the king's son Chaou, as likely to lead to disorder, and wished to remove him out of the way.'

'[On one occasion] Pin M'ang had gone to the suburbs, where he saw a cock plucking out its tail. He asked what could be the meaning of such a thing, and his attendants said, "It is afraid for itself lest it should be used as a victim." He hurried back, and reported the thing to the king, adding, "The cock would seem to be afraid of its being used as a victim by men. It is different with men [who like to be favoured and nourished as animals for victims are]. For such favourites you must use [good] men. To favour other men in such a way may occasion difficulties; but what injury can come from so favouring [a son of] your own?" The king made no reply.'

'In summer, in the 4th month, the king hunted on the North hill, and made all the dukes and ministers follow him, intending to put to death the viscounts of Shen and L'ow. He was suffering, however, from disease of the heart, and on Yih-ch'ow he died in the house of Yung-s. On Mow-shin, Cho, viscount of L'ow, died, leaving no son [by his wife], and the viscount of Shen raised L'ow-fun to his place. In the 5th month, they had an interview with the [new] king, and proceeded to attack Pin K'e, and killed him, after which they imposed a covenant on all the [other] sons of the [late or former] kings, in the house of the [viscount of] Shen.'

Par. 5. Shuh Yang, who appears here, was a son of Shuh Kung, a younger brother of Cheh, whose death was recorded last year. The burial of the king took place only 3 months after his death;—the unseasonable haste was in consequence, no doubt, of the troubles referred to in the next paragraph.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Tsin and the city of Koo.—] When Tsin took Koo-yu (See on XV. 3), it sent back the viscount of that city, after presenting him [in the ancestral temple]. He afterwards revolted, and joined Sze-yu. In the 6th month, Seun Woo was marching near Tung-yang, and made some of his soldiers,

disguised as buyers of rice, carry their armour on their backs [in bags], and rest outside the gate of Seih-yang. He then surprised Koo, and extinguished [its sacrifices], took the viscount Yuen-te, back with him, and appointed Sheh T'o to guard the city.]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—'On Ting-ere, king King was buried. His son Chaou, by means of the many old officers who had lost their offices and emoluments, and of the families spring from [the kings] Ling and King, proceeded to raise an insurrection, and led the men-at-arms of K'aoou, Yau, and Tsefen, to drive out the viscount of L'ow, who on Jin-sen had fled to Yang. The viscount of Shen then took king Taou (king King's son Mang of par. 9), and carried him back from the Chwang palace [to his own house]; but in the night Hwan, [another] son of king [King], took him again and went to the palace; and [next day], on Kwei-hae, the viscount left [the capital]. Hwan took counsel with duke Chwang of Shaoou, saying, "If we do not kill Shen K'e (The viscount), we shall not succeed. If we [propose to] make a second covenant with him, he is sure to come. There are many who have conquered by violating their covenants." His proposal was agreed to, but Fan K'ing-tse said, "Such language is wrong. The thing is sure not to succeed." They then carried the king with them, and pursued the viscount of Shen. At Ling they made a great covenant, and [all] returned, [after which] they put to death Chih Hwang, by way of apology for themselves. The viscount of L'ow went to L'ow, and the viscount of Shen absconded, fleeing, on Yih-ch'ow, to Ping-che. The body of the king's sons pursued him, when he killed Hwan, Koo, Fah, Joh, Tsung, Yen, Ting, and Chow. The king's son Chaou [on this] fled to King, which was attacked on Ping-yin, when the inhabitants fled to the hills. The viscount of L'ow entered the royal city. On Sin-we, duke K'een of Kung was shamefully defeated at King. On Yih-hae, duke Ping of Kan was also defeated.'

'When Shuh Yang arrived from the capital, he spoke of the confusion of the royal House. Min Ma-foo said, "The king's son Chaou is sure not to succeed. Those with whom he is associated are those whom Heaven has disowned."

This is the third time in the period of the Ch'un Ts'ew that the House of Chow was nearly ruined by dissensions in itself, but the classic takes no notice of the two former occasions. Its silence is difficult to account for, and the same course would probably have been pursued here but for the visit of Shuh-yang to the capital when the troubles were going on. Tse K'e (戴溪; Sung dyn.) says, 'From the beginning of the Ch'un Ts'ew till now, the royal House had thrice been in confusion, the calamity always arising from relations in it between father and sons, elder and younger brothers, through which the distinction between sons of the queen proper and of other ladies of the harem was not kept clear. King Hwuy, by his favouritism of his son Tse, had nearly endangered the position of his eldest son, when duke Hwan made the covenant in the prince's behalf at Show-che (See V. v. 4, 5), and his place was established. Then king Ssang, through again



favouring T'ao, was obliged to leave the capital and reside in Ch'ing (See V. xxiv. 4). till duke Wan of Tsin restored him, and established the royal House. But for these two leaders, the confusion of the House of Chow would not have been postponed till this time. The Ch'ün T'w makes record of it now, through pity for the feeble condition to which the House was reduced, and regret that such leaders as Hwan and Wan were no more to be found. Alas!

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Shen wished to send notice of [the king's] distress to Tsin. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-yin, he carried the king with him to Ping-che; thence they went to Poo-kou, and halted in Hwang.'

Hwang was a city of Chow, in the north-west of the pres. dia. of Kung (登), dep. Ho-pai. The Máng was a son of king King, probably by his proper queen. The death of the king's eldest son Shou is mentioned in the Chuen after par. 4 of the 15th year. We may suppose that Máng was a younger brother of Shou, on whom the succession to the throne now naturally devolved, and that he had been so designated. We have seen, however, that the king had wished, before his death, to divert the succession to Chou, older in years, but the son of a concubine. Hence arose the two parties, whose struggles produced so much confusion. Láu Ch'ang, Hoo Gan-kwoh, and others, take the 以 in the text, as condemnatory of the viscounts, but the K'ang-he editors remark correctly that 以 itself expresses neither praise nor blame, and that the supporters of Máng were in the right. Máng died before the end of the year, and therefore does not enter into the chronological line of kings, though he received the posthumous epithet of king Tsou (悼王). Altogether his position was anomalous, and hence the style of the text, where he is not called 王 simply, nor 天王, but 王 with his name attached (王猛).

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—'The viscount of Láu went to Láu, and the viscount of Shen made king [King's] son Ch'ao keep guard in the royal city, having bound by a covenant in the temple of [king] Ping all the officers. On Sin-mau, Sin Hui, attacked Hwang, but he suffered a great defeat; and, being taken, he was burned on Jin-shin in the market-place of the royal city. In the 8th month, on Sin-yew, the minister of Instruction, Ch'ow, with the royal army, was shamefully defeated at Ts'ien-shing, after which all the officers revolted. On Ke-sze, they attacked the palace of the viscount of Shen, and were defeated. On Kang-woo he returned their attack. On Sin-wo he attacked Tung-yu.'

'In winter, in the 10th month, on Ting-ze, Twei T'ao and Seun Leih, led the Jung of K'ew-chow, with the troops of Ts'ao, Hsa, Wan, and Yuen, to replace the king in the royal city. On Kang-shin, the viscount of Shen and Fan of Láu, with the king's army, were shamefully defeated at K'aoou, and the men of Ts'ien-shing defeated the [Jung] of Luh-hwan at Shay.'

The 'royal city' is correctly said by Too to have been K'ieh-juh (郊郛). Maou observes that to this city king Woo removed the 9 tripods, and that it is to be distinguished from Ch'ing-chow (成周) or the 'lower capital' (下都), which was built by the duke of Chow to receive the refractory people of Yü. From the time of king Ping's removal of the seat of govt. eastwards, down to king Kung, all the kings of Chow had dwelt in K'ieh-juh. It was not till 4 years after this, that King's successor, of whom we must also speak in English as king King (敬王), occupied Ch'ing-chow, in consequence of the present disturbances still continuing. Kung-yang says that the 'royal city' of the text is the western Chow, or western capital of Chow (西周), but it was not till after the period of the Ch'ün T'w that K'ieh-juh came to be thus denominated.

Par. 9. The Chuen continues:—'In the 11th month (The text says the 10th), on Yih-yew, the king's son Máng died, and the proper mourning and funeral rites could not be performed for him. On Ke-ch'ow, king King (敬王, an own brother of Máng,—his name was K'ao, 匄) succeeded to the throne, and lodged in the house of T'ao-ien.

'In the 12th month, on Kang-sen, Twei T'ao, Seun Leih, K'ia Sin, and the marshal Tui, of Tsin, led their forces, and encamped at Yin, at Hsu-sha, at Ku-ts'uen, halting at Shay; while the king's army encamped at Yan, and at Hsao, halting at Jin-jin. In the intercalary month, K'e E, Yeh Ching, and Kwei of the right column, of Tsin, crossed [the E and Loh] with their forces, and took Ts'ien-shing. The king's army encamped at King-ts'oo; and on Sin-ch'ow it attacked King-ts'oo, and throw down the [wall on the] west and south.'

Too thinks that the sentence 不成喪也, in the Chuen, gives the reason why 王猛 of par. 8, 9 is here replaced by 王子猛; but this is not necessary. Had Máng lived, his reign would have dated only from the next year. Of the sons of the dukes of Loo, who came to an untimely end before the expiry of the year in which their fathers died, the text simply says, 'Son So-and-so died (See VI. xviii. 6; IX. xxxi. 2).' Here in writing of the royal House, it was necessary to prefix the 王.

Par. 10. This eclipse took place in the afternoon, on the 18th November, a.c. 519. Too would change the Kwei-yew into Kwei-mau (癸卯); but calculation shows the day to be correct. He was led to the conclusion that there was no Kwei-yew day in this 12th month, by accepting the statement in the preceding Chuen about the intercalary month which is incorrect. The intercalary month this year must have been a double 4th.



Twenty-third year.

二十有三年，春，王正月，叔孫舍如晉。

癸丑，叔鞅卒。

晉人執我行人叔孫舍。

晉人圍郊。

夏六月，蔡侯東國卒于楚。

秋七月，莒子庚輿來奔。

戊辰，吳敗頓、胡、沈、蔡、陳、許之師于雞

父。胡子髡、沈子逞滅，獲陳夏齧。

天王居于狄泉，尹氏立王子朝。

八月乙未，地震。

冬，公如晉，至河有疾，乃復。

左傳曰：邾人城翼，還將自離姑。公孫  
鉏曰：魯將御我，欲自武城還，循山而  
南。徐鉏丘弱茅地曰：道下，遇雨將不  
出，是不歸也。遂自離姑。武城人塞其  
前，斷其後之木，而弗殊。邾師過之，乃  
推而蹶之，遂取邾師，獲鉏弱地。邾人  
愬於晉，晉人來討。叔孫婼如晉，晉人  
執之，書曰：晉人執我行人叔孫婼。言  
使人也。晉人使與邾大夫坐。叔孫曰：  
列國之卿當小國之君，固周制也。邾  
又夷也，寡君之命介子服回在，請使  
當之，不敢廢周制故也。乃不果坐。韓  
宣子使邾人聚其衆，將以叔孫與之。  
叔孫聞之，去衆與兵，而朝士彌牟謂  
韓宣子曰：子弗良圖，而以叔孫與其  
衆，叔孫必死之。魯亡叔孫，必亡邾。邾  
君亡國，將焉歸？子雖悔之，何及？所謂  
盟主討違命也。若皆相執，焉用盟主？



乃弗與，使各居一館。士伯聽其辭，而愬諸宣子，乃皆執之。士伯御叔孫，從者四人，過邾館以如吏，先歸邾子。士伯曰：「以芻蕘之難，從者之病，將館子於邾。叔孫旦而立期焉，乃館諸箕，舍子服昭伯於他邑。范獻子求貨於叔孫，便請冠焉，取其冠法，而與之兩冠，曰：『盡矣。』爲叔孫故，申豐以貨如晉。叔孫曰：『見我，吾告汝所行貨，見而不出。』吏人之與叔孫居於箕者，請其吠狗，弗與。及將歸，殺而與之食之。叔孫所館者，雖一日，必葺其牆屋，去之如始至。」

春王正月，壬寅朔，二師圍郟。癸卯，郟潰。丁未，晉師在平陰。王師在澤邑。王使告閒，庚戌，還。

莒子庚輿虐而好劍，苟鑄劍，必試諸人。國人患之，又將叛齊。烏存帥國人以逐之。庚輿將出，聞烏存執父而立於道左，懼，將止死。苑羊牧之曰：「君過之，烏存以力聞可矣，何必以弑君成名？」遂來奔。齊人納郟公。

吳人伐州來，楚靈越帥師，及諸侯之師，奔命救州來。吳人禦諸鍾離，子瑕卒。楚師燬吳公子光曰：「諸侯從於楚者衆，而皆小國也，畏楚而不獲已，是以來。吾聞之曰：『作事威克其愛，雖小必濟。』」胡沈之君幼而狂，陳大夫鬻壯而頑，頗與許蔡疾。楚政，楚令尹死，其師燬帥賤多寵，政令不壹，七國同役而不同心。帥賤而不能整，無大威命，楚可敗也。若分師先以犯胡沈，與陳必先奔，三國敗，諸侯之師乃搖心矣。諸侯乖亂，楚必大奔，請先者去，備薄威後者敦陳，墜旅。吳子從之。戊辰晦，戰于雞父。吳子以罪人三千先犯胡沈，與陳三國爭之。吳爲三軍以繫於後，中軍從王，光帥右，掩餘帥左。吳之罪人或奔或止，三國亂。吳師擊之，三國敗。獲胡沈之君及陳大夫，舍胡沈之囚，使奔許，與蔡頗曰：「吾君死矣，師謀而從之。」三國奔。楚師大奔，書曰：「胡子髡，沈子逞，滅陳，夏醫，君臣之辭也，不言戰，楚未陳也。」

夏四月，乙酉，單子取訾，劉子取牆人，直人。六月，壬午，王子朝入於尹。癸未，尹圉誘劉佗殺之。丙戌，單子從阪道，劉子從尹道，伐尹。單子先至而敗，劉子還。己丑，召伯奭，南宮極，以成周人戍尹。庚寅，單子劉子焚齊，以王如劉。甲午，王子朝入于王城，次於左巷。秋七月，戊申，鄒羅納諸莊宮。尹辛敗劉師於唐。丙辰，又敗諸鄒。甲子，尹辛取



西關丙寅攻薊薊潰。

八月丁酉南宮極震。長弘謂劉文公曰：君其勉之，先君之力可濟也。周之亡也，其三川震，今西王之大臣亦震，天棄之矣。東王必大克。

⑤楚犬子建之母在郢，召吳人而啟之。冬十月甲申，吳犬子諸樊入郢，取楚夫人與其寶器以歸。楚司馬薳越追之不及，將死。衆曰：請遂伐吳以微之。薳越曰：再敗君師，死且有罪。亡君夫人，不可以莫之死也。乃縊於薳越。

公爲叔孫故如晉，及河有疾而復。

⑥楚囊瓦爲令尹，城郢。沈尹戌曰：子常必亡郢，苟不能衛，城無益也。古者天子守在四夷，天子卑，守在諸侯。諸侯守在四鄰，諸侯卑，守在四竟，慎其四竟，結其四援，民狎其野，三務成功，民無內憂，而又無外懼，國焉用城？今吳是懼而城於郢，守已小矣，卑之不獲能無亡乎？昔梁伯溝其公宮，而民潰，民棄其上，不亡何待？夫正其疆，脩其土田，險其走集，親其民人，明其伍候，信其鄰國，慎其官守，守其交禮，不僭不貪，不懦不著，完其守備，以待不虞，又何畏矣？詩曰：無念爾祖，聿脩厥德，無亦監乎？若敖蚡冒，至於武文，士不過同，慎其四竟，猶不城郢，今土數圻，而郢是城，不亦難乎？

- XXIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shuh-sun Shay went to Ts'in.
- 2 On Kwei-ch'ow, Shuh Yang died.
- 3 The people of Ts'in seized our internuncius, Shuh-sun Shay.
- 4 The troops of Ts'in laid siege to K'eaou.
- 5 In summer, in the sixth month, Tung-kwoh, marquis of Ts'ae, died in Ts'oo.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, K'ang-yu, viscount of Keu, came a fugitive to Loo.
- 7 On Mow-shin, Woo defeated the armies of Tun, Hoo, Shin, Ts'ae, Ch'in, and Heu at Ke-foo, when K'w'än, viscount of Hoo, and Ch'ing, viscount of Shin, were killed, and H'ea N'eh of Ch'in was taken.
- 8 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] resided at Teih-ts'ueu, and the chief of the House of Yin raised king [King's] son Chaou to the throne.
- 9 In the eighth month, on Yih-we, there was an earthquake.



# 10 In winter, the duke was going to Tsin; but when he arrived at the Ho, he fell ill and returned.

PAR. 1. 3. Here, as elsewhere, Tso-she has 婦 for 舍. The Chuen says:—A body of men from [the capital of] Choo had been walling Yih, and on their return were to go by way of Le-koo. Kung-sun T'oo said, "Loo will withstand us. If we want to return by Woo-shing, let us keep along the hills to the south." Ssu T'oo, K'uei Joh, and Maou Te said, "The way [there] lies low; if we meet with rain, it will be impassable, and we shall not [be able to] return." Accordingly they determined to go by Le-koo, [first passing Woo-shing]. The men of Woo-shing had blocked up the way in front [of a pass], and cut the trees in the rear, only not quite through; but when the troops of Choo had entered, they pushed the trees down, and took the whole of them, killing T'oo, Joh, and Te. The people of Choo complained of this to Tsin, which sent an officer to Loo to inquire into the matter. On this Shuh-sun Shay went to Tsin where they seized and held him. The words of the text are, "The people of Tsin seized our intruder Shuh-sun Shay," because he was a commissioner [from the State].

"The people of Tsin required him to argue the matter on trial along with a great officer of Choo; but Shuh-sun said, 'It is the old rule of Chow, that the minister of one of the regular States should rank with the ruler of a small State. Choo, moreover, is one of the E. Tze-fuh Hway is here, commissioned by my ruler as my assistant. I beg that you will let him be confronted with [the officer of Choo], for I do not dare to disallow the rule of Chow.' Accordingly, he would not be put upon his trial.

"Han Shuen-tze made the men of Choo collect all their people, intending to deliver Shuh-sun to them. When that minister heard of it, he disengaged with the attendance of his people and his weapons, and went to court. See Ma-now said to Han Shuen-tze, "Your measures are not good. If you deliver Shuh-sun to his enemies, he will die [first]. If Loo lose Shuh-sun, it is sure to destroy Choo, and where will the ruler of Choo turn to when he has lost his State? You may then repent of it, but of what use will that be? What is called the lordship of covenants implies the punishment of the disobedient. If [the princes of the States] are all to seize one another, of what use is a lordship of covenants?" After this [Shuh-sun] was not delivered [to Choo], but [he and Tze-fuh Hway] were assigned, each of them, a separate lodging. See Pih received their statements, and accused them to Suen-tze, when they were both seized; and Ssu Pih drove Shuh-sun, with four of his followers, past the lodging of the Choo-ites, on the way to the officer [who should take charge of him]. The viscount of Choo was then sent home first, and Ssu Pih said [to Shuh-sun], "In consequence of the difficulty of getting forage, and the sickness of your followers, we will assign you a lodging in [another of our] great cities." Shuh-sun stood from one morning [till next], waiting for his orders; and then a lodging was assigned to him in Ke, and Tze-fuh Ch'ou-pih was placed in another city.

"Fan Hsien-tze sought brides from Shuh-sun, and sent to ask him for some caps. He got the

fashion of the [other's] cap, and sent two caps to him saying, "These are all." Shin Fung, on account of Shuh-sun, went with bribes to Tsin; but Shuh-sun sent word to him to come and see him, and he would tell him how to distribute the bribes. When Fung came to see him, he did not let him go forth. The officers in charge who lived with him at Ke begged from him his watch-dog. He refused it; but when he was about to return to Loo, he killed it, and gave it to them to eat. Wherever Shuh-sun was lodged, though it might be only for one day, he would have the walls and roof put in repair. When he left the house, it was [always] as when he first came to it."

PAR. 2. See on par. 5 of last year. Shuh Yang was succeeded, as a great officer of Loo, by his son Shuh E (叔詣).

PAR. 4. The Chuen continues here the narrative of the troubles in Chow, and should be read in connection with that on par. 9 of last year:—"This spring, in the king's 1st month, on Jin-yin, the 1st day of the moon, the two armies (i. e., of the king and of Tsin) laid siege to K'aoou. On Kwei-tsun, the people of K'aoou and Sin dispersed. On Ting-wei, the army of Tsin was at Ping-yin; and the king's at Tsin-yin. The king sent word that he was more at ease; and on Kang-sueh [the army of Tsin returned]."

K'aoou was a city of Chow, but its particular locality has not been ascertained. I translate 晉人 'the troops of Tsin.' Woo Gan-kwoh

says that the 人 is used as if the commander had been only an inferior officer; and as we know that he was not such, he adds that he is represented so, to express the sage's disapproval of all Tsin's proceedings in encroaching so feebly the king in his domains! According to the Chuen, the siege of K'aoou began on Jin-yin, 12 days before Kwei-ch'ow, on which Shuh-yang died. This 4th par., therefore, should precede the 2d; but we may suppose that as the official notice from Tsin to Loo of the siege could not arrive till after that officer's death, and was given as in the text without the specification of the day, the historiographers entered the event according to the time of its communication.

PAR. 5. Tung-kwoh owed his elevation to the marquessate of Ts'ao to T'oo (See on XX. 1. 0); and he was probably on a visit to the court of that State when he died.

PAR. 6. About Kang-yu and duke K'aoou, mentioned in the end of the Chuen here, see the narrative on XIV. 5. The Chuen says:—"Kang-yu, viscount of Kau, was oppressive and fond of swords. Whenever he had a sword cast, he would try it on people. The people felt sore under him, and he was also intending to revolt from T'ao, when Woo Ts'un led the people on to expel him. As he was about to leave the city, he heard that Woo Ts'un was standing with a spear on the left of the road; and, being afraid, he proposed to stop, and die [where he was]. Yuen-yang Shuh-chie, however, said to him, 'Let your lordship pass by him. It will be sufficient for Woo Ts'un to be spoken of for his strength. Why should he seek to make himself famous by



murdering you?" On this, he came a fugitive to Loo, and the people of Ts'ao restored duke K'aoou.

Par. 7. K'uh-liang has here 甫 for 父, and 盈 for 逞. Kung-yang has 楹 for 逞. Ke-foo was in the press. Show Chow (壽州), dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. The Chuen says:—"A body of men from Woo invaded Chow-lai, to the rescue of which hurried Wei Yueh with the army of Ts'ao and the forces of [several of] the States. The men of Woo withstood him at Chung-ia, when [just at that time] Tze-hsia (The chief minister of Ts'ao, unable to command in this expedition) died, and the courage of the army of Ts'ao fled away. The Kung-tze Kwang of Woo said, "The States that follow with Ts'ao are numerous, but they are small. They have come through fear of Ts'ao, and because they could not help it. I have heard that, in the conduct of affairs, the party whose energy is superior to its hesitancy, though it may be the smaller, is sure to be successful (See the Shuo, III. iv. 7; but the application is very forced). The rulers of Hoo and Shin are young and reckless. N'eh, the great officer of Ch'in, is stout, but stupid. Tun, Hui, and Ts'ao hate the govt. of Ts'ao. Its chief minister is [just] dead, and the courage of its army has become rattled. The commander is of low rank, and has many favourites; no unity marks his procedures and orders. The seven States are engaged in the same service, but they have not the same heart. With this commander of low rank and incompetent, his commands cannot inspire any great awe;—Ts'ao can be defeated. If we divide our forces, and first fall on Hoo, Shin, and Ch'in, they are sure to flee. When those three States are defeated, the forces of the others will be shaken in mind. They will all get into confusion, and Ts'ao will be put to a great rout. Let our men in front put away their preparations and assume but small appearance of martial energy, while those that follow afterwards go to strong array, with ranks well ordered."

"The viscount of Woo followed this counsel, and on Mow-shin, the last day of the moon, a battle was fought at Ke-foo. He sent 300 criminals in front to attack the troops of Hoo, Shin, and Ch'in, which maintained a struggle with them; but behind these criminals the army of Woo was drawn out in three divisions, that in the centre following the king, the right commanded by Kwang, and the left by Yun-yu. Some of the criminals fled, and some held their ground; but the troops of the three States were thrown into confusion by them, and being then attacked by the army of Woo, they were defeated. The rulers of Hoo and Shin were taken, and the great officer of Ch'in. The Woo-lies set free their other prisoners, and made them flee to [the men of] Hui, Ts'ao, and Tun, saying, "Our rulers are dead." They themselves followed them with shouts, and the troops of those three States took to flight. The army [also of Ts'ao] was greatly routed. The phraseology of the text, that "The two viscounts were extinguished, and Hui N'eh of Ch'in taken," is varied, from its application to rulers and an officer. (This seems to mean that the capture or the death of a ruler was spoken of as his

"extinction," while the capture of an officer might be spoken even of his "death"). The text does not say that "a battle was fought,"—because [the army of] Ts'ao had not formed in order of battle."

These two canons, the one on the use of the terms 滅 and 獲, and the other on the silence of the text about Ts'ao, have given rise to a great deal of speculation. I should judge myself, that 滅 must imply the death of the party to whom it is applied, but then 獲 should indicate capture, and capture only.

Par. 8. Teih-t'ien was a neighbourhood outside the wall of the royal city, within which, we shall find, it was subsequently embraced in the 1st year of duke Ting. It was so named from the Teih spring and pool, and was on the east of the city, so that king King (敬王) was styled 'the eastern king,' in distinction from his rival, who occupied the city itself, and was called 'the western king.'

I have translated 尹氏 by 'the chief of the House of Yin' (See VIII. xvi. 10), which must be the meaning of the terms. The viscount of Yin took the lead in supporting Chao, whose elevation to the throne is therefore ascribed to him;—we need not seek any other reconcilement in the use of 氏. There were now two kings. The text decides in favour of king King by the name of 天王 applied to him.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, in the 4th month, on Yih-yaw, the viscount of Shen took Tze, and the viscount of Loo took Tsiang-jin and Chih-jin. In the 6th month, on Jia-woo, king King's (景王) son Chao entered Yin. On Kwei-yaw, Yu, [viscount] of Yin, inveigled and killed Loo T'ao. On Ping-seuh, the viscount of Shen came by way of Fan, and the viscount of Loo by way of Yin to attack Yin. The former arrived first and was defeated, when the other returned. On Ke-shu, Huan earl of Shao, and Nan-kung Keih led a body of men from Ch'ing-ch'ow to garrison Yin. On Kang-yin, the viscounts of Shen and Loo, and Fan Ts'ao, conducted the king to Loo. On K'eah-woo, the [late] king's son, Chao, entered the royal city, and halted in T'ao-hiang. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Mow-shin, Sin Lo placed him in the palace of Chwang. Sin of Yin defeated the army of Loo in T'ang, and on Ping-shen it was defeated again at Sin. On K'eah-tze, Sin of Yin took Se-wei. On Ping-yin, he attacked K'wan, the people of which dispersed."

Par. 9. The Chuen says:—"In the 8th month, on Ting-yaw, Nan-kung Keih was killed by an earthquake. Chang Hwang said to duke Wan of Loo, "Let your lordship exert yourself. By the strength of your father your enterprise will be successful. When [the kings of] Chow [formerly] perished, there were earthquakes along the three rivers (The King, Wei, and Loh; 涇渭洛). Now a great officer of the western king has perished in this earthquake;—Heaven is casting him off. The eastern king will have a great triumph."



The earthquake in the text was felt in Loo. That in the Chuen on the 23 day after was in Chow. The words of the Chuen 南宮極震 must be translated as I have done. Too supposes that Keih was killed by the overthrow of his house.

[We have here a narrative relating to the affairs of T'oo and Woo:—The mother of K'een, the eldest son of [the king of] T'oo was in Keih, to which she invited the people of Woo, opening also its gate for them. In winter, in the 10th month, on K'eah-shin, Choo-fan, the eldest son of [the king of] Woo, entered Keih, and carried back with him from it the above lady, with her treasures and other articles. The marshal Wei Yueh of T'oo pursued them; but not being able to overtake them, he was about to die (i. e., kill himself). All his people said, "Let us take the opportunity to attack Woo, and try the chance of our succeeding;" but he said, "If I should again be defeated with our ruler's army, I should have to die, and would be [doubly] criminal. Having lost our ruler's wife, I must die on that account." He then strangled himself in Wei-shu.]

Par. 10. After 河 Kung and Kih introduce a 公, thus making two parr. Tao says the visit was on account of Shuh-sun Shay, who was still detained in Tsin, to effect his liberation if possible. The critics are unanimous in holding that the sickness was feigned. Either the duke grew afraid, or he was warned back by Tsin, and then he caused his return to be attributed to illness in order to hide his disgrace (殺恥).

[The Chuen returns to affairs in T'oo:—In T'oo, Nang Wa became chief minister (in place of Yang Kao or Tze-hu, —see on par. 7), and proceeded to fortify Ying. Seuh, director of Shin, said, "Tun-chang (Nang Wa) is sure to lose Ying. If we are not able to defend it, walling it is of no use. Anciently, the defences

of the sons of Heaven were the rude tribes on every side of the kingdom; and when their authority became low, their defences were the various States. The defences of those States were their neighbours, all round them; and when their power became low, their defences were their four borders. They attended carefully to them, and formed alliances with their neighbours as helpers. Then the people quietly cultivated the country, and the important labours of the three [seasons] were successfully accomplished. The people had no cause for anxiety in the State, and there were no apprehensions from abroad; it was not thought necessary to fortify the cities. But now we are afraid of Woo, and are fortifying Ying. Small is the defence. Even that proper to a State, when its power is low, is beyond us;—how can we escape the loss [of Ying]? Formerly, the earl of Liang dug a moat about his palace, and the people dispersed (See on V. xix. 8). When the people abandon their superiors, nothing but ruin can come. If we adjusted correctly our borders, kept our lands and fields well regulated, made our stations of refuge and assembly where they were most difficult of access, cultivated the affection of the people, arranging them clearly in companies of five, so as to be on the look out [against danger], maintained good faith with the neighbouring States, looked well after the discharge of their duties by our officers, maintained all the ceremonies of intercourse, were neither assuming nor covetous, neither weak nor violent, thus completing our defences and preparations, and awaiting whatever might occur, what should we have to fear? The ode (III. L ode 1. 6) says,

'Ever think of your ancestor,  
Cultivating his virtue.'

Have we not examples in Job-gau, and Fan-mao, down to Woo and Wan? Their territory did not exceed 100 *le* square. But they carefully attended to their borders, and did not fortify Ying? Now our territory is several 1000 *le* square, and we must fortify Ying! Is not our case a hard one?"

Twenty-fourth year.

二十有四年春王  
二月丙戌仲孫  
卒。叔孫舍至自晉。  
夏五月乙未朔日  
有食之。  
秋八月大雩。  
丁酉杞伯郁釐卒。  
冬吳滅巢。  
葬杞平公。



⑤左傳曰二十四年春王正月辛丑召簡公南宮豎以甘桓公見王子朝劉子謂蒯弘曰甘氏又往矣對曰何害同德度義犬誓曰紂有億兆夷人亦有離德余有亂臣十人同心同德此周所以興也君其務德無患無人戊午王子朝入於鄆。

晉士彌牟逆叔孫於箕叔孫使梁其蹕待於門內曰余左顧而歎乃殺之右顧而笑乃止叔孫見士伯士伯曰寡君以爲盟主之故是以久子不腆敝邑之禮將致諸從者使彌牟逆吾子叔孫受禮而歸二月媾至自晉尊晉也。

⑥三月庚戌晉侯使士景伯蒞問周故士伯立於乾祭而問於介衆晉人乃辭王子朝不納其使。夏五月乙未朔日有食之梓慎曰將水昭子曰旱也日過分而陽猶不克克必甚能無旱乎陽不克莫將積聚也。

⑦六月壬申王子朝之師攻瑕及杏皆潰。

⑧鄭伯如晉子大叔相見范獻子獻子曰若王室何對曰老夫其國家不能恤敢及王室抑人亦有言曰絜不恤其緯而憂宗周之隕食將及焉今王室實蹙蹙焉吾小國懼矣然大國之憂也吾儕何知焉吾子其早圖之詩曰蟬之聲矣惟魯之恥王室之不寧晉之耻也獻子懼而與宣子圖之乃徵會於諸侯期以明年。

秋八月大雩旱也。

⑨冬十月癸酉王子朝用成周之寶珪於河甲戌津人得諸河上陰不佞以溫人南侵拘得玉者取其玉將賈之則爲石王定而獻之與之東營。

楚子爲舟師以畧吳疆沈尹戌曰此行也楚必亡邑不撫民而勞之吳不動而速之吳踵楚而疆場無備邑能無亡乎越大夫胥犴勞王於豫章之汭越公子倉歸王乘舟倉及壽夢帥師從王王及圍陽而還吳人踵楚而邊人不備遂滅巢及鍾離而還沈尹戌曰亡郢之始於此在矣王壹動而亡二姓之帥幾如是而不及郢詩曰。



乎。謂之王其梗，爲今至階厲生誰

- XXIV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Ping-seuh, Chung-sun K'eh died.  
 2 Shuh-sun Shay arrived from Tsai.  
 3 In summer, in the fifth month, on Yih-we, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
 4 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a great sacrifice for rain.  
 5 On Ting-yāw, Yuh-le, earl of K'e, died.  
 6 In winter, Woo extinguished Ch'aou.  
 7 There was the burial of duke P'ing of K'e.

[The Chuen continues here its narrative of the troubles in Chow:—] This spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-ch'ow, duke K'een of Shao and Nan-kung Yin introduced duke Hwan of Kan to the [late] king's son Chaou. The viscount of Lōw said to Chang Hwang, "The Kan is also gone to him." "What harm will that do?" was the reply. "It is only those who have virtue in common that can concert righteous measures (See the Shoo, V. 1. Pt. 1. 8, where the characters, however, have a diff. meaning). The Great Declaration says (Shoo, V. 1. Pt. 11. 6), 'Chow has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, but they are all divided in their ways. I have of ministers, capable of government, ten men, one in heart, and one in practice.' It was through this that Chow arose. Let your lordship's care be about virtue, and do not be concerned about the want of men." On Mow-woo, the king's son Chaou entered Woo.]

Par. 1. See ix. 4; et al. This was Maug Ho-tze. He was succeeded by his son Ho-ke (何忌), who is numbered among the disciples of Confucius.

Par. 2. Comp. XIV. 1, where the return of Ke-sun E-joo from his detention in Tsai is recorded, as that of Shuh-sun Shay is recorded here. There, however, only the name E-joo, appears in the text, without the surname, and here both 'Tao-she and Kuh-jiang omit the surname, having also 姁 instead of 舍. The critics have much to say on these points, with which we need not trouble ourselves. See the Kang-he editors *in loc.*

The Chuen says:—'See Mo-mow of Tsai went to meet Shuh-sun in Ke (See on par. 1, 3 of last year), [and bring him away]. Shuh-sun made Liang K'e-lung wait inside the door, having said to him, "If I look to the left and cough, kill him; but if I look to the right and laugh, hold your hand." When Shuh-sun saw See Pih, the latter said, "My ruler, thinking his duty as lord of covenants required him to do so, has detained you long. There are some small gifts of our poor State, which he now presents to your followers, and he has sent me to meet you, Sir." Shuh-sun received the offerings, and returned [to Loo]. The words of this text, "In the second month, Ch'eh (姁; without the clan-name) arrived from Tsai," are intended to honour Tsai (?).

[There is appended here a short note about

the affairs in Chow:—] In the 3d month, on Kang-seuh, the marquis of Tsai sent Sao King-pih to go and ask about affairs in Chow. He took his position by the Kan-chiao [gate], and questioned great multitudes. In consequence, the people of Tsai repulsed the [late] king's son Chaou, and would not receive his messengers.]

Par. 3. This eclipse took place at sunrise, on the 1st April, a.c. 517. The Chuen says:—'On the occurrence of this eclipse, Tseu Shin said, "There will be floods." But Ch'aou-tze said, "There will be drought. The sun has passed the equinox, and the yang influence has not yet predominated. When it does do so, it will be in a very great degree, and we must have drought. The yang influence, not getting vent (莫一布), will be accumulated.'

[The affairs of Chow are here resumed:—] 1st. 'In the 6th month, on Jin-shin, the army of the [late] king's son Chaou attacked Hsiao and Hsiang, the people of both of which dispersed. 2d. 'The earl of Ch'ing went to Tsai, with Tseu-t'ao-shuh in attendance on him. At an interview with Fan Heen-tze, the latter asked Tseu-t'ao-shuh what he thought about the state of the royal House. "I am an old man," was the reply, "who cannot do as he ought for his own State; how dare I think about the royal House? But people have a saying that the widow does not regard her roof, but is anxious about the fall of the honoured [House of] Chow, meaning that [she is afraid of] what will happen to herself. The royal House is now indeed shaking, and our small State is full of apprehension. But it should be matter of anxiety to your great State; what knowledge can we take of it? You, Sir, should take speedy measures in reference to it." The ode (II. v. ode VIII. 3) says:—

'When the pitcher is exhausted,  
It is to the shame of the jar.'

The disquietude of the royal House is to the shame of Tsai." Hsien-tze became frightened, and consulted with Shen-tze, upon which they summoned a meeting of the State for the next year.]

Par. 4. This sacrifice was offered, says Tso, because of drought; and thus Shuh-sun's anticipation, mentioned under par. 3, was verified. Wang Tsau observes here, 'The vaticination of P'e Tsau was not equal to that of Tsai-ch'an, and the vaticination of Tseu Shin was not equal to that of Ch'aou-tze. This may show that the



astrologers could not calculate so well by their art as the officers could on grounds of reason."

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 鬱 for 郁. Too observes that Ting-yü was the 3th of the 9th month. The characters 九月, therefore, he thinks, have been inadvertently omitted.

[We have another notice about affairs in Chow.—In winter, in the 10th month, on Kwai-yü, the [late] king's son Ch'ao offered the precious sceptre of Ch'ing-chow in sacrifice to the Ho. On K'ieh-seuh, a ferryman found it [again] on the bank. Yin Puh-ning with a body of men from Wan was making an incursion southwards, caught this man, and took the jade from him. He wished [afterwards] to sell it, but it then changed into a stone. When the king was settled [on the throne], Puh-ning presented it to him, and received the city of East Tzeo.]

Par. 6. Ch'ao, —see VI. xli. 4. It now belonged to Te'oo. The Chun says:—The viscount of Te'oo fitted out a naval expedition to approach the borders of Woo. Seuh, commandant of Shin, said, "In this expedition Te'oo is sure to lose a city. Instead of soothing the people, we are toiling them. While Woo is keeping quiet, we are stimulating it to move. If Woo follow in our footsteps, no preparations

have not been made on our borders, is it possible we should not lose [one or more] cities?"

Seu Gan, a great officer of Yush, met the king with complimentary offerings at the bend of Yu-chang, and the Kung-tze Tsang of that State sent him a ship, following him also with a force, along with Shou-mung. When he had got to Yu-yang, the king returned.

The men of Woo then followed; and as the people on the borders were not prepared for them, they extinguished Ch'ou and Chung-h, and returned. The commandant of Shin said, "Here is the commencement of the loss of Ying. By this one movement of the king, we have lost two commanders. How often can this be repeated without the consequences reaching Ying? Might not the words of the ode (III. iii. ode III. 8).

"Who laid the steps of the evil,  
Which has reached the present distress?"

be spoken of the king?"

Too says here that Ch'ao was a city of Te'oo to which Lëw Ch'ang objects that in that case the term 'extinguished' (滅) could not be applied to it. The truth, no doubt, is that Ch'ao had once been independent, but had been reduced by Te'oo to the State of a *foo-gung*, or attached territory.

*Twenty-fifth year.*

二十五年春，叔孫舍如宋。  
夏，叔詣會晉趙鞅、宋樂大心、衛北宮喜、鄭游吉、曹人邾人滕人薛人、小邾人于黃父。有鸛鵒來巢。  
秋七月，上辛大雩，季辛又雩。  
九月己亥，公孫于齊，次于陽州。  
齊侯唁公于野井。  
冬十月，戊辰，叔孫舍卒。  
十有一月己亥，宋公佐卒于曲棘。  
十有二月，齊侯取鄆。



左傳曰：二十五年春，叔孫婁聘於宋，桐門右師見之，語卑宋大夫，而賤司城氏。昭子告其人曰：右師其亡乎？君子貴其身，而後能及人，是以有禮。今夫子卑其大夫，而賤其宗，是賤其身也，能有禮乎？無禮必亡。宋公享昭子，賦新宮。昭子賦車轄。明日宴，飲酒樂。宋公使昭子右坐，語相泣也。樂祁佐退而告人曰：今茲君與叔孫，其皆死乎？吾聞之，哀樂而樂哀，皆喪心也。心之精爽，是謂魂魄，魂魄去之，何以能久？季公若之姊爲小邾夫人，生宋元夫人，生子，以妻季平子。昭子如宋聘，且逆之。公若從，謂曹氏勿與，魯將逐之。曹氏告公，公告樂祁。樂祁曰：與之。如是，魯君必出，政在季氏三世矣。魯君喪政四公矣，無民而能逞其志者，未之有也。國君是以鎮撫其民。詩曰：人之云亡，心之憂矣。魯君失民矣，焉得逞其志？靖以待命，猶可，動必憂。

夏會于黃父，謀王室也。趙簡子令諸侯之大夫輸王粟，具戍人。曰：明年將納王。子大叔見趙簡子，簡子問揖讓周旋之禮焉。對曰：是儀也，非禮也。簡子曰：敢問何謂禮？對曰：吉也。聞諸先大夫子產曰：夫禮，天之經也，地之義也，民之行也。天地之經，而民實則之，則天之明，因地之性，生其六氣，用其五行，氣爲五味，發爲五色，章爲五聲，淫則昏亂，民失其性，是故爲禮以奉之。爲六畜，五牲，三犧，以奉五味；爲九文，六采，五章，以奉五色；爲九歌，八風，七音，六律，以奉五聲，爲君臣，上下，以則地義；爲夫婦，外內，以經二物；爲父子，兄弟，姑姊，甥舅，昏媾，姻亞，以象天明；爲政事，庸力，行務，以從四時；爲刑罰，威獄，使民畏忌，以類其震曜殺戮；爲溫慈惠和，以效天之生殖長育。民有好惡，喜怒，哀樂，生於六氣，是故審則宜類，以制六志。哀有哭泣，樂有歌舞，喜有施舍，怒有戰鬪，喜生於好，怒生於惡，是故審行信令，禍福賞罰，以制死生，生好物也，死惡物也，好物樂也，惡物哀也。哀樂不失，乃能協於天地之性，是以長久。簡子曰：甚哉禮之大也。對曰：禮，上下之紀，天地之經緯也。民之所以生也，是以先王尚之，故人之能自曲直以赴禮者，謂之成人，大不亦宜乎？簡子曰：鞅也，請終身守此言也。宋樂大心曰：我不輸粟，我於周爲客，若之何？使客。晉士伯曰：自踐土以來，宋何役之不會，而何盟之不同？曰：同恤王室，子焉得辟之？子奉君



命以會大事而宋背盟無乃不可乎右師不敢對受牒而退士伯告簡子曰宋右師必亡奉君命以使而欲背盟以干盟主無不祥大焉

有鸛鵒來巢書所無也師己曰異哉吾聞文成之世童謠有之曰鸛鵒之鵒之公出辱之鸛鵒之羽公在外野往饋之馬鸛鵒跕跕公在乾侯徵寡與襦鸛鵒之巢遠哉遙遙稠父喪勞宋父以驕鸛鵒鸛鵒往歌來哭童謠有是今鸛鵒來巢其將及乎

秋書再雩旱甚也

初季公鳥娶妻於齊鮑文子生申公鳥死季公亥與公思展與公鳥之臣申夜姑相其室及季嬖與襄人擅通而懼乃使其妾扶己以示秦過之妻曰公若欲使余余不可而扶余又訴於公甫曰展與夜姑將要余秦姬以告公之公之與公甫告平子平子拘展於卞而執夜姑將殺之公若泣而哀之曰殺是是殺余也將爲之請平子使暨勿內日中不得請有司逆命公之使速殺之故公若怨平子季郕之雞鬪季氏介其雞郕氏爲之金距平子怒益宮於郕氏且讓之故郕昭伯亦怨平子臧孫伯之從弟會爲譏於臧氏而逃於季氏臧氏執施平子怒拘臧氏老將禱於襄公萬者二八其衆萬於季氏臧孫曰此之謂不能庸先君之廟大夫遂怨平子公若獻弓於公爲且與之出射於外而謀去季氏公爲告公果公賁公賁使侍人僚祖告公公寢將以戈擊之乃走公曰執之亦無命也懼而不出數月不見公不怒又使言公執戈以懼之乃走又使言公曰非小人之所及也公果自言公以告臧孫臧孫以難告郕孫郕孫以可勸告子家懿伯懿伯曰讒人以君微幸事若不克君受其名不可爲也舍民數世以求克事不可必也且政在焉其難圖也公退之辭曰臣與聞命矣言若洩臣不獲死乃館於公叔孫昭子如闕公居於長府九月戊戌伐季氏殺公之於門遂入之平子登臺而請曰君不察臣之罪使有司討臣以干戈臣請待於沂上以察罪弗許請囚於費弗許請以五乘亡弗許子家子曰君其許之



政自之出入矣。隱民多取食焉，爲之徒者衆矣。日入慝作，弗可知也。衆怒不可蓄也，蓄而弗治，將蕞蕞，民將生心。生心同求，將合。君必悔之，弗聽。邱孫曰：必殺之。公使邱孫逆孟懿子、叔孫氏之司馬慶辰，言於其衆曰：若之何？莫對。又曰：我家臣也，不敢知國。凡有季氏與無，於我孰利？皆曰：無季氏，是無叔孫氏也。慶辰曰：然則救諸。鮑徒以往，陷西北隅以入。公徒釋甲執冰而踞，遂逐之。孟氏使登西北隅以望季氏，見叔孫氏之旌，以告孟氏。執邱昭伯殺之於南門之西，遂伐公徒。子家子曰：諸臣僞劫君者，而負罪以出，君止意如之事君也，不敢不改。公曰：余不忍也，與臧孫如墓謀，遂行。己亥，公孫于齊，次于陽州。

齊侯將唁公于平陰，公先至于野井。齊侯曰：寡人之罪也，便有司待於平陰，爲近故也。書曰：公孫于齊，次于陽州。齊侯唁公于野井，禮也。將求於人，則先下之，禮之善物也。齊侯曰：自莒疆以西，請致千社，以待君命。寡人將帥敝賦，以從執事，唯命是聽。君之憂寡人之憂也，公喜。子家子曰：天祿不再，天若胖君，不過周公以魯足矣。夫魯而以千社爲臣，誰與之立？且齊君無信，不如早之晉。弗從。臧昭伯率從者將盟，載書曰：戮力壹心，好惡同之。信罪之有無，隨從公，無通外內，以公命示子家子。子家子曰：如此，吾不可以盟。羈也不佞，不能與二三子同心，而以爲皆有罪，或欲通外內，且欲去君，二三子好亡而惡定，焉可同也。陷君於難，罪孰大焉？通外內而去君，君將速入，弗通何爲？而何守焉？乃不與盟。

昭子自闕歸，見平子。平子稽顙曰：子若我何？昭子曰：人誰不死？子以逐君成名，子孫不忘，不亦傷乎？將若子何？平子曰：苟使意如得改事君，所謂生死而肉骨也。昭子從公於齊，與公言，子家子命適公館者執之。公與昭子言於幄內，曰：將安衆而納公？公徒將殺昭子，伏諸道。左師展告公，公使昭子自鐫歸。平子有異志，冬十月辛酉，昭子齊於其寢，使祝宗祈死。戊辰卒，左師展將以公乘馬而歸，公徒執之。

⑤壬申，尹文公涉於鞏，焚東訾，弗克。



十一月，宋元公將爲公故如晉，夢犬子癩卽位於廟，己與平公服而相之。旦，召六卿曰：寡人不佞，不能事父兄，以爲二三子憂，寡人之罪也。若以羣子之靈，獲保首領以歿，唯是編衽所以藉幹者，請無及先君仲幾對曰：君若以社稷之故，私降昵宴，羣臣弗敢知。若夫宋國之法，死生之度，先君有命矣。羣臣以死守之，弗敢失隊。臣之失職，常刑不赦。臣不忍其死，君命祇辱。宋公遂行，己亥卒于曲棘。

十二月，庚辰，齊侯圍郕。

○初，臧昭伯如晉，臧會竊其寶龜，僂句以下爲信與僭。僭吉，臧氏老將如晉，問會請往。昭伯問家故，盡對。及內子與母弟叔孫，則不對。再三問，不對。歸及郊，會逆問，又如初。至，次於外，而察之，皆無之。執而戮之，逸奔邱。邱飭假使爲賈正焉。計於季氏，臧氏使五人以戈楯伏桐汝之間，會出逐之，反奔。執諸季氏中門之外。平子怒曰：何故以兵入吾門？拘臧氏老。季臧有惡，及昭伯從公，平子立臧會，會曰：僂句不余欺也。

○楚子使遷郢城，州屈復蒞人焉。城丘皇遷管人焉，使熊相謀郭巢。季然郭卷子犬叔聞之曰：楚王將死矣，使民不安其土，民必憂憂，將及王，弗能久矣。

- XXV. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Shuh-sun Shay went to Sung.
- 2 In summer, Shuh E had a meeting with Chaou Yang of Tsin, Yoh Ta-sin of Sung, Pih-kung He of Wei, Yaw Keih of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'au, Choo, T'ang, S'eh, and Little Choo, in Hwang-foo.
- 3 Grackles came to Loo and built nests in trees.
- 4 In autumn, in the seventh month, on the first Sin day there was a great sacrifice for rain. On the last Sin day, we sacrificed for rain again.
- 5 In the ninth month, on Ke-hae, the duke retired to Ts'e. He halted at Yang-chow.
- 6 The marquis of Ts'e came to condole with the duke in Yay-tsing.
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Mow-shin, Shuh-sun Shay died.
- 8 In the eleventh month, on Ke-hae, Tso, duke of Sung, died in K'eh-keih.
- 9 In the twelfth month, the marquis of Ts'e took Yun.



Par. 1. The Chuen, which Maou K'e-ling says that he cannot understand, as introduced here, says:—"This spring, Shih-sun Ch'oh having gone to Sung on a complimentary mission, the master of the Right, who lived near the Tung gate, visited him, and spoke meanly of the great officers of the State, and especially so of the minister of Works. Ch'ao-tze told his people about the conversation, saying, "The master of the Right will, probably, have to flee from the State. The superior man tries to dignify his own person, and then goes on to dignify others; he thereby observes the rules of propriety. But the master vilifies the great officers [of his State], and speaks contemptuously of the Head of his own surname. He is thereby treating his own person with contempt; and can he have any rules of propriety? But without those rules, he is sure to come to ruin."

"The duke of Sung gave Ch'ao-tze a public reception, and sang the *Sin kang* (A lost ode), to which Ch'ao-tze responded with the *Kou hieh* (II. vii. ode IV.). Next day, at the feast, when they were merry with drinking, the duke made him sit on his right, when they wept as they talked together. Yoh K'e was assisting [at the ceremonies], and reported this to others, when he had retired, saying, "This year both our ruler and Shih-sun are likely to die. I have heard that joy in the midst of grief and grief in the midst of joy are signs of a loss of mind. The essential vigour and brightness of the mind is what we call the *hsue* and the *pi*. When these leave it, how can the man continue long?"

"The sister of Ke Kung-joh (An uncle of Ke P'ing-tze) was the wife of [the viscount of] Little Choo, and the mother of the wife of [duke] Yuen of Sung. [She, again,] bore a daughter, who was now being given as wife to Ke P'ing-tze. Ch'ao-tze, having come to Sung on his complimentary mission, was also to receive her, [and conduct her to Loo]. Kung-joh was in his suite, and said to the lady Ts'ao (The duchess) that she should not give [her daughter to P'ing-tze] for that Loo was going to expel him. She reported this to the duke, who stated it to Yoh K'e. "You will do right," was that officer's reply, "in giving her to him. The ruler of Loo will have to quit his State. The government of it has been for three generations in the hands of the Ke (Wan-tze Hsiang-foo; Woo-tze Suh; and now P'ing-tze E-joo). Four rulers of [the House of] Loo have now lost the control of the government (Seuen, Ch'ing, Shiang, and Ch'ao). There has not been a case when [the ruler] could carry out his will without the people. The ruler of a State should on this account be the protector and comforter of his people. The ode (III. iii. ode X. 6) says,

"The men are not;—  
It is the sorrow of my heart."

The ruler of Loo has lost the people; how can he get his will? If he keep quiet, and wait the issue of events, he may get on; any movement will be to his sorrow."

Par. 2. Here and afterwards Kung and Kuh have 叔倪 for 叔詣. In the same way, Kung-yang has 世心 for 大心. Shih E was the son of Shih Yang;—see on XXIII. 2. Hwang-foo was another name for the Hsi-jang

of VII. vii. 3. This meeting here was that given notice of in the previous year;—see the 2d narrative there after par. 2.

The Chuen says:—"In summer, a meeting was held at Hwang-foo, to consult about the royal House. (Chao K'een-tze [of Ts'ui] (Chao Yang) gave orders to the great officers of the various States to contribute grain to the king, and to provide men to guard his territory, saying, "Next year we will in-state him."

"Tse-t'ao-shah had an interview with Chao K'een-tze, and was asked by him about the ceremonies of bowing, yielding precedence, and moving from one position to another. "These," said Tse-t'ao-shah "are matters of department, and not of ceremony." "Allow me to ask," said K'een-tze, "what we are to understand by ceremonies." The reply was, "I have heard our late great officer Tse-ch'ao say, 'Ceremonies [are founded in] the regular procedure of Heaven, the right phenomena of earth, and the actions of men.' Heaven and earth have their regular ways, and men take these for their pattern, imitating the brilliant bodies of Heaven, and according with the natural diversities of the Earth. [Heaven and Earth] produce the six atmospheric conditions, and make use of the five material elements. These conditions [and elements] become the five tastes, are manifested in the five colours, and displayed in the five notes. When these are in excess, there ensue obscurity and confusion, and the people lose their [proper] nature. The rules of ceremony were therefore framed to support [that nature]. There were the six domestic animals, the five beasts [of the chase] and the three [classes of] victims, to maintain the tastes. There were the nine [cosmological] ornaments [of robes] (See the Shoo, II. iv. 4), with their six colours and five methods of display, to maintain the five colours. There were the nine songs, the eight winds, the seven sounds, and the six pitch-pipes, to maintain the five notes. There were ruler and minister, high and low, in imitation of the distinctive characteristics of the earth. There were husband and wife, with the home and the world abroad, the spheres of their respective duties. There were father and son, elder and younger brother, aunt and sister, maternal uncles and aunts, father-in-law and consociates of one's children with other members of their mother's family, and brothers-in-law,—to resemble the bright luminaries of heaven. There were duties of government and administration, services specially for the people, [legislative] vigour, the force of conduct, and attention to what was required by the times,—in accordance with the phenomena of the four seasons. There were punishments and penalties, and the terrors of legal proceedings, making the people stand in awe, resembling the destructive forces of thunder and lightning. There were mildness and gentleness, kindness and harmony, in imitation of the producing and nourishing action of Heaven. There were love and hatred, pleasure and anger, grief and joy, produced by the six atmospheric conditions. Therefore [the sage kings] carefully imitated these relations and analogies [in forming ceremonies], to regulate those six impulses. To grief there belong crying and tears; to joy, songs and dancing; to pleasure, beneficence; to anger, fighting and struggling. Pleasure is born of love, and anger of hatred. Therefore



[the sage kings] were careful judges of their conduct, and sincere in their orders, appointing misery and happiness, rewards and punishments, to regulate the death and life [of the people]. Life is a good thing; death is an evil thing. The good thing brings joy; the evil thing gives grief. When there is no failure in the joy and grief, we have a state in harmony with the nature of Heaven and Earth, which consequently can endure long."

\*K'ien-tzu said, "Extreme is the greatness of ceremonies!" "Ceremonies," replied Tze-tzu-shuh, "determine the relations of high and low; they are the warp and woof of Heaven and Earth; they are the life of the people. Hence it was that the ancient kings valued them, and hence it is that the man who can now bend, now straighten, himself so as to accord with ceremony is called a complete man. Right is it that ceremonies should be called great!" K'ien-tzu said, "I would wish all my life to keep these words in mind, [and observe them]."

\*Yoh Tzu-shin of Sung said, "We shall not contribute grain; our [dukes] are guests of Chow—how can such a thing be required of guests?" Sze Pih said, "Since [the covenant of] T'ao-t'ao, what service has there been in which Sung has not shared? What covenant in which it has not taken part? It was then said that the States should together support the royal House. How can you evade this condition? You are here by the command of your ruler to join in the great business in hand—would it not be improper for Sung to violate the covenant?" The master of the Right did not dare to reply, but received the schedule, and retired.

\*Sze Pih reported the incident to K'ien-tzu, saying, "The master of the Right of Sung is sure to become an exile. Bearing his ruler's orders as a commissioner here, he wished to break the covenant, and thereby come into collision with the lord of covenants. There could be nothing more inauspicious than this."

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 鶯 instead of 鸚. K'uo-yuh was the ancient name for the mino grackle, which is now commonly called the *pu-ko* (八哥). Tzu-shu says the record is of a thing previously unknown, and Yen Sze-koo observes that while the mino is found in many places in China, it does not cross the Tse river, and was therefore not found in Loo. Tzu further lays stress on the 巢 as meaning to build a nest in a tree, which is contrary to the habits of the mino, which breeds in holes in walls and banks; so that there were in the phenomenon of the text two prodigies. The Chuen gives a ridiculous narrative:—Sze Ke said, "How strange! I have heard that in the times of [the dukes] Wan and Ch'ing the boys had a ditty, which said

Far off the duke doth rest.  
Chow-foo has lost his state,  
Sung-foo comes proud and great.  
O the grackles so strange!  
The songs to weeping change."

So ran the ditty, and now the grackles are here, and building their nests. Is this [other thing] about to happen?"

The flight of duke Ch'ou from Loo was near at hand. We may be sure it had taken place before the above ditty was composed and the appearance of the grackles received its interpretation.

Par. 4. On the sacrifice for rain see the Chuen on II. v. 7. The 4th month of Chow, or the 4th of Hsi, was the season for it; but there is no difficulty in conceiving of its occurrence shortly after, in the 7th month of Chow. As there are three *sin* days in every month, the 1st must have been near the beginning of the 7th month;—Ying-tah makes it out to have been, this year, the 3d day of it. The repetition of the sacrifice indicates, as Tzu says, the greatness of the drought (旱甚). Kung-yang's idea, that the second sacrifice was a feint to bring the people together, with the intention of attacking and expelling Ke-sun, is inadmissible.

Par. 5. For 己亥 K'uh-liang has 乙亥. On the euphemism of 孫 (一遜) for 奔, see on III. 1. 2. Kung-yang has 楊 for 陽. Yang-chow was in the north-east of the present Tung-ping Chow (東平州) dep. of Tao-gan. It had originally belonged to Loo, but was taken by T'ze, we may presume in the 21st year of duke Séang. It was therefore a kind of border city, and here the duke stayed his flight for a time, until he could ascertain the mind of the marquis of T'ze regarding him.

The Chuen says:—Before this, Ke Kung-néon (An uncle of Ke-sun Ping-tze, by a concubine of his grandfather) had married a daughter of Paou Wan-tze of T'ze, who bore to him (a son) Shin; and on Kung-néon's death, [his brother] Kung-hue, with his steward Shin Yih-koo, and Kung-ze Chen (Also a Ke), undertook the management of his house. By and by, [his widow] Ke Sze had an intrigue with her cook Shen; and becoming afraid, she made a concubine tempt her, and then showed the marks to the wife of Tzu Ch'uen (A great officer of Loo whose wife was a sister of Kung-néon), saying, "Kung-joh (Kung-hue) wanted to use me, and when I refused, he [thus] beat me." She also complained to Kung-foo (A brother of Ping-tze), that Chen and Yih-koo had tried to force her. Tzu Ke (the wife of Tzu Ch'uen) reported what she had heard to Kung-chi (Another brother of Ping-tze), who, along with Kung-foo, laid it before Ping-tze. On this, the minister made Chen a prisoner in P'een, and seized [also] Yih-koo, intending to put him to death. Kung-joh wept and bewailed the case, saying, "To kill these is to kill me. I will make intercession for them." Ping-tze, however, made his waiting boy refuse him admittance, and up to midday he had no opportunity of presenting his request. [In the meantime], the officer in charge of [Yih-koo] came to ask for his orders, and Kung-chi made him dispatch his prisoner

\*Here are grackles again!  
The duke flies in disgrace.  
Look at the grackles' wings!  
To the wilds the duke flings,  
A horse one to him brings.  
Look how the grackles go!  
In Kan-how he is low,  
Wants coat and trousers now.  
Behold the grackles' nest!



without delay. In consequence of this Kung-joh had a grudge against Ping-tze.

The cocks of Ke [-sun] and the [Head of the] How [family] were in the habit of fighting. Ke-sun sheathed the head of his cock, on which How-she put metal spurs on his. In consequence Ping-tze was enraged, and increased his own mansion at the expense of that of the other, reproving him besides; and this made How Ch'au-pih also have a grudge at Ping-tze.

Hsuy, a cousin of Tsang Ch'au-pih, had circulated slanders against Tsang-she, and then fled to Ke-she. Tsang-she [attempted to] seize him, but Ping-tze was enraged, and made a prisoner of Tsang-she's steward. [About this time] it had been arranged to offer the *te* sacrifice in the temple of duke Siang, but only sixteen dancers were forthcoming, all the rest being employed at Ke-she's. On this Tsang-sun said, "This may make us say that we cannot use [the proper ceremonies] in the temple of our late ruler;" and this made the great officers have a grudge at Ping-tze.

Kung-joh presented a bow to Kung-wei (a son of the duke), and went with him to shoot outside the city, when they consulted about doing away with Ke-she. Kung-wei informed [his brothers] Kung-kwo and Kung-fun of the design, and they made the attendant Lsoun-tsoo communicate it to the duke. The duke had been sleeping, and seized a spear to strike the attendant, who ran off. The duke said he would seize [the plotters]; and though he gave no orders to that effect, they were afraid, and did not come forth, nor see the duke for some months. [Finding at the end of that time that] he was not angry with them, they made the attendant speak to him again. The duke used a spear to frighten him, when he again ran off. A third time they made him speak of the matter, and the duke said, "This is a thing beyond a small man like you." Kung-kwo then spoke himself, and the duke consulted Tsang-sun, who saw the difficulty of the attempt. He then communicated it to How-sun, who thought it feasible, and encouraged it. He next told it to Tze-ke E-pih, who said, "They are slanderers who urge your lordship on to such a hazardous thing. If it do not succeed, you will receive the name (=blame) of it. It is not to be done. You and several of your predecessors have lost your hold of the people. If you would now seek by means of them to accomplish this object, you cannot be sure of success. The government, moreover, is in his hands, and it will be difficult to take measures against him." The duke would have dismissed him, but he declined to go, saying, "I have now been a party to your wishes in this thing. If word of it should leak out, I should not be allowed to die a natural death." So he took up his lodging with the duke.

Shuh-sun Ch'au-tze was gone to K'an, and the duke was residing in the Long treasury (Ke Ann. XI. xiii.). In the 9th month, on How-sun, he attacked Ke-she, and having killed Kung-she in the gate, entered the house. Ping-tze ascended a tower, and made a request, saying, "Your lordship, without examining into my offences, has sent your officers to punish me with shield and spear. Allow me to wait near the E, till my offences are investigated." This

was refused, and he requested that he might be imprisoned in Pe. This also was refused, and he then asked to be allowed to leave the country with five chariots; but neither was this granted. Tze-ke-tze said, "Your lordship should grant his request. The government has long been in his hands. Many of the suffering people get their food from him. His followers are many. If traitors rise when the sun has gone down, we cannot know what the result may be. The anger of his many [adherents] should not be nourished. Nourished and not dealt with, it will accumulate. When it is so nourished and accumulated, the people will begin to have new purposes, and they will then unite with those who seek the same objects as he. Your lordship will repent of it." The duke did not listen to this counsel, and How-sun strongly urged that Ping-tze should be put to death. The duke sent him to meet Mang E-tze (Chung-sun Ho-ke), [and bring him to him].

[In the meantime], Tsang Lo, Shuh-sun's master of the Horse, said to all his people, "What do you think of matters?" No one giving any reply, he said, "I am but an officer of a family, and do not pretend to know about the [business of the] State; but whether will it be better for us that Ke-she be, or that there be no Ke-she?" All replied, "No Ke-she is no Shuh-sun-she. Lo then said, "Then let us go, and rescue him?" And with this he led his followers off to Ke-she's, burst through the league at the north-west corner, and entered the house. The duke's men had put off their buff-coats, and were squatting about, with their quiver lids in their hands, so that they were [easily] driven away. Mang-she made a soldier get up at the north-west corner to see what Ke-she was doing, and when he told him that he saw Shuh-sun's flag, Mang-she seized How Ch'au-pih, and killed him on the west of the south gate, after which he attacked the duke's men. Tze-ke-tze said, "All we officers who have on false pretences forced the duke to this will leave the State with our offence upon our heads. Let your lordship remain. E-joo will now feel himself compelled to change his conduct in the service of your lordship." The duke said, "I cannot bear to do it." He then went with Tsang-sun to the tomb, and took counsel with him, after which he took his departure. On Ke-she he withdrew to Ta's, halting in Yang-chow.

This flight of duke Ch'au was mainly the result of his own weakness and incapacity. During all his rule, he had enjoyed only the name of marquis. The power of the State had been in the hands of the three clans, and principally in those of the Ke-sun; and in this condition things might have gone on. Ping-tze was not prepared to seize the State for himself, and Ch'au precipitated his own fate.

Par. 6. Yay-tsing was a city of Ta's, in the east of the prov. dia. of Ta's-ho (齊河), dep. Tse-nan. The marquis of Ta's, we shall see, proposed to meet the duke in Ping-yin, but Ch'au went as far as Yay-tsing, to shorten his host's journey. 弔 means to condole with the living, and so is distinguished from 弔, to con-



dole on occasion of a death (唁者弔也，生事曰唁，死事曰弔)。

The Chuen says:—“The marquis of T'ê having proposed to condole with the duke in Ping-yin, the duke advanced beyond that place to Yay-t'ing. The marquis said, “This is my fault. I ordered my officers to wait [for you] in Ping-yin, because it was near [to Yang-chow].” What the text says about the duke's halting in Yang-chow, and the marquis's condoling with him in Yay-t'ing, describes what was proper. When one has anything to seek from another, it is a good thing in propriety to take the initiative in being humble to him.

“The marquis said, “From the borders of K'ou to the west, I will surrender to you the territory of 25,000 families, and await your lordship's further commands. I will then lead my poet levies, and follow your officers, obedient to whatever you command. Your grief is my grief.” The duke was glad; but T'ze-k'ên-tze said to him, “Heaven's bounties are not repeated. The gift of Heaven to your lordship should not exceed that to the duke of Chow. Loo is sufficient. If you lose Loo, and with this territory become a subject of T'ê, who will stand along with you? And moreover, the ruler of T'ê is devoid of good faith;—you had better soon go to Ts'in.” This counsel the duke would not follow. Tsang Ch'ou-pih, at the head of the [other] followers, proposed to make a covenant. The words of it were, “With our utmost strength, and with one heart, we shall cherish the same likings and dislikes, making it clear who are criminals and who are not. We will follow the duke and not separate ourselves from him, nor will we allow any communication between us here abroad and those who are in Loo.” By the duke's orders, he showed this to T'ze-k'ên-tze, who said, “On these terms I cannot take the covenant. In my want of ability, I cannot be of the same mind with you all, and must think that all are criminals. Perhaps I may wish to communicate from abroad with those in Loo, and may wish to leave our ruler. You all love your exile, and dislike any settlement;—how can we be of one mind? What could be a greater crime than to have brought our ruler into his difficulties? If we open a communication with Loo, and leave our ruler, he will soon enter Loo [again]. If we do not open such communication, what shall we do? And what shall we guard?” Accordingly he did not take part in the covenant.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—“Ch'ou-tze returned from K'ou (See the narrative on par. 5), and went to see P'ing-tze, who bowed his forehead before him to the ground, and said, “What do you think of me?” Ch'ou-tze said, “What man is there but must die? You have given the finishing touch to your name by expelling our ruler. Your descendants will not forget it;—is it not a sure subject?” P'ing-tze went on, “If you can bring it about that I have an opportunity to serve our ruler in a different manner from the past, you will be giving, as we say, life to the dead, and flesh to the [bare] bones.”

[After this], Ch'ou-tze followed the duke to T'ê, and conferred with him, T'ze-k'ên-tze causing all who went to the duke's lodging to be seized, [lest they should discover what was

going on]. They spoke together inside a tent, and Ch'ou-tze proposed to dispose [somehow] of all [his followers], and to restore the duke [alone]. The followers wished to kill Ch'ou-tze, and placed men in ambush for the purpose in the way [by which he must return to Loo]; but Chuen, the master of the Left, told the duke of their plan, who made Ch'ou-tze return by way of Choo. [Notwithstanding this], P'ing-tze was [now] of a different mind; and in winter, in the 10th month, on Sio-yêw, Ch'ou-tze fasted in his chamber, and made his priest and the keeper of his ancestral temple pray that he might die. On Mow-shin (The 7th day after) he died. Chuen, the master of the Left, was going to return with the duke on horseback to Loo; but the other followers seized and held him.

[The Chuen gives here a short note about the progress of the struggle in Chow:—“On Jin-shin, duke Wan of Yin crossed [the Loh] into Kung, and [attempted to] set fire to Tung-tze, but his attempt was unsuccessful.”]

Par. 8. K'ên-k'eh, was a city of Sung,—in the pres. dia. of K'ê (杞), dep. K'ê-fung. The Chuen says:—“In the 11th month, the duke of Sung was preparing to go to Ts'in on the duke's account, when he dreamt that his eldest son, Lwan, was succeeding to the dukedom in the temple, and that he himself and [his father], duke P'ing were attending on him in their full robes. In the morning, he called the six ministers together, and said to them, “In my want of ability, I was not able to serve my uncles and elder brothers, [as I ought to do] (Referring to the events in XX. 4, *et al.*) to the grief of yourselves;—this was my fault. If by your powerful help I preserve my head and neck till I die a natural death, then let the board in my coffin on which my limbs are stretched not equal that used for my predecessors.” Chung-ke replied, “If your grace, for the sake of the altars, should privately diminish any of the accompaniments of your feasts, we, your servants, should not presume to take any knowledge of it. But as to the laws of the State of Sung, and the rules for life and death, there are the ordinances of our former rulers. Your servants must keep to them to the death; we dare not fail in observing them. There are regular punishments for such failure as an unpardonable offence. Your servants dare not incur such a death; your order would only disgrace us.”

“After this the duke went on his journey; but on K'ê-hue, he died in K'ên-k'eh.”

Par. 9. Yun,—see VI. xii. 8, *et al.* Tso says the marquis of T'ê laid siege to Yun. We must understand that he did so in the interest of duke Ch'ou, so that the people yielded the city at once, and the text simply says he took it.

[The Chuen gives here two narratives. 1st, about the Tsang-sun family. “At an earlier period, Tsang Ch'ou-pih had gone to Ts'in, when Tsang Hway stole his valued tortoise-shell of Lou-ken, and consulted it as to whether a course of good faith or its opposite would be better for him. The answer was in favour of a deceitful course. The steward of Tsang-she wanted to go to Ts'in to ask him [about some matters], and Hway begged to go instead. Ch'ou-pih asked him about [other] affairs of his family, and he told him everything; but when he asked him about



his wife, and his full brother Shih-sun, he gave him no reply. Thrice he asked in this way; and when on his return Hwuy met him in the suburbs, he asked him again, and got no answer. On his arrival he halted outside [his house], and made inquiries, to find that there was nothing the matter with those parties, on which he seized and disgraced Hwuy who fled to How. Fang Kua of How made him superintendent of the market there. When he had carried his accounts to Ke-shie, Tsang-she made five men, with spear and shield, lie in wait for him in the T'ung-joo street. When he came forth, they pursued him, on which he turned, and fled, but was seized outside the central gate of Ke-shie's mansion. "Why do ye enter my gate with arms," said Ping-tze, enraged,

and he [seized and] confined Tsang-she's steward. This produced ill will between the two officers; and when Ch'ou-pih followed the duke, Ping-tze gave him place to Hwuy, who then said, "The Loo-ku did not deceive me!"  
2d, about Ts'oo.—The viscount of Ts'oo made Wei Shai wall Chow-k'eh, and bring back the people of K'ia to it, and wall K'w-hwang, and remove the people of Tze to it. He also made Hsueh Seang-wei wall round the suburbs of Ch'ou, and Ke Jen do the same with those of K'ouen. When Tze-t'ao-shuh heard of these things, he said, "The king of Ts'oo will [soon] die. He is not allowing the people to rest in their settlements, which must make them sad and distressed. The distress will reach the king;—he cannot continue long."

*Twenty-sixth year.*

二十有六年春王正月葬宋元公。三月公至自齊居于鄆。夏公圍成。秋公會齊侯莒子邾子杞伯盟于鄆陵。公至自會居于鄆。九月庚申楚子居卒。冬十月天王入于成周。尹氏召伯毛伯以王子朝奔楚。

左傳曰二十六年春王正月葬宋元公如先君禮也。庚申齊侯取鄆。三月公至自齊處于鄆言魯地也。夏齊侯將納公命無受魯貨申豐從女賈以幣錦二兩。縛一如瑱適齊師。謂子猶之人高鱗能貨子猶爲高氏後萊五千庚高鱗以錦示子猶子猶欲之鬻曰魯人買之百兩一布以道之不通先入幣財子猶受之言於齊



侯曰：羣臣不盡力於魯君者，非不能事君也，然據有異焉。宋元公爲魯君如晉，卒於曲轅，叔孫昭子求納其君，無疾而死，不知天之棄魯耶？抑魯君有罪於鬼神，故及此也？君若待於曲轅，使羣臣從魯君以卜焉，若可，師有濟也；君而繼之，茲無敵矣。若其無成，君無辱焉。齊侯從之，使公子鉏帥師從公。成大公孫朝謂平子曰：「有都以衛國也，請我受師。」許之。請納質，弗許，曰：「信安足矣。」告於齊師，曰：「孟氏魯之敝室也，用成已甚，弗能忍也。」請息肩於齊。齊師圍成，成人伐齊師之飲馬於淄者，曰：「將以厭衆。」魯成備而後告，曰：「不勝衆，師及齊師戰於炊鼻。齊子淵捷從洩聲子，射之，中楯瓦，繇胸汰輜，七入者三寸。聲子射其馬，斬軼，殪，改駕，人以爲驪戾也，而助之。」子車曰：「齊人也，將擊子車。」子車射之，殪其御，曰：「又之子車。」衆可懼也，而不可怒也。子輿帶從野洩，叱之，洩曰：「軍無私怒，報乃私也。」將亢子，又叱之，亦叱之。冉豎射陳武子中手，失弓而罵，以告平子，曰：「有君子，白皙鬢，眉甚口，平子曰：『必子澠也。』」無乃亢諸？對曰：「謂之君子，何敢亢之？」林雍羞爲顓鳴右，下苑何忌取其耳，顓鳴去之。苑子之御曰：「視下顧。」苑子荆林雍，斷其足，鑿而乘於他車，以歸。顓鳴三入齊師，呼曰：「林雍乘。」

⑤四月，單子如晉告急。五月，戊午，劉人敗王城之師於尸氏。戊辰，王城人劉人戰於施谷，劉師敗績。

秋，盟于鄆陵，謀納公也。

⑥七月，己巳，劉子以王出。庚午，次於渠。王城人焚劉。丙子，王宿於褚氏。丁丑，王次於菑谷。庚辰，王入於胥靡。辛巳，王次於滑。晉知躁、趙鞅帥師納王，使女寬守闕塞。

九月，楚平王卒，令尹子常欲立子西，曰：「太子壬弱，其母非適也。」王子建實聘之，子西長而好善，立長則順，建善則治，王順國治，可不務乎？子西怒曰：「是亂國而惡君王也，國有外援，不可潰也；王有適嗣，不可亂也。敗親，速讐，亂嗣，不祥，我受其名，賂吾以天下，吾滋不從也。」楚國何爲必殺令尹？令尹懼，乃立昭王。

冬十月，丙申，王起師於滑。辛丑，在郊，遂次於尸。十一月，辛酉，晉師克鞏，召伯盈逐王子朝。王子朝及召氏之族，



毛伯得尹氏固南宮嚳奉周之典籍以奔楚陰忌奔莒以叛召伯逆王於尸及劉子單子盟遂軍圍澤次於隄上癸酉王入於成周甲戌盟於襄宮晉師使成公般戍周而還十二月癸未王入於莊宮王子朝使告於諸侯曰昔武王克殷成王靖四方康王息民竝建母弟以蕃屏周亦曰吾無專享文武之功且爲後人之迷敗傾覆而溺入於難則振救之至於夷王王愆於厥身諸侯莫不竝走其望以祈王身至於厲王王心戾虐萬民弗忍居王於甯諸侯釋位以閒王政宣王有志而後效官至於幽王天不弔周王昏不若用愆厥位攜王奸命諸侯替之而建王嗣用遷郊郛則是兄弟之能用力於王室也至於惠王天不靖周生頹禍心施於叔帶惠襄辟難越去王都則有晉鄭威黜不端以綏定王家則是兄弟之能率先王之命也在定王六年秦人降妖曰周其有頽王亦克能修其職諸侯服享二世共職王室其有間王位諸侯不圖而受其亂災至於靈王生而有頽王甚神聖無惡於諸侯靈王景王克終其世今王室亂單旗劉狄剝亂天下壹行不若謂先王何常之有唯余心所命其誰敢討之帥羣不弔之人以行亂於王室侵欲無厭規求無度賈潰鬼神慢棄刑法倍奸齊盟傲狠威儀矯誣先王晉爲不道是攝是贊思肆其罔極茲不穀震蕩播越竄在荆蠻未有攸底若我一二兄弟甥舅獎順天法無助狡猾以從先王之命毋速天罰敝國不穀則所願也敢盡布其腹心及先王之經而諸侯實深圖之昔先王之命曰王后無適則擇立長年鈞以德德鈞以下王不立愛公卿無私古之制也穆后及犬子壽早天卽世單劉贊私立少以閒先王亦唯伯仲叔季圖之閔焉父聞子朝之辭曰文辭以行禮也子朝干景之命遠晉之大以專其志無禮甚矣文辭何爲

⑤齊有彗星齊侯使禰之晏子曰無益也祇取誣焉天道不誅不貳其命若之何禰之且天之有彗也以除穢也君無穢德又何禰焉若德之穢禰之何損詩曰惟此文王小心翼翼昭事上帝聿懷多福厥德不回以受方國君無違德方國將至何患於彗詩曰我無所監夏后及商用亂之故民卒流亡若德回亂民將流亡祝史之



爲無能補也。公說乃止。  
 齊侯與晏子坐於路寢。公歎曰：美哉室，其誰有此乎？晏子曰：敢問何謂也？公曰：吾以爲在德。對曰：如君之言，其陳氏乎？陳氏雖無大德，而有施於民。豆區釜鍾之數，其取之公也薄，其施之民也厚。公厚斂焉，陳氏厚施焉，民歸之矣。詩曰：雖無德與女，式歌且舞。陳氏之施，民歌舞之矣。後世若少惰，陳氏而不亡，則國其國也。已。公曰：善哉，是可若何？對曰：唯禮可以已之。在禮，家施不及國，民不遷，農不移，工賈不變，士不濫，官不汙，大夫不收公利。公曰：善哉，我不能矣。吾今而後知禮之可以爲國也。對曰：禮之可以爲國也久矣，與天地並。君令臣共，父慈子孝，兄愛弟敬，夫和妻柔，姑慈婦聽，禮也。君令而不違，臣共而不貳，父慈而教，子孝而箴，兄愛而友，弟敬而順，夫和而義，妻柔而正，姑慈而從，婦聽而婉，禮之善物也。公曰：善哉，寡人今而後聞此禮之上也。對曰：先王所稟於天地，以爲其民也，是以先王上之。

- XXVI. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Yuen of Sung.  
 2 In the third month, the duke arrived from Ts'e, and resided in Yun.  
 3 In summer, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing.  
 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, the viscounts of Keu and Choo, and the earl of K'e, when they made a covenant in Chuen-ling.  
 5 The duke arrived from the meeting, and resided in Yun.  
 6 In the ninth month, on K'ang-shin, Keu, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
 7 In winter, in the tenth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] entered Ch'ing chow.  
 8 The chief of the House of Yin, and the earls of Shaou and Maou, fled to Ts'oo, having with them the [late] king's son Chaou.

Par. 1. Tao observes that duke Yaen was now buried with the same ceremonies as the former rulers of Sung. His request as related under par. 8 of last year was thus not attended to.

[Tao also here introduces the statement that on K'ang-shin of the 1st month the marquis of Ts'e took Yun. But the concluding par. of last year records the taking of Yun, and Tao thinks it is mentioned here in the Chuen, to explain

the fact of the duke's residing in Yun, as stated in the next par. Fuh K'ien, however, is probably correct in holding that in the 12th month of last year the marquis of Ts'e commenced the siege of Yun, as stated by Tao also, and that the place was not captured till the time now given. This, of course, leaves XXV. 9 open to the charge of inaccuracy, but we have often met in the text with much greater divergences from fact.]



Par. 2. Tso repeats this par. with the variation of 處 for 居, adding that it is composed as from the point of view of Loo (言魯地); on which Tso remarks that, the duke having now entered within the boundaries of Loo, we have the term 至, 'arrived,' but as he was still not in his capital, we have the name of the place given, 至自齊, according to the analogy of other passages, would imply that the duke had been to the capital of Tse, and announced his return in the ancestral temple in his own capital. He had not been to the capital of Tse, but as he had had an interview with the ruler of that State, the 齊 is held to be justified. There is more difficulty with the use of the 至. Kuo K'wei inferred from the term that Ke Ping-tze, while keeping the duke in a State of exile, yet made the usual sacrifice and announcement in the temple for him, as if he had been present! This is not at all likely. We may suppose, with Maou, that the duke went through the usual ceremonies, after a fashion, in Yun.

Par. 3. Ch'ing,—the city of the Ming-sun clan; see on IX. xv. 3, 4. The poor duke was not able to besiege Ch'ing himself; the real assailants were the troops of Tse. Because the marquis of Tse, however, took no part in the operations in person, and the attempt came to nothing, the text, it is supposed, ignores the action of Tse in the matter.

The Chuen says:—In summer, the marquis of Tse, intending to restore the duke, gave orders that [his officers] should not receive any bribes from Loo. Shin Fung, however, followed Joo Kia to the army of Tse, carrying with him two pieces of flowered silk, rolled up tight like an ear-stopper, and said to K'ao E, an officer of Tse-yew (K'ou of Liang-k'uei, a great officer of Tse), that, if he could bribe him, he should be made successor to the present Head of the K'ao family, and should receive 5000 *pe* of grain. [In consequence of this], K'ao E showed the silk to Tse-yew, who desired to have it, and then E said to him that the people of Loo had bought such silks, made up in 1000 pieces, but that the roads not being open, they had first sent him these as a specimen. Tse-yew accepted the silks, and said to the marquis, "That your officers do not do their utmost for the ruler of Loo is not because they are unable to serve you, but because of the strange things which have occurred. Duke Yuen of Sung was going on his account to Tsai, and died in K'ueh-keih. Shih-sun Ch'ao-tze was seeking to restore his ruler, when he died without any illness. I do not know whether Heaven has abandoned Loo, or whether the ruler of it has somehow offended the Spirits, in consequence of which these things have happened. If your lordship wait in K'ueh-keih, you can send us to follow the ruler of Loo, and form an opinion in the case. If the enterprise be feasible, let the force be increased, and you can then follow;—there will be no opposition. If it should not be successful, your lordship need not take the trouble to follow."

The marquis adopted this advice, and sent the Kung-tze T'ao with a force to follow the

duke. The commandant of Ch'ing, Kung-sun Chao had said to Ping-tze, "I am charged with this great city to defend the State. I beg to be allowed to cope with the enemy." His request was granted; but when he wished to give hostages for his fidelity, Ping-tze refused, saying, "I believe you, and that is enough." The commandant then sent word to the army of Tse, saying, "The Mang is a worn-out flower of Loo. Its calls upon Ch'ing have been excessive, and we cannot endure them. We ask to be allowed to rest our shoulders [now] on Tse." The army of Tse then laid siege to Ch'ing, the people of which attacked the soldiers who were watering their horses at the Tze; but [the commandant] said that was done to satisfy the minds of the multitude. But when Loo had completed its preparations, he then sent word that he could not overcome the [reluctance of the] multitude [to surrender].

The armies of Loo and Tse fought at Ch'ing-pe. Tze-yuen Tseih of Tse pursued Sseh Shing-tze, and discharged an arrow, which hit the ridge of his shield. Passing the yoke, it glanced on the pole, and its point entered [the shield] to the depth of 3 inches. Shing-tze sent back an arrow, which cut the martingale of one of his [pursuer's] horses, and killed it. Tseih was putting another horse to his chariot, and some of the men [of Loo], thinking he was Tsung Le, helped him, on which he (子車 is understood to be the name as Tseih. It would seem to be so; but we have thus two designations of him,—Tze-yuen and Tze-ken) said that he was a man of Tse. They were then going to strike at him, but he shot one of them dead. His charioteer cried to him to shoot another, but he said, "The multitude may be frightened, but they should not be surprised." Tze-nang Tse continued the pursuit of Yoy Sseh, shouting out insulting language. Sseh said, "Battle is not the place for such expressions of private anger; in return for such personal conduct, I will fight with you." The other repeated his insults, and Sseh then also answered him in the same way.

Jen Shoo sent an arrow at Ch'iu Woo-tze, which hit him in the hand so that he let fall his bow, and began reviling. Shoo told this to Ping-tze saying, "There is a superior man, with a white face, with thick beard and eyebrows, and an awful mouth." Ping-tze said, "It must be Tze-k'ang. Were you not fighting with him?" "I called him," replied the other, "a superior man;—how should I dare to fight with him?"

Liu Yung was ashamed to remain as a spear-man on the right of Yen Ming, and descended from the chariot. [When he was on the ground], Yuen Ho-ke cut off one of his ears, on which Yen Ming abandoned him. Yuen-tze's charioteer said to him, "Look firmly at his feet;" and he struck Liu Yung, and cut off one of his feet, after which he got on one leg into another chariot, and went back [to the army of Loo]. Yen Ming thrice entered the army of Tse, crying out to Liu Yung to get into his chariot.

It does not appear from the Chuen what was the issue of the battle of Ch'ing-pe; but we may conclude that the siege of Ch'ing was fruitless.

[The Chuen resumes the narrative of the distractions in Chou.—In the 4th month, the



viscount of Shen went to Tsin, to report the urgency [of the king's affairs]. In the 5th month, on Mow-woo, an officer of Lâw defeated an army from the royal city at She-sha. On Mow-shin an officer of the royal city and one of Lâw fought in She-kuh, when the forces of Lâw suffered a severe defeat."

Par. 4, 5. We may presume that Chuen-ling was in T'ao; but its position has not been determined. The covenant there, says T'ao, had reference to the plans to restore the duke. It came to nothing, however. The duke returned to his residence in Ynn. On the 至 in par. 5, see on par. 2.

[The Chuen continues the narrative about Chow:]—"In the 7th month, on Ke-see, the viscount of Lâw went forth [from his city] with the king. On Kang-woo, they halted in K'eu, and a body of men from the royal city burned Lâw. On Ping-tsee the king passed the night in Choo-sha, and on Ting-chow they halted at Hwan-kuh. On Kang-shin the king entered Sou-mei, and on Sin-see he halted at Hwah. Chie Leih and Chuen Yang of Tsin led a force to re-establish the king's authority, and made Joo K'wan guard the difficult pass of K'eah."

Par. 8. The Chuen says:—"In the 9th month, on the death of king P'ing of T'ao, T'ao-chang, the chief minister, wanted to appoint Tse, in his place.

"The heir-son Jin," said he, "is young, not was his mother the [king's] proper wife, for she had really been contracted to his son K'eu. Tse-se is old and a lover of what is good. To give the appointment to him as the eldest will be in the order of nature, and when we elect him for his goodness the State will be well governed. Ought we not to make these things of primary regard,—a king in the order of nature, and the good government of the State?" Tse-se was angry, and said, "This is to throw the State into confusion, and show hatred of our [late] ruler and king. There is the State which is our support abroad;—it ought not to be insulted. There is the legitimate heir of the king;—he ought not to be disowned. If we set aside the relative [of Tsin], we shall accelerate its enmity. To disown the heir will be inauspicious, and I shall receive the name of the deed. Though you gave me all under heaven, I would still not agree to such a proposal; why should I do it for the State of T'ao?" The chief minister must be put to death." On this the minister was afraid, and raised king Ch'ao in the place [of his father]."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"In winter, in the 10th month, on Ping-shin, the king set out with his troops from Hwah. On Sin-ch'ow, he was in K'eah, after which he halted in She. In the 11th month, on Sin-yew, the army of Tsin reduced Kung, [on which] Ying, earl of Shao, drove out the late [king's] son Chao, who fled to T'ao, along with members of the House of Shao, Tih earl of Mao, Koo Head of the House of Yin, and Nan-kung Yin, carrying with them the archives of Chow. Yin Ke fled to Jen, and held it in revolt. The earl of Shao met the king at She, and made a covenant with the viscounts of Lâw and Shen, and they then proceeded to attack Yu-tai, and halted at T'ao-shang. On Kwei-yew the king entered Ching-chow. On K'eah-s'eh a covenant was made in

the temple of [king] S'ang. The army of Tsin [then] returned, Ch'ing-kong Pan being left with troops to guard [the territory of] Chow. In the 12th month, on Kwei-we, the king entered the Chwang palace.

"The [late] king's son Chao sent an announcement to the various States, saying, "King Woo subdued Yin; king Ch'ing secured tranquillity throughout the kingdom, and king K'ang gave the people rest. They all invested their full brothers with the rule of States, which might serve as defences and screens for Chow. They also felt that they would not enjoy themselves alone the result of the achievements of Wan and Woo, and [reasoned] that if any of their descendants went astray or were overthrown, getting plunged into calamity, [the princes, their relatives] would succour and save them. By-and-by, king E suffered from an evil disease, and the princes all hurried to sacrifice to their hills and rivers, praying for the king's person. The mind of king E proved stubborn and tyrannical, but the myriads of the people could not bear [to hurt him], and made him take up his residence in Ch'eh. [Two of the] princes gave up their own places, that they might attend to the king's government, and when king S'een showed that he had [firm and wise] purpose, they surrendered all their offices to him. After him, in the days of king Yew, Heaven had not pity upon Chow. The king blindly pursued an improper course, and lost his throne. Then came king E in violation of the statutes, so that the princes set him aside, and raised king [Yew's] proper heir to the throne, who removed [the capital] to K'eah-juh:—thus were the brothers [of the king] able to employ their strength in support of the royal House.

"In the time of king Hway, Heaven did not grant tranquillity to Chow, and allowed Tzu (See the Chuen after III. xix. 4) to be born, with his calamitous propensities, which extended subsequently to Shih-tao (See on V. xiv. 4), so that both Hway and [king] S'ang had to escape from danger, and leave the royal capital. Then Tsin and Ching took off these evil parties, and gave comfort and settlement to the royal House:—thus were our brothers able to fulfil the commands of the former kings.

"In the 6th year of king Ting (The 8th year of Duke Seuen) there came down among the people in Tsin these ominous utterances:—"Chow shall have a king with moustaches, who will be able to discharge well the duties of his office. The States will be submissive, and present their offerings, for two reigns attentive to their duties. Then in the royal House will be an intruder on the throne, and the princes, not taking the [necessary] measures, shall experience disorder and calamity in consequence. When king Ling was born, he had a moustache, but he was a king of very spirit-like and sage qualities, and had no bad relations with the States. Both he and king King happily finished their reigns. But now the royal House is in confusion. K'eh of Shen and Tih of Lâw have torn all under heaven into disorder, violating with an imperious conduct all rules, and saying, 'The former kings received the throne on no regular law. Let us give out our commands, according to our own minds; who will dare to call us to account?' They thus led on their



merciless partisans, and threw the royal House into disorder, insatiable in their encroaching desires, covetous beyond all measure, and guilty of disrespect to the Spirits. They insolently cast aside all penal laws, violated the covenants which they had taken, were haughty and violent in their demeanour, and falsified the orders of the former king, while Tsin, against all principle, supported and assisted them, with the intention of allowing them to carry out their illimitable designs.

"[Thus] my unworthy self, in terror and agitation, am driven abroad, and am skulking here in King-man (T'ao), not knowing what things will come to. If you, my brothers, and relatives of other sovereigns, will vindicate and obey the laws of Heaven, and not assist those cunning knaves, thus following the rules of the former kings, and not accelerating the approach of Heaven's judgments, but pardoning my unworthy self, and taking measures about me:—this is what I desire. I venture to set forth all that is in my heart, and the regular rules of the former kings, that the States may deeply consider it. The instructions of the former kings were to this effect:—When the queen has a son, another, the eldest son of the king, should be selected. When years are equal, the choice must fall on the most virtuous. Where the virtue is equal, the choice must be decided by the tortoise-shell. The king must not appoint a son [merely] because he loves him; the *kung* and other ministers must not be influenced by their private feelings:—these were the ancient rules. The queen Muh and the [late] king's eldest son Shou died prematurely, and left the world (See the Chuen after XV. 4). Shen and Lo selfishly aided and appointed a younger son, in violation of the rule of the former kings; which is matter for all you princes, old and young, to take action upon."

"When Mu Ma-foo heard this notification of Chou the [late] king's son, he said:—It is right that such notifications should be circulated. But Chou violated the charge of [king] King, and kept aloof from the great Tsin, seeking his own exclusive aim;—he has been guilty of the greatest impropriety. What can this composition do?"

"[There follow here two narratives, having reference to T'ao:]—There appeared a comet in T'ao, and the marquise gave orders for a deprecatory sacrifice. Gau-tze said to him, "It is of no use; you will only practise a delusion. There is no uncertainty in the ways of Heaven; it does not waver in its purpose:—why should you offer a deprecatory sacrifice? Moreover, there is a broom-star in the sky;—it is for the removal of dirt. If your lordship have nothing about your conduct that can be so described, what have you to deprecate? If you have, what will it be diminished by your deprecation? The ode (She, III. I. ode II. 3), says,

"Then this king Wan,  
Watchfully and reverently,  
Did bright service to God.  
So did he secure great blessing.  
His virtue was without defection,  
And he received the allegiance of the  
States from all quarters."

Let your lordship do nothing contrary to virtue, and from all quarters the States will come to

you;—why should you be troubled about a comet? The ode (A. last ode) says,

"I have no bescon to look at,  
[But] the sovereigns of Hsia and Shang.  
It was because of their disorders  
That the people fell away from them."

If the conduct be evil and disorderly, the people are sure to fall away, and nothing that priests and historiographers can do will mend the evil. The marquise was pleased, and stopped the sacrifice.

2d. "The marquise of T'ao was sitting with Gau-tze in his State-chamber, and said, "How beautiful is this chamber! Who will have it [hereafter]?" "Allow me to ask," said Gau-tze, "what you mean." "I suppose," the marquise replied, "the possession of this will depend on [men's] virtue." The minister said, "According to what your lordship says, the possessor will perhaps be Head of the Ch'in family. Although that family has not great virtue, it dispenses bounties to the people. The *tan*, the *po*, the *yu*, and the *chung*, with which it receives [its payments] from the State are small (See the 1st narrative after III. 1), but those with which it gives out to the people are large. Your exactions are great, and the benefactions of the Ch'in are great; so that the people are giving their affections to that family. The ode (II. vii. ode IV. 3) says,

"Though I have no virtue to impart to you,  
We will sing and dance."

The bounties of the Ch'in family to the people are making them sing and dance. Hereafter, should any of your descendants be somewhat remiss, and the Ch'in family not have disappeared, the State will belong to it." "Good!" said the duke; "what then ought to be done?" Gau-tze replied, "It is only an attention to rules of propriety which can stop [the progress of events]. By those rules, the bounties of a family cannot extend to all the State. Sons must not change the business of their fathers,—husbandry, wine, mechanical art, or trade; inferiors must not be negligent; higher officers must not be insolent; great officers must not take to themselves the privileges of the ruler." "Good!" said the marquise. "I am not able to attain to this; but henceforth I know how a State can be governed by the rules of propriety." "Long have those rules possessed such a virtue," was the reply. "Their rise was contemporaneous with that of Heaven and Earth. That the ruler order and the subject obey, the father be kind and the son dutiful, the elder brother loving and the younger respectful, the husband be harmonious and the wife gentle, the mother-in-law be kind and the daughter-in-law obedient;—these are things in propriety. That the ruler is ordering order nothing against the right, and the subject obey without any duplicity; that the father be kind and at the same time reverent, and the son be dutiful and at the same time able to remonstrate; that the elder brother, while loving, be friendly, and the younger docile, while respectful; that the husband be righteous, while harmonious, and the wife correct, while gentle; that the mother-in-law be condescending, while kind, and the daughter-in-law be



winning, while obedient;—these are excellent things in propriety." "Good!" said the duke, [again]; "henceforth I have heard the highest style of propriety." Gao-tze replied, "It was what the ancient kings received from Heaven and Earth for the government of their people, and therefore they ranked it in the highest place."

*Twenty-seventh year.*

二十有七年春公如齊公至自齊居于鄆  
夏四月吳弑其君僚  
楚殺其大夫卻宛  
秋晉士鞅宋樂祁犁  
衛北宮喜曹人邾人  
滕人會于扈  
冬十月曹伯午卒  
邾快來奔公如齊  
公至自齊居于鄆

左傳曰二十七年春公如齊公至自齊處于鄆言在外也  
吳子欲因楚喪而伐之使公子掩餘公子燭庸帥師圍潛使延州來季子聘於上國遂聘於晉以觀諸侯楚莠尹然玉尹麇帥師救潛左司馬沈尹戌帥都君子與王馬之屬以濟師與吳師遇於窮令尹子常以舟師及沙汭而還左尹卻宛工尹壽帥師至於潛吳師不能退吳公子光曰此時也弗可失也告鱄設諸曰上國有言曰不索何獲我王嗣也吾欲求之事若克季子雖至不吾廢也鱄設諸曰王可弑也母老子弱是無若我何光曰我爾身也夏四月光伏甲於堀室而享王王使甲坐於道及其門門階戶席皆王親也夾之以鉞羞者獻體改服於門外執羞者坐行而入執鉞者夾承之及體以相授也光僞足疾入於堀室鱄設諸真劍於魚中以進抽劍刺王鉞交於胸遂弑王闔廬以其子爲卿季子至曰苟先君無廢祀民人無廢主社稷有奉國家無傾乃吾君也吾誰敢怨哀死事生以待天命非我生亂立者從之先人之道也復命哭墓復位而待吳公子掩餘奔徐



公子燭庸奔鍾吾，楚師聞吳亂而還。

郤宛直而和，國人說之。鄢將師爲右領，與費無極比而惡之。令尹子常賄而信讒，無極譖郤宛焉。謂子常曰：子惡欲飲子酒，又謂子惡，令尹欲飲酒於子氏。子惡曰：我賤人也，不足以辱令尹。令尹將必來辱爲惠已甚。吾無以酬之。若何？無極曰：令尹好甲兵，子出之，吾擇焉。取五甲五兵，曰：真諸門。令尹至，必觀之，而從以酬之。及饗日，帷諸門左。無極謂令尹曰：吾幾禍子。子惡將爲子不利，甲在門矣。子必無往。且此役也，吳可以得志。子惡取路焉而還。又譖羣帥，使退其師。曰：乘亂不祥。吳乘我喪，我乘其亂，不亦可乎？令尹使視郤氏，則有甲焉。不往。召鄢將師而告之。將師退，遂令攻郤氏。且蕪之。子惡聞之，遂自殺也。國人弗蕪。令尹曰：不蕪郤氏，與之同罪。或取一編菅焉，或取一秉秆焉，國人投之，遂弗蕪也。令尹炮之，盡滅郤氏之族黨。殺陽令終，與其弟完及佗，與晉陳及其子弟，晉陳之族呼於國曰：郤氏費氏自以爲王，專禍楚國，弱寡王室，蒙王與令尹以自利也。令尹盡信之矣。國將如何？令尹病之。

秋，會于扈。令戍周，且謀納公也。宋衛皆利納公，固請之。范獻子取貨於季孫，謂司城子梁與北宮貞子曰：季孫未知其罪，而君伐之，請囚請亡，於是乎不獲。君又弗克，而自出也。夫豈無備而能出君乎？季氏之復，天救之也。休公徒之怒，而啟叔孫氏之心，不然，豈其伐人而說甲執冰以游叔孫氏懼禍之懼，而自同於季氏，天之道也。魯君守齊三年而無成，季氏甚得其民，淮夷與之有十年之備，有齊楚之援，有天之贊，有民之助，有堅守之心，有列國之權，而弗敢宣也。事君如在國，故鞅以爲難。二子皆國國者也，而欲納魯君，鞅之願也。請從二子以圍魯，無成死之。二子懼，皆辭乃辭小國，而以難復。

○孟懿子陽虎伐鄆，鄆人將戰。子家子曰：天命不猶久矣。使君亡者，必此衆也。天既禍之，而自福也，不亦難乎？猶有鬼神，此必敗也。嗚呼，爲無望也。夫其死於此乎？公使子家子如晉，公徒敗於且知。



⊙楚卻寃之難國言未已進胙者莫不謗令尹沈尹  
 戊言於子常曰夫左尹與中廢尹莫知其罪而子殺  
 之以興謗謗至於今不已戊也惑之仁者殺人以掩  
 謗猶弗爲也今吾子殺人以興謗而弗圖不亦異乎  
 夫無極楚之讒人也民莫不知去朝吳出蔡侯朱喪  
 犬子建殺連尹奢屏王之耳目使不聰明不然平王  
 之溫惠共儉有過成莊無不及焉所以不獲諸侯趙  
 無極也今又殺三不辜以興大謗幾及子矣子而不  
 圖將焉用之夫鄢將師矯子之命以滅三族國之良  
 也而不愆位吳新有君疆場日駭楚國若有大事子  
 其危哉知者除讒以自安也今子愛讒以自危也甚  
 其矣惑也子常曰是瓦之罪敢不其圖九月己未子  
 常殺費無極與鄢將師盡滅其族以說於國謗言乃  
 止  
 冬公如齊齊侯請饗之子家子曰朝夕立於其朝又  
 何饗焉其飲酒也乃飲酒使宰獻而請安子仲之子  
 曰重爲齊侯夫人曰請使重見子家子乃以君出  
 ⊙十二月晉籍秦致諸侯之戍於周魯人辭以難

- XXVII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, he went to Ts'e.  
 He arrived from Ts'e. and resided in Yun.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, Woo murdered its  
 ruler, Léaou.  
 3 Ts'oo put to death its great officer, K'eh Yuen.  
 4 In autumn, Sze Yang of Tsin, Yoh K'e-le of Sung,  
 Pih-kung He of Wei, and officers of Ts'au, Choo,  
 and T'ang, had a meeting in Hoo.  
 5 In winter, in the tenth month, Woo, earl of Ts'au,  
 died.  
 6 K'wac of Choo came a fugitive to Loo.  
 7 The duke went to Ts'e.  
 8 The duke arrived from Ts'e, and resided in Yun.

Par. 1. A second time the duke had been to the marquis of Ts'e without accomplishing anything, and he returns to his quarters in Yun. That city is always specified, because 至自齊 alone would indicate that he returned to the capital of Loo. As Tso says, the mention of Yun tells how the duke was kept from his capital (言在外地).

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Woo, wishing on occasion of the death of [the king of] Ts'oo to invade that State, sent the two Kung-zees Yen-yu and Chuh-yung with a force to lay siege to Ts'een, and sent Ke-tan of Yen and Chow-lao on a mission to the upper

States, and to go on to Tsin, to observe how it was going on with the different princes. The Yeh-director Jen, and Kuan director of Yeh, (The 莒 and 王 or 玉 or 工, are of doubtful meaning) proceeded with a force from Ts'oo to relieve Ts'een, and were reinforced by the marshal of the Left, Seuh, director of Shin, at the head of the gentry of the capital and the men belonging to the king's Horse. They met with the army of Woo at K'ung; and in the meantime, the chief minister Tze-chang proceeded with a naval force to the head of the Sha, and then returned. K'eh Yuen, director of the Left, and Shue director of Works, proceeded to Ts'een with another force, so that the army of Woo could not retreat.



"The Kung-tze Kwang of Woo thought, "This is my time; it must not be lost;" and he said to Chuen Shieh-choo. (See at the end of the 2d narrative after XX. 1). "The upper States have a saying that if you do not seek for a thing you will not get it. I am the [former] king's heir. I wish to seek the kingdom. If the thing succeed, although Ke-tze come [back], he will not displace me." Shieh-choo said, "The king may be killed; but my mother is old and my son is young; what can I do in this matter?" Kwang replied, "I will be as you [to them]."

"In summer, in the 4th month, Kwang concealed some men-at-arms in an underground chamber, and invited the king to a feast. The king made his men-at-arms line the road, [from his palace] to [Kwang's] gate. At the gate, the steps, the [inner] doors, and the mats, were the king's friends, on either side of them, with swords. They stripped the bodies of the attendants who brought in the viands, and made them change their clothes outside the door; and those attendants then crawled in on their knees, [other] sword-bearers going with them on either side, close to their persons; and thus the viands were handed [to the king]. Kwang pretending that he was suffering in his feet, entered the underground chamber, and Chuen Shieh-choo came in with a fish in which he had placed a dagger. Seizing the weapon, he stabbed the king, and at the same time [two] swords met in his breast. Thus he killed the king;—and Hui-lou made his son a minister.

"When Ke-tze arrived, he said, "If the sacrifices to our former rulers be not neglected, nor the people be without a [proper] master; if the offerings be presented at our altars, and the State be not allowed to fall;—he shall be my ruler. Against whom should I cherish resentment? I will murder the dead and serve the living, while I await the decree of Heaven;—I will not create disorder. Him who is on the throne I will follow;—according to the way of our former kings." He then reported the execution of his mission and wept, at the grave [of Liao], after which he resumed his position, and awaited the orders [of the new king].

"The Kung-tze Yen-yu fled to Sou, and Chih-yung fled to Chung-woo. The army of T'oo withdrew, on hearing of the confusion in Woo."

The critics have exercised their ingenuity, and that with little success, to find out the ground on which the murder of Liao is ascribed to Woo. The K'ang-hsi editors say, "It was Kwang who murdered his ruler, and yet the text assigns the deed to Woo, and not to Kwang. Hoo Gen-kwoh holds that the guilt is thereby ascribed to the great ministers;—which is one view. Ch'an Job-shway (湛若

水, Ming dyn.) says that the style of the text is intended to make people investigate the matter, when they will discover the true criminal;—which view is preferable. Tso Yu held that guilt is thereby fixed on Liao himself, and K'ung Ying-tai and Liao Ch'ang argue that all the people wished the death of Liao; but this view cannot be sustained. See our remarks at length under VI. xvi. 7."

Par. 2. Ku-huang has 郤 for 郤. The Chuen says:—"Keoh T'oo was a man upright

and peaceable, but he was hated by Fei Woo-keih, and Yen Ts'ang-see, commander of the Left, who was a partisan of Woo-keih. The chief minister, Tze-chang, was fond of gifts and lent an ear to slander. [Accordingly], Woo-keih, to calumniate Keoh Yuen, said to Tze-chang, "Tze-goh (Yuen's designation) wishes to invite you to drink with him;" and then he said to Tze-goh that the chief minister wished to come and drink with him in his house. That officer said, "I am of low rank, and unworthy of a visit from the chief minister. If he insist on paying me a visit, the kindness is extreme; wherewith shall I recompense him?" Woo-keih replied, "The chief minister is fond of buff-coats and sharp weapons. Bring forth what you have of those, and I will make a selection from them." In this way he took five of each, and said, "Place these at your gate. When he comes, he is sure to see them, and you can then present them to him."

"On the day for the feast, [Yuen] erected a tent on the left of his gate, [with those things in it]; on which Woo-keih said to the minister, "I had nearly brought misfortune on you. Tze-goh is intending evil to you, and has got men-at-arms at his gate. You must not go. Moreover, in the recent expedition, we should have got our will upon Woo, but for Tze-goh who took bribes and returned. He also imposed on the other commanders, and made them retire, saying that it would be inauspicious to take advantage of the disorders [in Woo]. As Woo had taken advantage of our mourning, would it not have been proper to take advantage of its confusion?" The minister sent a messenger to look at Keoh's house, and there were the buff-coats. He did not go [to the feast] therefore, but called for Yen Ts'ang-see, and told him the circumstances. When Ts'ang-see retired, he gave orders to attack Keoh's house, and to burn it. When Tze-goh heard of it, he killed himself. [Meanwhile], the people would not burn the house, and an order was issued that all who would not burn it should be held as equally guilty with Keoh. On this some took a rush rope, and some took a handful of straw, but they threw them down [again], and would not burn the house. The chief minister then caused it to be done, and extinguished all the branches of the Keoh family and its partisans, putting to death Yang Ling-chung with his younger brothers Huan and T'oo, and Tain Ch'io, with his sons and younger brothers. The kindred of Tain Ch'io cried out in the city, "Yen and Fei are making themselves kings, and by their own authority working calamity to the State of T'oo; weakening and thinning the royal house, and deceiving the king and the chief minister for their own gain. The chief minister believes them entirely;—what is to become of the State?" This distressed the chief minister."

On this paragraph again we have much speculation, to explain the ascription of the death of Yuen to T'oo.

Par. 4. Hoo,—see III. xliii. 10, et al. On III. xliii. 10, Tso says that Hoo was in Ch'ing, to which the K'ang-hsi editors assent, nor do they make mention of any other Hoo there or in other places. But if there were only the one Hoo of Ch'ing, why was no minister of that State present at this meeting? In VII. ix. 3, K'ung-



yang says that Hoo was a city of Ts'in. There were probably two places of the name.

The Chuen says:—The meeting at Hoo in the autumn was to give orders about guarding Chow, and to consult about restoring the duke [of Loo]. Sung and Wei were eager for his restoration, and strongly urged it. Fan Hsien-tze, however, had taken bribes from Ke-sun, and said to Tze-t'ang (Yoh K'uei), the minister of Weeks (of Sung), and Pih-kung, Ching-tze (He), "Ke-sun knew not what offence he had committed, when his ruler attacked him. He offered to submit to imprisonment, or to go into exile, but both these things were refused to him. The ruler also left the State himself, when his attempt proved unsuccessful. How should Ke-sun have been able, without any preparations, to expel his ruler? His recovery [of his position] must have been by the help of Heaven, hushing the rage of the duke's followers, and guiding the minds of [the adherents of] Shieh-sun. If it were not so, how should those followers, when engaged in an attack, have thrown off their armour and sauntered about with their quiver lids in their hands? Then for the adherents of Shieh-sun, afraid of the overflow of calamity, to join themselves to those of Ke-sun, was from Providence. The ruler of Loo has been keeping himself in T'ue for 3 years, and has accomplished nothing. Ke-sun has greatly won the hearts of the people, and the 11 tribes of the Hsiao are joined to him. He has ten years' preparations, the support of T'ue and Ts'ao, the assistance of Heaven, the help of men, the mind to maintain himself firmly, and the power of various States, and yet he does not presume to use [these resources], but serves his ruler as if he were in the capital:—it is for those reasons that I think it difficult to deal with him. You both are versed in the customs of States, and you wish to restore the ruler of Loo. This also is my desire. I will ask to follow you, and lay siege to [the capital of] Loo. If we do not succeed, you shall die for it." The two ministers were afraid, and declined the undertaking; and [Hsien-tze] then dismissed the [representatives of the] smaller States, and reported [to his ruler] the difficulty [of restoring the duke].

Par. 8. This K'uei must have been a great officer of Chow, but what were the particulars of his flight to Loo, we do not know. The critics are severe in condemning Loo for receiving such fugitives. Five officers from Chow thus found shelter in it at different times.

[The Chuen appends here two narratives:—  
1st, about the affairs of Loo. "Mang K-tze and Yang Hoo attacked Yan, the men of which proposed to fight. Tze-kia-tze, however, said, "There has been no doubt about the will of Heaven for long. The multitude of these will surely cause our ruler to be ruined. Is it not a difficult thing for a man to make himself happy when Heaven is sending down calamity on him? Even if there were Spirits [to help him], he must be defeated here. Alas! there is no hope. He is likely to die here!" The duke then sent Tze-kia-tze on a mission to Ts'in, after which his followers were defeated at Tseu-chu."

2d, about affairs in Ts'oo. "Throughout Ts'oo the language of the people about the fate of K'uei Yuen (See on par. 3) never ceased, and

all, when presenting their sacrifices, reviled the chief minister. Sen, director of Shin, spoke to Tze-chang, saying, "No one knows what were the offences of the director of the Left (K'uei Yuen), and of the director of the middle stables, (Yang Ling-chung) and yet you put them to death, thereby producing those revilings and murmurings, which to this day have not ceased. I am myself in doubts about it. A virtuous man would not kill another even to stop revilings;—is it not strange that you should kill men to excite them, and take no measures in the matter? Now Woo-keih is the slanderer of Ts'oo, as all the people know. He removed Chiao Woo (See on XV. 3); caused the expulsion of Chiao the marquis of Ts'ao (See on XXI. 6); ruined our late king's eldest son K'een, and caused the death of the Lien Yia, Ch'ay (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of the 26th year). He has stood like a screen before the king's ears and eyes, so that he should neither hear nor see. But for this, the gentle mildness, the humility and economy, of king T'ing, who excelled both Ch'ing and Ch'uang, would have been universally acknowledged. That he did not gain to himself all the States, was simply owing to Woo-keih. Now he has further put to death three innocent men, so as to excite great revilings, which have almost affected yourself. And yet you are taking no measures in regard to him;—what can you expect from such a course? Then Yen T'iang-sen, by fulfilling an order from you, utterly destroyed the families of three officers, among the best men of the State, who had committed no failure of duty in their offices. Woo has got a new ruler, and the borders are daily in a state of terror. If any great affair occur in our State, you will be in peril. Wise men take off slanders, to secure their own repose, but you love slanderers to put yourself in peril. Extreme is your delusion!" Tze-chang said, "I am guilty in this, and shall now take good measures in the case." In the 9th month, on Ke-wa, Tze-chang put to death Pei Woo-keih and Yen T'iang-sen, utterly destroying all the branches of their families. Thus he satisfied the people, and the revilings ceased.]

Par. 1. The Chuen says, "In winter, the duke went to Ts'ue, when the marquis begged to offer him an entertainment. Tze-kia-tze said, "Morning and evening you stand in his court;—how should he invite you to [the ceremony of] an entertainment. It is to a drinking [feast only]." Accordingly there was a drinking feast, and [the marquis] made the assistant-administrator offer the cup, and asked leave to take his own ease [elsewhere].

"A daughter of Tze-chung (the Kung-tze Yin, who fled to Ts'ue in the duke's 12th year (See on XII. 8) who was called Ch'ung was in the harem of the marquis, and intimated that she wished the duke to call her to see him. On this Tze-kia-tze left the feast, carrying the duke with him."

Par. 8. [The Chuen appends here a brief note:—"In the 12th month, T'ueh Ts'in of Ts'in required the guards from the different States to go to Chow. The people of Loo declined the service on account of the troubles in their State."]



Twenty-eighth year.

二十有八年春，  
王三月葬曹悼公。  
公如晉次  
于乾侯。  
夏四月丙戌，鄭  
伯寧卒。  
六月葬鄭定公。  
秋七月癸巳，滕  
子寧卒。  
冬葬滕悼公。

左傳曰：二十八年春，公如晉，將如乾侯。子家子曰：有求於人，而卽其安，人孰矜之？其遺於寬，弗聽。使請逆於晉。晉人曰：天禍魯國，君淹恤在外，君亦不使一個辱在寡人，而卽安於甥舅，其亦使逆君，使公復於寬，而後逆之。①晉祁勝與鄔臧通室，祁盈將執之，訪司馬叔游。叔游曰：鄭書有之，惡直醜正，實蕃有徒，無道立矣。子懼不免，詩曰：民之多辟，無自立辟。姑已。若何？盈曰：祁氏私有討，國何有焉？遂執之。祁勝略荀躒，荀躒爲之言於晉侯。晉侯執祁盈，祁盈之臣曰：鈞將皆死，慙使吾君聞勝與臧之死也，以爲快，乃殺之。夏六月，晉殺祁盈及楊食我，食我，祁盈之黨也。而助亂，故殺之。遂滅祁氏、羊舌氏。初，叔向欲娶於申公巫臣氏，其母欲娶其黨，叔向曰：吾母多而庶鮮，吾懲舅氏矣。其母曰：子靈之妻殺三夫，一君一子而亡一國，兩卿矣，可無懲乎？吾聞之，甚美必有甚惡，是鄭穆少妃姚子之子，子貉之妹也。子貉早死無後，而天鍾美於是，將必以是大有敗也。昔有仍氏生女，黶黑而甚美，光可以鑑，名曰玄妻。樂正后夔取之，生伯封，實有豕心，貪惓無醫，忿類無期，謂之封豕。有窮后羿滅之，夔是以不祀。且三代之亡，共子之廢，皆是物也。女何以爲哉？夫有尤物，足以移人，苟非德義，則必有禍。叔向懼不敢取，平公強使娶之。生伯石，伯石始生，子容之母走謁諸姑，曰：長叔姒生男，姑視之。及堂，聞其聲而還，曰：是豺狼之聲也。狼子野心，非是莫喪羊舌氏矣。遂弗視。



⑤秋，晉韓宣子卒，魏獻子爲政，分祁氏之田，以爲七縣，分羊舌氏之田，以爲三縣。司馬彌牟爲卽大夫，賈辛爲祁大夫，司馬烏爲平陵大夫，魏戊爲梗陽大夫，知徐吾爲塗水大夫，韓固爲馬首大夫，孟丙爲孟大夫，樂霄爲銅鞮大夫，趙朝爲平陽大夫，僚安爲楊氏大夫，謂賈辛、司馬烏爲有力於王室，故舉之。謂知徐吾、趙朝、韓固、魏戊，餘子之不失職，能守業者也。其四人者，皆受縣而後見於魏子，以賢舉也。魏子謂成臯吾與戊也，縣人其以我爲黨乎？對曰：「何也？戊之爲人也，遠不忘君，近不偪同，居利思義，在約思純，有守心而無淫行，雖與之縣，不亦可乎？昔武王克商，光有天下，其兄弟之國者十有五人，姬姓之國者四十人，皆舉親也。夫舉無他，唯善所在，親疏一也。」詩曰：「唯此文王，帝度其心，莫其德音，其德克明，克明克類，克長克君，王此大國，克順克比。」比于文王，其德靡悔。既受帝祉，施於孫子。心能制義曰度，德正應和曰莫，照臨四方曰明，勤施無私曰類，教誨不倦曰長，賞慶刑威曰君，慈和偏服曰順，擇善而從之曰比，經緯天地曰文，九德不愆，作事無悔，故襲天祿，子孫賴之。主之舉也，近文德矣。所及其遠哉！賈辛將適其縣，見於魏子。魏子曰：「辛來，昔叔向適鄭，懷惡欲觀叔向，從使之收器者而往，立於堂下，一言而善，叔向將飲酒，聞之曰：『必驪明也。』下執其手以土，曰：『昔賈大夫惡，娶妻而美，三年不言，不笑，御以如皐，射雉獲之，其妻始笑而言。』賈大夫曰：『才之不可以已，我不能射，女遂不言不笑夫。』今子少不鵬，子若無言，吾幾失子矣。』言之不可以已也如是。」遂如故知。今汝有力於王室，吾是以舉汝，行乎？敬之哉！毋墮乃力。仲尼聞魏子之舉也，以爲義，曰：「近不失親，遠不失舉，可謂義矣。」又聞其命賈辛也，以爲忠，詩曰：「永言配命，自求多福。」忠也，魏子之舉也，義其命也，忠其長有後於晉國乎？

⑥冬，梗陽人有獄，魏戊不能斷，以獄主其大宗賂以女樂。魏子將受之，魏戊謂閭沒女寬曰：「主以不賄聞於諸侯，若受梗陽人賄，莫甚焉。」吾子必諫，皆許諾，退朝待於庭，饋入召之，比置三歎。既食，使坐。魏子曰：「吾聞諸伯叔諺曰：『唯食忘憂。』吾子置食之間，三歎何也？」同辭而對曰：「或賜二小人酒，不夕食，饋之始至，恐其不足，是以歎。中



梗獻厭之爲人願償再足而軍曰置  
陽子而心君之以之歎是有食豈自  
人辭已屬子腹小畢及以不之將咎

- XXVIII. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke Taou of Ts'aou.
- 2 The duke went to Tsin. He halted in Kan-how.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-seuh, Ning, earl of Ch'ing, died.
- 4 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Ting of Ch'ing.
- 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, Ning, viscount of T'ang, died.
- 6 In winter, there was the burial of duke Taou of T'ang.

Par. 1. This was the 6th month since his death. The burial was late.

Par. 2. Kan-how was a city of Tsin, in the south-east of the pres. dia. of Ching-gau (成安) dep. Kwang-ping (廣平), Chih-le. The duke found that Ts'ao was tired of him, and now threw himself on the protection of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—This spring, the duke was going to Tsin, and wanted to proceed to Kan-how. Tse-kia-tze said to him, "When one has to request a refuge from another, and at once proceeds to where he would be at ease, who will have any pity for him? You should go [only] to the borders [at first]." The duke would not listen to this suggestion, [and proceeded to Kan-how], and sent word [from it] to the capital of Tsin, begging that he might be met there. The marquise, however, said, "Heaven is afflicting the State of Loo, and its ruler has long endured his sorrow abroad. Without sending a single messenger to me, however, he threw himself upon one merely related to him by affinity. It should suffice for him to have got [the marquise of Tse] to meet him." The duke was made to return to the borders, and then he was met.

The critics think that all these notices of the movements of the duke, where he went, where he halted, &c. are from the pencil of Confucius himself;—to show that the ruler of Loo was still in existence, and indicate his condemnation of the usurpation of Ke-sun. See the note by the Kang-ho editors on this par.

Par. 3, 4. Kung-yang has 甯 for 寧. The burial of the earl of Ch'ing in the 3d month after his death must have been so hastened on for some extraordinary reason.

[The Chuen introduces here a narrative of affairs in Tsin:—K'e Shing and Woo Tsang of Tsin exchanged wives, in consequence of which K'e Ying (Head of the K'e family, and son of K'e Woo mentioned in the Chuen appended to IX. iii. 4.) purposed to seize them. Consulting, however, the marshal Shih Tseu on the subject, that officer said, "We read in a book of Ch'ing that those who hate what is right and dislike what is correct are very many. The way of what is

unprincipled is established. I am afraid you will not escape evil consequences, [if you do it]. The ode (She, III. li. ode X: 6) says,

'The people have many perversities;  
Do not you set up your perversity before them.'

Suppose you let them alone for the present." Ying said, "If our K'e family privately punish them, what is it to the State?" Accordingly he seized the criminals. [In the meantime] K'e Shing bribed Shun Loh, who spoke for him to the marquise; and K'e Ying was seized. One of his officers said, "He is sure in any case to die; but let my master hear of the death of Shing and Tsang, and it will be a satisfaction to him." On this he put both those men to death. In summer, in the 5th month, Tsin put K'e Ying to death, and Sze-wo of Yang, who was a partisan of his and had aided his lawlessness. On this account he [also] was put to death, and the families of K'e and Yang-ahoh were extinguished.

Formerly Shih-hsing had wished to marry a daughter of Woo-shin, Duke of Shin, but his mother wanted him to take one of her kindred rather. He said to her, "My mother's [i.e. the inmates of his father's harem] are many, but my father has few children by them. I must keep aloof from your kindred." She replied, "The wife of Tse-ling (Woo-shin). His wife was Hsu Ke. See on VII. x: 8, & cf.) proved the death of three husbands, one ruler, and her son, and ruined a State, and two of its ministers. Ought you not to keep aloof from her? I have heard that, where there is extreme beauty, there is sure to be extreme wickedness. She was the daughter of Yaou Tseu, a younger wife of [duke Mu] of Ch'ing, and the younger sister of Tse-uh. The brother died early, leaving no offspring; and since Heaven accumulated so much beauty in her, there must [still] be great ruin to be accomplished by her.

"In ancient times the prince of Jing had a daughter, with splendid black hair and very beautiful, so that her brightness cast a light around her, and she was named 'the dark Lady.' The prince K'wei, (Shun's) minister of Music, married her, and she bore to him Pih-fung, who



in truth had the heart of a pig, insatiably covetous and gluttonous, quarrelsome and perverse without measure, so that men called him 'the great pig.' E, the prince of K'ung, extinguished him (and his House), and so K'wei had none to maintain his sacrifices. Moreover, the ruin of the three dynasties and the setting aside of [our prince] Kung-tze (See the Chuen appended to III. xxviii. 1, et al.) were brought about by such creatures. Why are you going to do such a thing? Those strange Beings are sufficient to smite men [from their principles]; and if virtue and righteousness are not maintained, calamity is sure to come."

'Shuh-hiang was afraid, and did not dare to take the lady, but duke Ping forced him to do so. She bore to him Pih-shih (See-wo of Yang above). At the time of his birth, the mother of Tso-yung ran to tell her mother-in-law, saying, "My sister-in-law has a boy." The mother-in-law was going to see the child, but when she got to the hall, she heard his voice, and returned, saying, "It is the voice of a wolf. A wolfish child will have a wild heart. None but he will destroy the clan of Yang-shih." So she would not look at him.]

Par. 5. Here again Kung-yang has 備 for 事.

[The Chuen has here another long narrative about affairs in Tai:—"In autumn, Han Seien-tze of Tai died, and the government passed into the hands of Wei Hsien-tze (Mentioned before in the Chuen at IX. xxiii. 7). He divided the lands of the K'o and Yang-shih families, the former into 7, and the latter into 3 districts; and made Sze-ma Mo-mow great officer of Woo; K'ao Shu, of K'o; Sze-ma Woo, of Ping-ling; Wei Mow, of Kang-yang; Che Sou-woo, of T'oo-shuey; Han Koo, of Ma-shuey; Mang Ping, of Yu; Yoh Shau, of Tung-te; Chou Chou, of Ping-yang; L'kau Gai, of Yang-shih. He gave their appointments to K'ao Shu and Sze-ma Woo because of their services to the royal House; and to the Che Sou-woo, Chou Chou, Han Koo, and Wei Mow, because he considered that, though they were the sons of concubines, they would not fail in their offices and could maintain the inheritance of their fathers. The [other] four all received their districts, and then appeared before Wei-tze, showing that they were appointed because of their worthiness. He said to Ching Chuen, "As I have given Mow (his own son by a concubine) a district, will men say that I am acting partially?" "Why should they do so?" was the reply. Mow is of such a character that, though kept at a distance, he does not forget his ruler, and, though kept as a near favourite, he will not assume anything over his associates. In presence of gnis he thinks of righteousness; in the midst of difficulties, he seeks to maintain his purity. He can keep his heart, and abstain from all licentious conduct. You have given him a district, but was it not proper to do so? Formerly, when King Woo subdued Shang, and obtained grand possession of all the land, 15 of his brothers received States, and 40 other princes of the surname of Ke did the same;—these were all appointments of kindred. They were made because of the virtue of their subjects, whether nearly or distantly related. The old (Shu, III. 4. old VII. 4) says,

'Now this King Wan  
Was gifted by God with the power of judgment,  
So that the fame of his virtue silently grew.  
His virtue was highly intelligent,  
Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination;  
Capable of leading, capable of ruling,—  
To rule over this great nation,  
Rendering a cordial submission, able to produce cordial union.  
When the way came to King Wan,  
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.  
He received the blessing of God,  
And it was extended to his descendants.'

To have a mind able to determine what is right is called 'the power of judgment.' When virtue through its correctness is responded to with harmony, we have its 'silent exertion.' Extending a bright influence over all quarters is called 'illumination.' Earliest 'beneficence without selfish partiality is called 'discrimination.' Teaching without being weary is called 'leading.' 'The ruler' is he who makes happy by his rewards and awes by his punishments. 'Submission' is when there is a universal subjection to gentleness and harmony. 'Cordial union' is the effect of the choice of what is good, and following it. Character of which heaven and earth are the warp and woof is called 'accomplished.' When these nine virtues are found without error, there is nothing in the conduct to occasion dissatisfaction. Thus it was that King Wan received his dignity from Heaven, and his descendants were blessed through him. In your promotions you have approximated to the virtue of Wan. Far-extending will be the effect!"

'When K'ao Shu was about to proceed to his district, he appeared before Wei-tze, who said to him, "Come here, Shu. Formerly, when Shuh-hiang went to Ch'ing, Taung Mieh of that State, who was an ugly man, wished to see him, and followed for that purpose the servants who were removing the dishes [of the feast]. As he stood below the hall, he uttered one sentence so excellent, that when Shuh-hiang, who was about to drink, heard it, he said, "That must be Taung Ming," and with this he descended the steps, took him by the hand, and ascended with him, saying, "Formerly, a great officer of K'ao, who was ugly, married a wife who was beautiful; but for 3 years she neither laughed nor spoke. He drove with her to [the marsh of] Kaon, and there shot at a pheasant and hit it, upon which she laughed for the first time and spoke, so that the officer said, "One's ability should not be unexercised. If I had not been able to shoot, you would not have laughed nor spoken." Now Sir, your features are rather undistinguished, and if you had not spoken, I should probably have remained unacquainted with you. Your [ability of] speech must not be unexercised." In this way they became like old acquaintances. Now you have done good service to the royal House, and therefore I have given you your appointment. Go and be reverently attentive to your duty. Minish not aught in the energy of your services."

'When Chung-ne heard of the appointments made by Wei-tze, he considered them to be just, and said, "He has not failed in his duty



to those near him of his own House, nor has he erred in his promotion of others more remote. His conduct may be pronounced just." When he heard of his charge to K'ea Sin, he considered it to be loyal. The ode (III. i. ode I. 5) says,

'Ever strive to be in accordance with the will [of Heaven],  
And you will be seeking for yourselves much happiness.'

This is loyalty. Wei-tze's appointments were just, and his charge was loyal;—was it not likely that his posterity would continue long in the State of Tsin?

Par. 6. Though the duke was in exile, we see that Ko-sun kept up the reciprocity of Loo with foreign States, as if there had been nothing the matter with itself.

[The Chuen gives a narrative here, illustrating the faithfulness of Wei Mow above:—] In winter, a man of Kang-yang had a lawsuit, which Wei Mow was not able to determine, and he referred it [to the capital]. The principal member of the man's family offered a bribe of some female musicians, which Wei-tze was going to receive. Mow said to Yen Muh and Joo K'wan, "Our lord is noted through the States for not receiving

bribes, but there could be no greater case of such acceptance, if he receive [what is offered by] this man of Kang-yang. You must remunerate with him." They agreed to do so; and when [Wei-tze] retired from the audience of the marquis, they were waiting in his court-yard. When his meal was brought in, he called them [to join in it]; and during its course, they sighed three times. When it was over, he made them sit down [with him], and said, "I have heard my uncles repeat the common saying that 'Mist makes a man forget his sorrow';—what was the reason that while the food was being served up, you gave [those] three sighs." They answered both together, saying, "We were drinking with a friend, and ate nothing [last] evening. When the first course came in, we were afraid there might not be sufficient, and therefore we sighed. When the second course came, we condemned ourselves, and thought, 'How could we be feasted by the general, and not get enough?' This was the reason of the second sigh. And when the last course was ended, [we thought], 'Would that it were with minds of superior men as it is with the bellies of small men like us!—that they were satisfied when they had enough!'" On this Wei-tze refused [the bribe of] the man of Kang-yang."

*Twenty-ninth year.*

二十九年春，公至自乾侯，居於鄆。齊侯使高張來唁公。公如晉，次于乾侯。夏四月，庚子，叔詣卒。秋七月，冬十月，鄆潰。

左傳曰：二十九年春，公至自乾侯，處于鄆。齊侯使高張來唁公，稱主君。子家子曰：齊卑君矣，君祇辱焉。公如乾侯。三月己卯，京師殺召伯盈。尹氏固及原伯魯之子尹固之復也。有婦人遇之周郊，尤之曰：處則勸人爲禍，行則數日而反，是夫也。其過三歲乎？夏五月庚寅，王子趙車入於鄆，以叛，陰不佞敗之。平子每歲買馬，具從者之衣屨而歸之于乾侯。公執歸馬者賣之，乃不歸馬。衛侯來獻其乘馬，曰：敢服，慙而死。公將爲之櫝，子家子曰：從者病矣，請以食之。乃以帷褰之。公賜公衍羔裘，使獻龍輔於齊侯，遂入羔裘。齊侯喜。



與之陽穀。公衍、公爲之生也。其母偕出。公衍先生。公爲之母曰：相與偕出。請相與偕告。三日。公爲生。其母先以告。公爲爲兄。公私喜於陽穀。而思於魯。曰：務人爲此禍也。且後生而爲兄。其誣也久矣。乃黜之。而以公衍爲太子。

⑤秋。龍見於絳郊。魏獻子問於蔡墨曰：吾聞之。蟲莫知於龍。以其不生得也。謂之知。信乎？對曰：人實不知。非龍實知。古者畜龍。故國有蔡龍氏。有御龍氏。獻子曰：是二氏者。吾亦聞之。而不知其故。是何謂也？對曰：昔有鬻叔安。有裔子曰董父。實甚好龍。能求其蓄。欲以飲食之。龍多歸之。乃擾畜龍。以服事帝舜。賜之姓曰董。氏曰蔡。龍封諸騶川。騶夷氏其後也。故帝舜氏世有畜龍。及有夏孔甲。擾於有帝。帝賜之乘龍。河漢各二。各有雌雄。孔甲不能食。而未獲。蔡龍氏有陶唐氏既衰。其後有劉累。學擾龍於蔡龍氏。以事孔甲。能飲食之。夏后嘉之。賜氏曰御龍。以更豕韋之後。龍一雌死。潛醢以食夏后。夏后饗之。既而使求之。懼而遷於魯縣。范氏其後也。獻子曰：今何故無之？對曰：夫物。物有其官。官修其方。朝夕思之。一日失職。則死及之。失官不食。官宿其業。其物乃至。若泯棄之物。乃坻伏。鬱湮不育。故有五行之官。是謂五官。實列受氏姓。封爲上公。祀爲貴神。社稷五祀。是尊是奉。木正曰句芒。火正曰祝融。金正曰蓐收。水正曰玄冥。土正曰后土。龍。水物也。水官棄矣。故龍不生得。不然。周易有之。在乾之姤曰：潛龍勿用。其同人曰：見龍在田。其大有曰：飛龍在天。其夬曰：亢龍有悔。其坤曰：見羣龍無首。吉。坤之剝曰：龍戰于野。若不朝夕見。誰能物之？獻子曰：社稷五祀。誰氏之五官也？對曰：少皞氏有四叔曰重曰該曰修曰熙。實能金木及水。使重爲句芒。該爲蓐收。修及熙爲玄冥。世不失職。遂濟窮桑。此其三祀也。顓頊氏有子曰犁。爲祝融。共工氏有子曰句龍。爲后土。此其二祀也。后土爲社。稷田正也。有烈山氏之子曰柱。爲稷。自夏以土祀之。周棄亦爲稷。自商以來祀之。

⑥冬。晉趙鞅荀寅帥師城汝濱。遂賦晉國一鼓鐵。以鑄刑鼎。著范宣子所爲刑書焉。仲尼曰：晉其亡乎。失其度。



矣夫晉國將守唐叔之所  
受法度以經緯其民卿大  
夫以序守之民是以能尊  
其貴貴是以能守其業貴  
賤不愆所謂度也文公是  
以作執秩之官爲被廬之  
法以爲盟主今棄是度也  
而爲刑鼎民在鼎矣何以  
尊貴貴何業之守貴賤無  
序何以爲國且夫宣子之  
刑夷之蒐也晉國之亂制  
也若之何以爲法蔡史墨  
曰范氏中行氏其亡乎中  
行實爲下卿而干上令擅  
作刑器以爲國法是法姦  
也又加范氏焉易之亡也  
其及趙氏趙孟與焉然不  
得已若德可以免

- XXIX. 1 In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, he came from Kan-how, and resided in Yün. The marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Chang there to condole with him.  
2 The duke went to Ts'in, and halted in Kan-how.  
3 In summer, in the fourth month, on K'ang-tze, Shuh E died.  
4 It was autumn, the ninth month.  
5 In winter, in the tenth month, [the people] of Yün dispersed.

Par. 1. In XXVI. 2, it is said that the duke came from Ts'e (至自齊) and resided in Yün. Though he had not been to the capital of Ts'e, he had had a meeting with the marquis, which was held sufficient to authorize the record that he came from Ts'e. But though he had entered Ts'in, and been met perhaps on its borders (See the Chuen on XXVIII. 2) by officers from its court, he had not had a meeting with the marquis, and therefore it could only be said here that 'he arrived from Kan-how.'

The Chuen says:—When the duke came from Kan-how, and [again] resided in Yün, the marquis of Ts'e sent Kaou Chang to condole with him, and that officer merely addressed him by the title of "Sir," on which Tse-kia-tze said, "The ruler of Ts'e is humbling you. You are only being disgraced." The duke then went [back] to Kan-how. The duke had left Ts'e and gone to Ts'in, hoping that he would receive better treatment, and substantial help. On the contrary he found himself worse off, and on his return to Yün, the marquis of Ts'e only treated him with contempt. The style of the messenger in calling him 'Sir' (主君) was the mode of addressing a great officer. The message of condolence was really a message of mockery.

[There is a narrative here about affairs in Chow:—In the 5th month, on Ke-maou, Ying earl of Shao, Koo chief of the House of Yin, and the son of Loo earl of Yuu (See the Chuen on XVIII. 4) were put to death in the capital. On the return of Koo of Yin (See on XXVI. 8), a woman met him in the suburbs of Chow, and condemned his conduct, saying, "When in Chow, he encouraged others to do evil; when he left it, he numbered the days till his return:—

this fellow is not likely to last beyond 3 years." In summer, in the 5th month, on K'ang-yin, the [late] king's son Ch'ao-ken entered L'au, and held it in revolt. Yin Puh-ning defeated him.]

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—Every year Ping-tze bought horses, and provided clothes and shoes for the [duke's] followers, and sent them to Kan-how. The duke seized those who brought the horses and sold them, on which the horses were not again sent.

The marquis of Wei sent him a horse of his own chariot, which was called K'o-fuh. It fell into a ditch and died, and the duke was going to have a coffin made for it, but Tse-kia-tze said to him, "Your followers are in distress. Please give [the value] to them to get food." On this he had it wrapped up in a curtain, [and buried it].

The duke gave Kung-yen a robe of lamb's fur, and sent him to present a Lung-foo [piece of jade] to the marquis of Ts'e. Kung-yen took the opportunity to present [also] the robe, and the marquis was pleased, and gave him [the city of] Yang-kuh.

The mothers of Kung-yen and Kang-wei (Both, the duke's sons. See the Chuen on XXV. 5) were both withdrawn to the birth-chamber, when their sons were born. Kang-yen was born first, but Kung-wei's mother said, "We retired here together. Let us announce the births of our children [also] together." Three days after, Kang-wei was born, and his mother gave the announcement of his birth first, so that the duke considered him the elder of the two. Now, however, the duke was selfishly glad because of [the gift of] Yang-kuh, and thinking [also] of what had happened in Loo, he said, "It was Woo-jin (Kung-wei) who wrought this misery, and though the last-born he is considered the elder;—his family is of long standing." At-



condignly he degraded him, and appointed Kung-yen to be his eldest son and heir."

Par. 3. K'uh-jang says here:—"K'e-sun E-joo, said, 'Shuh has died without any illness. This is [another proof of] why we are without the duke. It is by the will of Heaven, and not from any offence of mine.' His glossarist Fan Ning observes that Shuh E had wished to bring the duke back. Of this Tso-she says nothing, nor of E's dying without any apparent cause."

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here a long narrative on the subject of dragons:—"In autumn, a dragon appeared in the suburbs of K'ang, (in which Wei Hsien-tse asked Ts'ao Mii [the grand historiographer], saying, "I have heard that of all the scaly tribes the dragon is the most knowing, because it cannot be got alive. It is true to say that it is thus knowing?" Mii replied, "This is only men's want of knowledge; it is not that the dragon is really knowing. Anciently they kept dragons, and hence there were in the kingdom the families of Hwan-lung, (Dragon-rearers) and Yu-lung (Dragon-ruler)." Hsien-tse said, "I have heard myself of those two families, but do not know their history.—what is the meaning of their names?" [The historiographer] replied, "Formerly, there was Shuh-gan of L'ao, who had a distant descendant called Tung-fu, very fond of dragons, and able to find out their tastes and likings, so as to supply them with meat and drink. Many dragons came to him, and he, according to their nature, reared them in the service of the emperor Shun, who gave him the surname of Tung, and the clan-name of Hwan-lung. He was [also] invested with [the principality of] Tung-ch'uen, and the family of Tung is of his posterity. Thus in the time of the emperor Shun, and for generations after, dragons were reared."

"We come [then] to K'ung-k'ieh of the Hsia dynasty, who was [so] obedient and acceptable to God, that God gave him teams of dragons; two from the Ho and two from the Han,—in pairs, male and female. K'ung-k'ieh could not feed them, and no members of the Hwan-lung family were to be found. But amid the remains of the family of Tsou-t'ang (Yao) was a descendant called L'ao Lay, who had learned the art of rearing dragons from the family of Hwan-lung. With this he undertook to serve K'ung-k'ieh, and was able to feed the dragons. The sovereign esteemed his service, gave him the clan-name of Yu-lung, and appointed him to the place of the descendants of Ch'ao-wei (See on IX. xlii. 1). One of the female dragons died, and he secretly preserved it as minced meat in brine, supplying with it the table of the sovereign of Hsia, who enjoyed it, and required him to find others [for the same use]. On this L'ao Lay was afraid, and removed to Loo-hien. The family of Tsou is descended from him."

"Hsien-tse said, "What is the reason that there are none now?" Mii replied, "Every kind of creature must have its own officers, who carefully attend to the laws of its nature, morning and evening thinking of them, and who, if for a single day they fail in their duties, should be liable to death, lose their offices, and have no support. When the officers rest in the performance of their appointed duties, the creatures come to them [abundantly]. If they neglect and abandon those duties, the creatures cease to appear, and lie concealed;—their pro-

duction is restrained and stopped. In this way there were the officers of the five elementary principles, who were called the five officers, received their several clan-names and surnames, and were appointed dukes of the highest rank. They were sacrificed to, [after death], as Spirits, and received honour and offerings, at the altars of the land and grain, and at the five [regular] sacrifices. The chief officer of wood was called Kow-mang; of fire, Chuh-yung; of metal, Juh-show; of water, Hsien-ming; of earth, How-too. The dragon is a creature of the water; there is no longer an officer of the water; and therefore it is not got alive. If this be denied, [consider] what we have in the Yih of Chow. In the case of the diagram K'ien (☰), on the line which appears

changed in Kow (☰), we have, 'The dragon lies hid in the water; it is not the time for active employment;' on that which is changed in Tung-jin (☳), 'The dragon appears in the fields;' on that which is changed in Ta-yew (☱), 'Flies the dragon in the heavens;' and on that which is changed in K'wae (☶), 'The dragon goes too far. There will be reason for repentance;' and where all its lines would be as in K'w'än (☷), 'There appear all the dragons without a heed. It is fortunate.' Then in the case of K'w'än, on that line which is changed in Poh (☲), we have, 'The dragons fight in the wilderness.' If the dragon had not constantly—morning and evening—appeared, who could have thus described it?" Hsien-tse asked, "What were the families of the five officers, sacrificed to at the altars of the land and grain, and of the five Spirits of the elementary substances?" Mii again replied, "In the time of Shao-haou, there were four men, called Chung, K'ao, S'ao, and Ho, able to regulate [the kingdoms of] metal, wood, and water. Chung was made Kow-mang; K'ao, Juh-show; and S'ao and Ho, Hsien-ming. For ages those families did not fail in their duties, but completed the merit of K'ung-k'ieh (Shao-haou). These shared in three of the sacrifices. Chuen-hsueh had a son called Le, who became the Chuh-yung. Kung-kung had a son called Kow-lung, who became the How-too. These shared in two of the sacrifices. How-too was sacrificed to at the altar of the land; at that of the Spirit of the grain, the director of Agriculture. A son of L'ao-shan was called Ch'ao, and he shared in this sacrifice. During the Hsia dynasty and previously they sacrificed to him. K'ao, the ancestor of Chow, was also director of Agriculture. From the Shang dynasty downwards, they have sacrificed to him."

Par. 5. This event put the climax to the duke's misery and destitution. Henceforth he had no foot-hold in Loo. 潰, —see on VI. lii. 1. The people, no doubt, found the residence of the duke and his followers in the city to be both troublesome and burdensome. They dispersed, therefore, and left his followers the sole occupants of it. The duke himself was at this time in Kan-how.



[We have here another narrative about affairs in Tsai:—"In winter, Chao Yang and Shen Yin of Tsai led a force, and walled Joo-pin, after which they laid upon the [districts of the] State a contribution of a *ko*. (=180 catties) of iron, in order to cast penal tripods, on which they inscribed the penal laws prepared by Fan Sseu-tze."

"Chung-ne said, "Tsai is going to ruin! It has lost its [proper] rules [of administration]. Tsai ought to keep the laws and rules which Tang-shu received for the regulation of his people. If the ministers and great officers would keep them in their several positions, the people would be able to honour their higher classes, and those higher classes would be able to preserve their inheritances. There would be nothing wrong with the noble or the mean. We should have what might be called the [proper] rules. For this purpose duke Wan made his officers of different degrees, and formed the laws of Pe-leu (See on V. xxii. 5), thus becoming lord of covenants. When those rules are now abandoned, and tripods with the penal

laws on them are formed instead, the people will study the tripods, and not care to honour their men of rank. But when there is no distinction of noble and mean, how can a State continue to exist? Moreover, the penal laws of Sseu-tze are those adopted at the revival in E (See the Ch'uen at the beginning of VI. vi.),—the enactments which led to the disorder of Tsai; how can they be made its laws?" The historiographer Tsao Mi said, "The families of Fan and Chung-hang are in danger of perishing. Chung-hang Yin (L. p. Shen Yin) is an inferior minister, and yet he intrudes into the duties of a higher rank, presuming to make those articles with the penal statutes, to form the laws of the State. This is giving an example of lawlessness; and moreover he involves the Fan family, and will ruin it by the change he is making. Wherein the Chao family is concerned, Chao-ning indeed has been a party to this, but he could not help it. If he cultivate his virtue, he may escape [the fate of Yin]."

Compare with the remarks attributed here to Confucius the narrative appended to VI. 2.]

Thirtieth year.

三十年春王正月公在乾侯。夏六月庚辰，晉侯去疾卒。秋八月，葬晉頃公。冬十有二月，吳滅徐。徐子章禹奔楚。

左傳曰：三十年春，王正月，公在乾侯。不先書郕與乾侯，非公且微過也。夏六月，晉頃公卒。秋八月，葬鄭游吉弔，且送葬。魏獻子使士景伯詰之，曰：悼公之喪，子西弔子蟠送葬，今吾子無貳，何故？對曰：諸侯所以歸晉君，禮也。禮也者，小事大，大字小之謂。事大在其時，命字小在恤其所無，以敝邑居大國之間，共其職貢，與其備御不虞之患，豈忘其命？先王之制，諸侯之喪，士弔，大夫送葬，唯嘉好聘享三軍之事，於是乎使卿晉之喪事，敝邑之閒，先君有所助執紼矣。若其不開，雖士大夫，有所不獲數矣。大國之惠，亦慶其加，而不討其乏，明底其情，取備而已，以爲禮也。靈王之喪，我先君簡公在楚，我先大夫印段實往，敝邑之少卿也。王吏不討，恤所無也。今大夫曰：女盍從舊，舊有豐有省，不知所從，從



其豐則寡君幼弱是以不共從其省則吉在此矣唯大夫圖之晉人不能詰

吳子使徐人執掩餘使鍾吾人執燭庸二公子奔楚楚子大封而定其徙使監馬尹大心逆吳公子使居養莠尹然左司馬沈尹戌城之取於城父與胡田以與之將以害吳也子西諫曰吳光新得國而親其民視民如子辛苦同之將用之也若好吾邊疆使柔服焉猶懼其至吾又彊其讐以重怒之無乃不可乎吳周之胄裔也而棄在海濱不與姬通今而始大比於諸華光又甚文將自同於先王不知天將以爲虐乎使翦喪吳國而封大異姓乎其抑亦將卒以祚吳乎其終不遠矣我盍姑億吾鬼神而寧吾族姓以待其歸將焉用自播揚焉王弗聽吳子怒冬十二月吳子執鍾吾子遂伐徐防山以水之己卯滅徐徐子章禹斷其髮攜其夫人以逆吳子吳子唁而送之使其邇臣從之遂奔楚楚沈尹戌帥師救徐弗及遂城夷使徐子處之

⑤吳子問於伍員曰初而言伐楚余知其可也而恐其使余往也又惡人之有余之功也今余將自有之矣伐楚何如對曰楚執政衆而乖莫適任患若爲三師以肄焉一師至彼必皆出彼出則歸彼歸則出楚必道敝亟肄以罷之多方以誤之既罷而後以三軍繼之必大克之闔廬從之楚於是乎始病

- XXX. 1 In his thirtieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how.  
 2 In summer, in the sixth month, K'eu-taih, marquis of Tsin, died.  
 3 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke K'ing of Tsin.  
 4 In winter, in the twelfth month, Woo extinguished Sen, and Chang-yu, viscount of Sen, fled to Ts'oo.

Par. 1 The duke had gone, the previous spring, to Kan-how, and, so may suppose, had remained there. It was of no use for him to think now of returning to Yun, as that city had been abandoned by the inhabitants. The 在 in the text, instead of the 居 in XXVII.1 et al., is accounted for by the fact that Yun was in Loo, a city belonging to the duke, in which circumstances obliged him for a time to take up his residence, whereas he could only be described as 'being in Kan-how,' which belonged to another State. But is there anything more,

any judgment of Confucius, indicated by the record, 公在乾侯, repeated as it is at the commencement of the two next years? Dukes of Loo had more than once, on previous occasions during the period of the Chun Tsew, been absent from their capitals at the beginning of the year, but once only does the text record the fact, in the 公在楚 of IX. xix. 1. See the notes there. The critics are divided on the question. Tso Yu (Trying to explain Ts'ao's language here, which the K'ang-he editors do not give, and which I have tried in vain to under-



stand) finds in the language the expression of condemnation,—indicating that the duke was an exile, through his own misconduct, and obstinacy in rejecting the counsels of Tzu-k'ang, and this view is strongly advocated by Moon Se-ho. Loo Ch'ang and others see in the language the expression of the sage's sympathy with the duke. Loo had cast him out, but the sage would thus keep Loo in mind of him

(所以存公), and show his own opinion that the duke was still the only ruler of the State. It is sufficient for the student to be content with the fact as it is recorded.

Parr. 2, 3. The funeral of the marquis took place earlier than it should have done, according to the rule prescribed for such a ceremony. That the duke, though in Tsin, took no action on the occasion, shows that his residence in that State was barely permitted.

The Chuen says:—Yü Keli of Ch'ing went to Tsin to offer the condolences of his State, and to accompany the funeral. Wei Hsiao-tze sent Sze King-pih to question him, saying, "On the death of duke Taou, Tzu-se came with condolences, and Tzu-k'ang attended the funeral (See the 1st narrative of the Chuen after IX. xv. 7); what is the reason that you, Sir, have no second commissioner with you?" Keli replied, "The reason why the States acknowledge the supremacy of the ruler of Tsin lies in the rules of propriety, by which are [here] to be understood the service of a great State by a small one, and the cherishing of the small State by the great one. The service appears in obedience to the commands which are given from time to time; the cherishing, in the great State's compassion for the other's wants or disabilities. In consequence of the situation of our poor State between great States, we perform our duties and render our contributions. If we have unhappily not been able [at any time] to prevent our contribution against unforeseen evils, it was not because we presumed to forget your commands."

"The rule of the ancient kings was, that, on the death of the prince of a State, a simple officer should be sent from other States to express their condolences, and a great officer to attend the funeral. Only on occasions of marriage, friendly alliances, complimentary missions, and offerings, was a minister to be sent. On occasions of death among the rulers of Tsin, when there was leisure in our poor State, our former rulers have at times assisted, and held the traces of the bier. If there was no leisure [from existing affairs], even an officer and great officer have not been sent as the latter of the rule required. Your great State approved, in its kindness, where our observances exceeded, and did not condemn where they were deficient, entering intelligently into the circumstances of our condition, and accepting what we were able to do, as a compliance with propriety. On the death of king Ling (in the 29th year of duke Sheng), our ruler was in T'oo, and our great officer Yin T'wan went to the capital. He was but a junior minister of our State, but the king's officers threatened no punishment;—they pitied our not having the means to do otherwise. Now, Sir great officer, you ask why we have not followed the old fashion. The old fashion went sometimes beyond the rule, and sometimes fell short of it. I do not know which old fashion we ought to have followed. If you say that

which went beyond the rule, our ruler is too young to have observed it. If you say that which fell short of the rule, then I am here. Do you consider the matter?"

"The people of Tsin could not question him any further."

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 禹 for 羽. The Chuen says:—The viscount of Woo required the people of Sen to seize Yen-yu, and the people of Chung-woo to seize Chui-yung (See the Chuen on XXVII. 1), on which those two Kung-tzes fled to T'oo. The viscount of that State made them a large grant of land, and determined where they should remove to, making Ta-sin, the inspector of [the king's] horses, meet them and conduct them to Yang as their residence. Jen the Yü-director, and Seuh commandant of Shin, the marshal of the Left, waited that city, and annexed to it part of the lands of Shing-foo and Hoo. This was done with the intention of injuring Woo; but Tzu-se remonstrated, saying, "Kwang of Woo has lately got that State, and is showing affection to his people. He regards them as his sons, and shares in all their sufferings;—it must be with the intention of using them. If we were to cultivate good relations with the borders of Woo, and make them submit to our gentleness, we should have reason to fear that State's attacking us; but we go and give territory to its enemies, and thereby increase its anger;—this surely is improper. Woo is connected by a long descent with the House of Chow; but lying apart along the sea, it has not had intercourse with the other Ke States. Now, however, it has begun to be great, and may be compared with one of the States of the kingdom. Kwang also is very accomplished, and will wish to pursue a similar course to the former kings. We do not know whether Heaven will make him the object of its wrath, causing him to clip and ruin the State of Woo, and aggrandize with it some other surname, or whether it will in the end make him the instrument of blessing Woo. The result will not be distant; why should we not meanwhile allow our Spirits to be quiet, and our people to rest in peace, till we see how the scale turns? Why should we ourselves commence a toilsome struggle?" The king would not listen to this advice; and the viscount of Woo, enraged [with the course of T'oo], in the 12th month seized the viscount of Chung-woo, and then went on to invade Sen. He raised embankments on the hills so as to lay the capital under water, and on Ke-manu he extinguished the State. Chang-yu, the viscount of Sen, cut off his hair, and went forth, with his wife, to meet his enemy, who consoled with him and sent him away, making his most intimate officers follow him; on which he fled to T'oo. Seuh, commandant of Shin, was leading a force to relieve Sen, but he did not arrive in time; so he waited & assigned it to the viscount of Sen for a residence. The viscount of Woo asked Woo Yun, saying, "When you spoke formerly of invading T'oo, I knew the advisableness of such a measure (See XX. the 2d narr. at the beginning). But I was afraid the king would send myself, and I disliked another man's receiving the merit of my exploits. Now it will be my own;—what do you say to attacking T'oo?" Yun replied, "The govt. of T'oo is in the hands of many, who are



at variance among themselves, and not one of them could bear the burden of calamity. If we form three armies to harass it, when one of them approaches, all the forces of Ts'oo will turn out. Let it then retire; and when they retire let us advance again. Ts'oo will thus be weary with

marching; and when we have thus repeatedly harassed and worn it out, leading it wrong also in many ways, if we follow up our plan with all our three armies, we are sure to make a great conquest." Hoh-leu followed this counsel, and Ts'oo thus began to be distressed.

*Thirty-first year.*

三十有一年春王正月公  
在乾侯。  
季孫意如會晉荀躒于適  
歷。  
夏四月丁巳薛伯穀卒。  
晉侯使荀躒唁公于乾侯。  
秋葬薛獻公。  
冬黑肱以濫來奔。  
十有二月辛亥朔日有食  
之。

左傳曰三十一年春王正月公在乾侯言不能外內也。

晉侯將以師納公范獻子曰若召季孫而不來則信不臣矣然後伐之若何晉人召季孫獻子使私焉曰子來我受其無咎季孫意如會晉荀躒于適歷荀躒曰寡君使躒謂君子何故出君有君不事周有常刑子其圖之季孫練冠麻衣跣行伏而對曰事君臣之所不得也敢逃刑命君若以臣爲有罪請囚於費以待君之察也亦唯君若以先臣之故不絕季氏而賜之死若弗殺弗亡君之惠也死且不朽若得從君而歸則固臣之願也敢有異心

薛伯穀卒同盟故書。

夏四月季孫從知伯如乾侯子家子曰君與之歸一慙之不忍而終身慙乎公曰諾衆曰在一言矣君必逐之荀躒以晉侯之命唁公且曰寡君使躒以君命討於意如意如不敢



逃死。君其入也。公曰：君惠顧先君之好，施及亡人，將使歸葬，除宗祧以事君，則不能見夫人，已所能見夫人者，有如河、荀、驪掩耳而走。曰：寡君其罪之恐，敢與知魯國之難，臣請復於寡君，退而謂季孫，君怒未怠，子姑歸祭。子家子曰：君以一乘入於魯師，季孫必與君歸，公欲從之，衆從者脅公，不得歸。

⑤秋，吳人侵楚，伐夷，侵潛。六，楚沈尹戌帥師救潛，吳師還。楚師遷潛於南岡而還。吳師圍弦，左司馬戌，右司馬稽，帥師救弦，及豫章。吳師還，始用子胥之謀也。冬，邾黑肱以濫來奔，賤而書名，重地故也。君子曰：名之不可不慎也。如是，夫有所有名，而不如其已，以地叛，雖賤必書，地以名其人，終爲不義，弗可滅已。是故君子動則思禮，行則思義，不爲利回，不爲義疚，或求名而不得，或欲蓋而名章，懲不義也。齊豹爲衛司寇，守嗣大夫，作而不義，其書爲盜，邾庶其，莒牟夷，邾黑肱，以土地出，求食而已，不求其名，賤而必書，此二物者，所以懲肆而去貪也。若艱難其身，以險危大人，而有名章，徹攻難之士，將奔走之，若竊邑叛君，以徼大利而無名，貪冒之民，將真力焉，是以春秋書齊豹曰盜，三叛人名，以懲不義，數惡無禮，其善志也，故曰：春秋之稱微而顯，婉而辨，上之人能使昭明，善人勸焉，淫人懼焉，是以君子貴之。

十二月辛亥朔，日有食之，是夜也。趙簡子夢童子顰而轉以歌，旦，占諸史墨，曰：吾夢如是，今而日食，何也？對曰：六年及此月也。吳其入郢乎？終亦弗克，入郢必以庚辰，日月在辰尾，庚午之日，日始有謫，火勝金，故弗克。

- XXXI. 1 In his thirty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how.  
 2 Kê-sun E-joo, had a meeting with Sëun Leih of Tsin in Teih-leih.  
 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ting-sze, Kuh, earl of Sëeh, died.  
 4 The marquis of Tsin sent Sëun Leih to condole with the duke in Kan-how.  
 5 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hëen of Sëeh.  
 6 In winter Hih-kwäng came a fugitive to Loo with [the city of] Lan.  
 7 In the twelfth month, on Sin-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.



Par. 1. See on the 1st par. of last year. Tso-she observes here that the record 'indicates the duke's incompetency both in Loo and abroad.' His own subjects would not have him in Loo, and neither Ts'e nor Tsin would afford him effectual succour.

Par. 2. We have here and in par. 4 an account of negotiations which might have ended in the restoration of the duke to Loo, but for the obstinacy of him and his followers. Duke King of Tsin had been succeeded by his son Woo (午),—duke Ting,—who was anxious to signalize his accession by such an exercise of his influence. Kung-yang, here and afterwards, has 樂 for 歷. Tsin-leh was a city of Tsin.

The Chuen says:—'The marquess of Tsin proposed sending an army to restore the duke, but Fan Hsien-tze said to him, "If you summon Ke-sun and he do not come, it will be evident that he is a traitor to his ruler. What do you say to attacking him after [he has refused to come]?" [Accordingly], the people of Tsin summoned Ke-sun to their State, and Hsien-tze privately sent word to him to be sure to come, saying that he would undertake that he should not suffer anything. When they met as described in the text, Seun Leih said, "My ruler has charged me to say to you, "Why have you expelled your ruler? Chow has a regular punishment for him who has a ruler and does not seize him." Do you consider the case." Ke-sun, who had on a cap of white silk, wore clothes of sackcloth, and was barefoot, prostrated himself, and replied, "I have not found it in my power to serve my ruler, and I will not presume to flee from the punishment which he may order. If he considers that I am chargeable with guilt, let me be confined in Pe to await the result of his investigation; and then let it be with me as he shall determine. If out of regard to my fathers, he do not entirely cut off the family of Ke, but appoint [only] me to die, or if he do not put me to death, or send me into exile, it will be his kindness, which I will not forget. But if I am allowed to follow him, and return to Loo, this is what I desire. Should I dare to have any other thought?"

Par. 3. Tso-she observes here that we have this record, because the earl of Szech and the duke had covenanted together; and to illustrate his meaning, Tso says that this is the first time that the name of an earl of Szech has appeared in the text, and Tso-she thought it necessary to assign the reason for it. Other canonists, however, account for the occurrence of the name here differently.

Par. 4. This is the sequel of par. 2. The Chuen says:—'In summer, in the 4th month, Ke-sun followed Che Pih (Seun Leih) to Kan-how, when Ts'e-kên-tze said [to the duke], "Let your lordship return with him. If you cannot bear the shame of [a day], how can you bear that of your whole life?" The duke assented, but all [the rest of his followers] said, "It all lies in a single word. You must [get Tsin to] expel him."

Seun Leih expressed to the duke the condolences of the marquess of Tsin, and said, "My ruler charged me, in accordance with your lordship's orders, to reprove E-joo. He does not presume to flee from [a sentence of] death. You can [now] enter Loo." The duke said,

"Through the kindness of your ruler, having regard to the friendship between our predecessors, and extended to me a fugitive, I will return, and cleanse and set in order my ancestral temple to do service to him, but I cannot see that man. I swear by the Ho that I will not see him." Seun Leih covered his ears, and ran away, saying, "My ruler feared that this would be his offence. He dare not take any further knowledge of the troubles of Loo. I will report to him what has occurred." He then retired, and said to Ke-sun, "Your ruler's anger is not yet abated. Do you return for the present, and offer the sacrifices." Ts'e-kên-tze urged the duke to enter among the troops of Loo with a single chariot, assuring him that Ke-sun would in that case return to Loo with him; and he wished to do so, but all the [other] followers put such a constraint upon him that he could not return."

Kuh-liang gives a different account of this affair. Acc. to Tso-she's account, there is a difficulty with the 陪. If the way was now open for the duke's return to Loo, there was occasion for congratulation rather than condolence. Acc. to Kuh-liang, Seun Leih was sent to condole with the duke that he could not enter Loo, and to say, 'I have spoken about it in your behalf, but E-joo refused.' The K'ang-ho editors seem to admit both accounts, or to think at least that Kuh-liang gives the truth, which is veiled under the speeches in Tso-she.

Par. 5. [The Chuen here continues the narrative at the end of last year:—'In autumn, a body of men from Woo made a stealthy incursion into Ts'oo, attacked E, and overran the country about Ts'ien and Loh. Seuh, commandant of Shin, led a force to relieve Ts'ien, on which the troops of Woo retired. Those of Ts'oo did the same, after removing the people of Ts'ien to Nan-kang.

'A force from Woo [then] laid siege to Hsien; and Seuh and K'e, marshals of the Left and the Right, led troops to relieve it; and when they had got to Yu-chang, the Woo-lies retired. In this way Woo began to use the plan of Tze-sen (Woo Yün).']

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 弓 for 肱. There should be a 剋 before 黑, but it was inadvertently omitted by the historiographers, or, which is more likely, has dropped out of the text. Lan was a city of Choo,—in the south-east of the prex. dis. of T'ang (滕), dep. Yen-chow.

The Chuen says:—'The fugitive was of low rank, but his name is given, importance being attached to the [fact of his surrendering] territory (See on V. 4). The superior man will say, "The care which is to be exercised in the case of the name appears here. [Hih-hwang] had this territory, and so he has his name [recorded], though it would have been better for him that it had not been so. Revolting with the territory, although he was of low rank, it was necessary to mention the territory, and thence to name the man, so that in the end his doing what was not righteous could not be obliterated; therefore the superior man is anxious that his movements should be in accordance with propriety, and his conduct with righteousness. He does not take a crooked course for gain, nor does he



think the doing of righteousness a distress. Some seek to have their name [famous], and cannot get it; some wish to have their name concealed, and it is displayed [instead];—it is a warning against unrighteousness. T'ao Pao was Wei's minister of Crime, a great officer by inheritance, but he did what was unrighteous, and is recorded as 'a ruffian' (See XX. 3). Shoo-ko of Choo (IX. xxi. 2), Mow-e of Keu (V. 4), and Hih-kwang of Choo, left their States, carrying their hands with them. Their object was simply to seek for their support, not to have their names famous; but though their rank was low, it was necessary to give their names. These two cases serve as a warning against an unbridled temper, and a stigma upon covetousness. As to those who in their own persons attempt difficult enterprises to imperil great men, if their names were distinguished, men who are fond of hazardous undertakings would hurry to follow them. As to those who flinch at times and revolt from their rulers, thinking they may, perchance, get great gain, if they were left unnamed, covetous and audacious men would more strongly attempt the same thing. Thence it is that the Ch'un Ts'ew mentions T'ao Pao simply as 'a ruffian,' and gives the names of those three revoltors, as

a warning to unrighteousness;—the excellent design of its style is [thus] to point out wickedness and the want of propriety. Hence it is said, 'The style of the Ch'un-Ts'ew, in speaking of men, is quiet but perspicuous, gentle but discriminating.' Men of high rank can make themselves illustrious; good men are encouraged, and bad men are made afraid. Therefore the superior man highly esteems it."

Par. 7. This eclipse occurred in the forenoon of Nov. 7th, B.C. 510.

The Chuen says:—"The night [before this eclipse], Chao K'een-tze dreamt that there was a boy naked, and singing in a prolonged tone of voice. In the morning, he asked the historiographer Mih to divine about it, saying, "I had this dream, and now the sun is eclipsed; what can the meaning be?" Mih replied, "Six years from this, in this month, Woo will enter Ying. But in the end it will not be successful. The day of its entering Ying will be Kang-shin. The sun and moon are in Wei of [Ta-] shin (See on XVII. 5), but Kang-woo was that in which the change in the sun's appearance appeared. Fire overcomes metal; therefore Woo will not succeed."

Thirty-second year.

三十有二年春王正月公  
在乾侯取闕  
夏吳伐越  
秋七月  
冬仲孫何忌會晉韓不信  
齊高張宋仲幾衛世叔申  
鄭國參曹人莒人薛人杞  
人小邾人城成周  
十有二月己未公薨于乾  
侯

左傳曰三十  
二年春王正  
月公在乾侯  
言不能外內  
又不能用其  
人也  
夏吳伐越始  
用師於越也  
史墨曰不及  
四十年越其  
有吳乎越得  
歲而吳伐之  
必受其凶  
秋八月王使  
富辛與石張  
如晉請城成  
周天子曰天  
降禍於周俾



我兄弟竝有亂心，以爲伯父憂。我一二親昵甥舅，不皇敢處。於今十年，勤戍五年，余一人無日忘之。閔閔焉如農夫之望歲，懼以待時。伯父若肆大惠，復二文之業，弛周室之憂，徼文武之福，以固盟主，宜昭令名。則余一人有大願矣。昔成王合諸侯，城成周，以爲東都，崇文德焉。今我欲徼福，假靈於成王，修成周之城，俾戍人無勤，諸侯用寧，竊賊遠解，晉之力也。其委諸伯父，使伯父實重圖之。俾我一人無微怨於百姓，而伯父有榮施。先王庸之。范獻子謂魏獻子曰：「與其戍周，不如城之。」天子實云：「雖有後事，晉勿與知可也。」從王命以紓諸侯，晉國無憂，是之不務，而又焉從事？魏獻子曰：「善。」使伯音對曰：「天子有命，敢不奉承，以奔告於諸侯，遲速衰序，於是焉在。冬十一月，晉魏舒、韓不信如京師，合諸侯之大夫於狄泉，尋盟。且令城成周。魏子南而衛彪傒曰：「魏子必有大咎，千位以令大事，非其任也。」詩曰：「敬天之怒，不敢戲豫。」敬天之淪，不敢馳驅。況敢千位以作大事乎？己丑，士彌牟營成周，計丈數，揣高卑，度厚薄，仞溝洫，物土方，議遠邇，量事期，計徒庸，慮財用，書餼糧，以令役於諸侯，屬役賦丈，書以授帥，而效諸劉子。韓簡子臨之，以爲成命。

十二月，公疾，偏賜大夫。大夫不受，賜子家子。雙琥一環，一璧，輕服，受之。大夫皆受其賜。己未，公薨。子家子反賜於府人曰：「吾不敢違君命也。」大夫皆反其賜。書曰：「公薨于乾侯，言失其所也。」趙簡子問於史墨曰：「季氏出其君，而民服焉，諸侯與之，君死於外，而莫之戒罪也。」對曰：「物生有兩，有三，有五，有陪貳。故天有三辰，地有五行，體有左右，各有妃耦。王有公，諸侯有卿，皆有貳也。天生季氏，以貳魯侯，爲日久矣。民之服焉，不亦宜乎？魯君世從其失，季氏世修其勳，民忘君矣。雖死於外，其誰矜之？社稷無常奉，君臣無常位，自古以然。故詩曰：『高岸爲谷，深谷爲陵。』三后之姓，於今爲庶，主所知也。在易卦，雷乘乾曰大壯，天之道也。昔成季友，桓之季也，文姜之愛子也，始震而卜，卜人謁之曰：『生有嘉聞，其名曰友，爲公室輔。』及生，如卜人之言。有文在其手，曰『友』，遂以名之。旣而有大功於魯，受費以爲上卿。至於文子、武子，世增其業，不廢舊績。魯文公薨，而東門遂殺適立庶魯君，於是乎失國。」



政在季 氏於此 君也四 公矣民 不知君 何以得 爲君慎 器與名 不可以 假人

- XXXII. 1 In his thirty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Kan-how. He took K'an.  
 2 In summer, Woo invaded Yueh.  
 3 It was autumn, the seventh month.  
 4 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke joined Han Puh-sin of Tsin, Kaou Chang of Ts'e, Chung Ke of Sung, She-shuh Shin of Wei, Kwoh Ts'an of Ch'ing, and officers of Ts'aon, Ken, Sëeh, K'e, and Little Choo, in walling Ch'ing-chow.  
 5 In the twelfth month, on Ke-we, the duke died in Kan-how.

Par. 1. K'an,—see II. xi. 9. Tso repeats on this par. his remark on the first of last year, with the addition that it shows also how the duke could not use his friends,—referring to his repeated neglect of the counsels of Tsao-k'ea. He says nothing of the duke's capture of K'an. Kung-yang erroneously says it was a city of Choo, but this is inconsistent with what we read of it in the Chuen on XI. i. 4. The questions of how and why the duke took it must be left unanswered.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—“This was the first instance of a [regular] expedition on the part of Woo against Yueh. The historiographer Mii said, “In less than 40 years Yueh is likely to have possession of Woo! The year-star is now in Yueh's quarter of the heavens, and Woo, invading that State, is sure to experience an evil influence from it.”

Par. 4. K'uh-tzang has 太叔 for 世叔, and after 莒人 he has 邾人, where Kung-yang also has 邾婁人.

The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month, the king sent Foo Sin and Shih Chang to Tsin, to ask that Ch'ing-chow might be walled. The son of Heaven said, “Heaven sent down calamity on Chow, and made my brothers all have a feeling of insubordination, to the grief of you my uncle. You princes of my own surname, and those of other surnames, have not dwelt in quiet, [because of my troubles], now for ten years, and for five you have had the labour of guarding my territory. There is not a day in which I, the one man, forget your service. My grief is like that of the husbandman, who is looking for a good year [after one of scarcity], and trembling waits for the [coming] season. If you, my uncle, will extend your great kindness, and repeat the service of [your ancestors], the Two Wans, by removing the sorrow of the House of Chow, thereby getting the blessing of Wan and Woo, to establish your position as lord of covenants, and publish abroad your good name, then I, the one man, will have got what I greatly wish. Formerly king Ch'ing assembled the princes, and fortified Ch'ing-chow, that it might be the eastern capital [of the

kingdom];—thus honouring the virtue of [king] Wan. Now I wish, by the blessing and powerful influence of king Ch'ing, to repair the walls of Ch'ing-chow, that my guards may be relieved of their toil, that the States may be able to rest, that the evils which prey on us like insects may be removed far away!—and this is to be done by the strength of Tsin. I lay it upon you, my uncle, that you may take it into serious consideration, and thus I, the one man, will not excite [any longer] the dissatisfaction of the people, and you will have the glory of the beneficence, which [the Spirits of] my predecessors will reckon to be your merit.

“Fan Hsien-tze said to Wei Hsien-tze, “It is better to wait the city than to keep on guarding Ch'ow,—as the son of Heaven has said. If there be any future troubles, Tsin need not take any knowledge of them. By following the king's orders, we shall give relief to the States, and Tsin will be freed from a cause of anxiety;—if we do not earnestly address ourselves to this, in what other thing should we engage?” Wei Hsien-tze approved, and sent Pih-yin to reply, “We dare not but receive with reverence the orders of the son of Heaven, and will at once send instructions to the various States. How early or how late and in what order [the work is to be done], shall be as you prescribe.”

“In winter, in the 11th month, Wei Shoo and Han Puh-sin went to the capital, and assembled the great officers of the [various] States in Teih-tzuen, where they renewed the [existing] covenant, and gave orders for the walling of Ch'ing-chow. [On this occasion] Wei-tze took a position with his face to the south (As if he had been a ruler giving audience), which made P'ao He of Wei say, “Wei-tze is sure to meet with [some] great calamity. To arrogate such a place, and there give orders for our great undertaking, does not belong to his office. The ode (She, III. ii. ode X. 8) says:—

“Reverse the anger of Heaven,  
 And presume not to be mocking and self-complacent.  
 Reverse the changing moods of Heaven,  
 And presume not to be gadding about!”



how much less should one arrogate a place [that is not his], to carry out a great undertaking."

\* On Ke-chow, See Mo-mow surveyed Ch'ing-chow, and calculated the height and thickness of the wall [that had to be built], measured the depth of the moats and ditches, determined the situation of the ground, estimated the distance of the parts [from one another], reckoned the time for the work and the number of the workmen, made provision for the materials, and wrote down the amount of provisions, in order to assign their services to the different States, with the quantity of work to be done by their men. He gave his specifications to the officers [of the different States], and submitted the whole to the viscount of Loo. Han K'ien-tze undertook the superintendence of the work; and thus the [king's] command was executed."

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—"In the 12th month, the duke was ill, and gave gifts to his great officers all round, which they would not receive. Tze-k'ia-tze, however, received what were presented to him,—a piece of jade with two tigers cut upon it, a ring, and a *peih*; on which all the others accepted their gifts. On Ke-we, the duke died, and Tze-k'ia-tze returned the gifts to the treasurer, saying, "[I took them because] I did not dare to oppose the ruler's order." All the others did the same. The style of the text, that "the duke died in K'ao-how," shows how he was not in the proper place for such an event.

\* Ch'ao K'ien-tze asked the historiographer Mii, saying, "Ke-sho expelled his ruler, and the people submitted to him, and the States assented to his act. His ruler has died out of Loo, and no one incriminates him." Mii replied, "Things are produced in twos, in threes in fives,—in pairs. Hence in the heavens there are the three *Shin*; in earth there are the five elementary substances; the body has the left [side] and the right; and every one has his mate or double. Kings have their dukes, and princes have their ministers who are their doubles. Heaven produced the Ke family to be the double of the marquis of Loo, as has been the case for long. Is it not right that the people should submit in this case? The rulers of Loo have, one after another, lost their power, and the Heads of the Ke family have, one after another, diligently improved their position. The people have forgotten their ruler, and, though he has [now] died abroad, who pities him? The

[same] altars are not always maintained in a State; rulers and ministers do not always retain their [different] positions; from of old it has been so. Hence the ode (II. iv. ode IX. 3) says,

'High banks become valleys,  
Deep valleys become heights.'

The surnames of the sovereigns of the three [previous dynasties] are now borne by men among the people,—as you know. Among the diagrams of the *Yih* there is Ta-chw'ang (大

壯, ䷗), where we have the [trigram of] thunder mounted upon that of heaven,—thus showing the way of Heaven. Ch'ing Ke-y'ew was the youngest son of duke Hwan, the beloved son of Wan K'ang. When she first felt that she was pregnant, she consulted the tortoise-shell, and the diviner told her that she would have a son of admirable character and famous, that his name would be Y'ew, and that he would be a help to the ducal House (Comp. the narrative appended to IV. II. 5). When the child was born, as the diviner had said, there was the character Y'ew (友) on his hand, by which he was named. Afterwards, he did great and good service to Loo, received Pe, and was made minister of the highest rank. His descendants Wan-tze and Woo-tze successively increased their patrimony, and did nothing contrary to the old services of their family. On the death of duke Wan of Loo, when Tung-mun (the Kung-tze Say of VI. xviii. 2, *et al.*; called also S'ang-chung) killed his proper heir, and raised the son of a concubine to the marquissate, the rulers of Loo from that time lost their power, and the government was in the hands of the Ke family. The deceased was the fourth of them. When the people have ceased to know the ruler as such, how should he possess the State? Hence it appears that rulers of States should be careful of the insignia and names of rank, and should not let them be in the hands of others."

The last eight years of duke Ch'ao's life were thus spent by him as a fugitive from Loo in Te'e and Tsin. He was evidently a man of little character or capacity; and the wonder is that Ke-sui E-joo did not take the title of marquis of Loo to himself.



First year.

定公

<sup>一</sup>元年春王三月，晉人執宋

仲幾于京師。

<sup>二</sup>夏六月癸亥，公之喪至自

乾侯。戊辰，公卽位。

<sup>三</sup>秋七月癸巳，葬我君昭公。

<sup>四</sup>九月大雩。

<sup>五</sup>立煬宮。

<sup>六</sup>冬十月，隕霜殺菽。

左傳曰：元年春，王正月，辛巳，晉魏舒合諸侯之大夫於狄泉，將以城成周。魏子澮政，衛彪偃曰：「將建天子而易位以令，非義也。」大事奸義，必有大咎，晉不失諸侯。魏子其不免乎？是行也，魏獻子屬役於韓簡子及原壽過，而田於大陸，焚焉。還卒於甯，范獻子去其柏櫛，以其未復命而田也。孟懿子會城成周，庚寅，裁宋仲幾不受功，曰：「滕，薛，則吾役也。」薛宰曰：「宋爲無道，絕我小國於周，以我適楚，故我常從宋。」晉文公爲踐土之盟，曰：「凡我同盟，各復舊職。」若從踐土，若從宋，亦唯命。仲幾曰：「踐土固然。」薛宰曰：「薛之皇祖奚仲居薛，以爲夏車正。奚仲遷於邳，仲虺居薛，以爲湯左相。若復舊職，將承王官，何故以役諸侯？」仲幾曰：「三代各異物，薛焉得有舊？」爲宋役，亦其職也。士彌牟曰：「晉之從政者，新子姑受功歸，吾視諸。」



故府。仲幾曰：「縱子忘之，山川鬼神，其忘諸乎？」士伯怒，謂韓簡子曰：「薛徵於人，宋徵於鬼，宋罪大矣，且已無辭，而抑我以神，誣我也，敢寵納侮，其此之謂矣，必以仲幾爲戮，乃執仲幾以歸。」三月，歸諸京師。城三旬而畢，乃歸諸侯之成。齊高張後，不從諸侯，晉攻叔寬曰：「周襄弘，齊高張皆將，不免長叔違天，高子違人，天之所壞，不可支也，衆之所爲，不可奸也。」

夏，叔孫成子逆公之喪於乾侯。季孫曰：「子家子亟言於我，未嘗不中吾志也。吾欲與之從政，子必止之，且聽命焉。」子家子不見叔孫，易幾而哭。叔孫請見子家子，子家子辭曰：「羈未得見，而從君以出，君不命而薨，羈不敢見。」叔孫使告之曰：「公衍，公爲，實使羈臣不得事君。若公子宋主社稷，則羈臣之願也。凡從君出，而可以入者，將唯子是。」子家氏未有後，季孫願與子從政，此皆季孫之願也，使不敢以告。對曰：「若立君，則有卿士大夫，與守龜在，羈弗敢知。若從君者，則貌而出者，入可也；寇而出者，行可也。若羈也，則君知其出也，而未知其入也。」羈將逃也，喪及壞隤，公子宋先入，從公者皆自壞隤反。六月，癸亥，公之喪至自乾侯。戊辰，公即位。

季孫使役如闕，公氏將溝焉。榮駕鸞曰：「生不能事，死又離之，以自旌也。縱子忍之，後必或耻之。」乃止。季孫問於榮駕鸞曰：「吾欲爲君諡，使子孫知之。」對曰：「生弗能事，死又惡之，以自信也，將焉用之？」乃止。秋七月，癸巳，葬昭公於墓道南。孔子之爲司寇也，溝而合諸墓。

昭公出，故季平子禱於煬公。九月，立煬宮。

⑤ 周鞏簡公棄其子弟，而好用遠人。

- I. 1. In the [duke's] first year, in spring, in the king's third month, the people of Tsin seized Chung Ke of Sung in the capital.
2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Kwei-hae, the coffin of duke [Ch'au] arrived from Kan-how. On Mow-shin the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Kwei-sze, we buried our ruler, duke Ch'au.
4. In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.



5 We set up a temple to duke Yang.

6 In winter, in the tenth month, there fell hoarfrost, which killed the pulse.

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—定公 'Duke Ting.'

As duke Ch'ou's sons had been the instigators of the attack on Ke Ping-tze which had led to their father's expulsion from the State and his death in exile, it was not to be supposed that one of them would now be called to the marquisate. Ping-tze was not prepared to seize the State for himself; and as some action was now necessary, in consequence of duke Ch'ou's death, he agreed to the appointment of Sung (宋), a son of duke Shang, and a younger brother of Ch'ou, who had been among his followers in Tse and Tsin. We are not told who the mother of Sung was, but he must at this time, we may conclude, have been over 40 years of age. His honorary title denotes 'Giving rest to the people, and greatly anxious (安民大

慮曰定)'

Ting's 1st year synchronized with the 11th of King K'ing (敬王); the 3d of Ting of Tsin (定); the 38th of King of T'ze; the 26th of King of Wei (靈公); the 10th of Ch'ou of T'ze (昭); the 5th of Hsien of Ching (獻公); the 1st of Tung, duke Yin, of T'ze (隱公通); the 21st of Hwuy of Ch'ia (惠公); the 9th of T'ao of K'uei (悼); the 8th of King of Sung (景公); the 28th of Gao of Tsin (哀公); the 7th of Ch'ou of T'ze (昭); and the 8th of Hoh-ku (閔) of Woo.

PAR. 1. The three Chuns all make two paragraphs of this, taking the 4 characters 元年春王 as the 1st, and 三月云云, as the other; and the K'ang-ho editors follow their example. But 元年春王 do not make

sense by themselves; and to suppose that 正月 was purposely suppressed by Confucius, to mark his condemnation of all the circumstances of the time, appears to me quite unreasonable. The K'ang-ho editors say:—On the omission of 正月 after 元年, Tso Yu observes that it is owing to the fact that duke Ting's accession only took place in the 8th month. Many of the critics have followed him, holding further that the suppression shows the impropriety of Ke-shu's exercising the ducal prerogative of giving out the times of new moon;—and this view is altogether in accordance with the facts and reason of the case. Shiao Pao, Chao Hsiang, and Yu Kwang, however, think the omission is owing simply to there having been nothing to record under the 1st and 2d months of this year. I cannot best-

tate to accept this latter explanation; unless, indeed, as it may be, 正月 have dropped out of the text. On the whole of the paragraph, as I have printed it, the Chuns narrates:—In spring, in the king's first month, on Sin-tze, Wei Shoo of Tsin assembled the great officers of (many of) the States in Tsin-tse-wei, to proceed to the walling of Ch'ing-chow. Wei-tze took the government of the undertaking, on which P'ei He of Wei said, "It is not right in him to take another position than his own, when we are [thus] proceeding to strengthen the [residence of the] son of Heaven. A violation of right is such a great matter is sure to be followed by great evil. If Tsin do not lose the States, Wei-tze will probably come to an early death." Wei Hsien-tze then proceeded to entrust the service to Han K'ien-tze and Yuen Shou-kwo, while he himself hunted in Ts'ieh, setting fire to the coverts; and as he was returning, he died in Ning. Fan Hsien-tze refused to his body the coffin of cypress wood, because he had gone to hunt before reporting the execution of his commission.

Meng E-tze (now came to) take part in the walling; and on Kang-yin they erected the building-frames. Chung Ke of Sung, however, then declined his share of the work, saying, "T'ang, Szech, and I must serve for us." The administrator of Szech said, "Sung is acting contrary to what is proper, cutting off us small States from Chou. Having taken us with it to T'ze, we have always followed it. But when duke Wan of Tsin made the covenant of T'ze-foo, it was said, 'All of us covenanting States shall return to our old duties.' Whether we shall follow [that covenant of] T'ze-foo or follow Sung, it is [for Tsin] to say." Chung Ke said, "By that covenant even it should be as I say;" and the administrator replied, "The founder of Szech, He-ching, dwelt in Szech, and was master of the carriages to [the founder of the] Hsia [dynasty]. He removed to Pei, but Chung-hwuy [again] dwelt in Szech, and was minister of the Left to T'ang. If we were to resume our old duties, we should be officers of the king;—what cause is there that we should do service for any of the States?" Chung Ke said, "Each of the three dynasties is a different thing. How can Szech have any older [duty] than its present? To do the service of Sung is its duty." See Me-mow said, "The present chief minister of Tsin is newly appointed (Fan Hsien-tze, who had taken the place of Wei Shoo). Do you (To Chung Ke) in the mean time accept the duty. When I return [to Tsin], I will look into the old archives." Chung Ke replied, "You may forget it, but will the Spirits of the hills and streams forget it?" See Pih was angry, and said to Han K'ien-tze, "Szech makes its appeal to men, and Sung makes its appeal to Spirits. The offence of Sung is great. Having nothing, moreover, to say for itself, it presses us with [this appeal to] Spirits;—it is imposing on us. Its conduct is an illustration of the saying, 'If you open the door to favourites, you will experience contempt from them (See the Shao,



IV. viii, Pt. II. 9.) "We must make an example of Chung K'ao. Accordingly, they seized Chung K'ao and carried him back [to Tsin], but in the 3d month they brought him again to the capital.

"The walling was finished in 20 days, and the guards of the different States were then sent home. Kao-chang of T'ao arrived late, and did not engage in the work with the other States. Joo Shuh-k'ao of Tsin said, "Neither Chang Hwang of Chow nor Kao-chang of T'ao will escape [an evil fate]. Chang Shuh had acted in opposition to Heaven, and Kao-tse in opposition to men. That which Heaven is overthrowing cannot be supported; that which all men are engaged in cannot be opposed."

[It is difficult to reconcile the second part of this Chuen with the text. The seizure of Chung K'ao in the capital was the bringing of him back to it from Tsin, whither he had been carried after his seizure. On Ke-ch'ow of the 11th month of last year, See Mo-nue made all the arrangements, and Kao-yin was the day after that on which the work commenced, and not a day in the 1st month of this year. Sin-see, when the meeting was held in Tsin-tseun, was the 8th day before Ke-ch'ow.]

Par. 3. 2. The Chuen says:—"In summer, Sin-shun Ch'ing-tse (The son of Shuh-shun Sin-shun Ch'ing-tse; his name was Puh-kan, 不 敢) went to meet the coffin of the duke in Kan-how. Ke-sun had said to him, "Tse-k'ao-tse repeatedly spoke [to the duke] about me, and always correctly expressed my views. I wish to carry on the government along with him. You must [try to] detain him, and allow him to do as he pleases. Tse-k'ao-tse, however, would not see Shuh-shun, and went at a different time [from him over the coffin]; and when Shuh-shun sought an interview with him, he declined it, saying, "I had not seen you, when I followed our ruler forth, and he died without giving me any orders. I dare not [now] see you." Shuh-shun then sent to me to him, "Kung-yen and Kung-wai were the cause why we all were made unable to serve our ruler; if the Kung-tse Sung (Duke Ting) will preside over the affairs, it is what we all desire. As to all who left the State in attendance on the ruler, we will receive your instructions regarding those who may be permitted to enter it [again]. No one was appointed to be the representative of the family of Tse-k'ao, but Ke-sun wishes to carry on the government along with you. These all are the wishes of Ke-sun, and he instructed me to inform you of them." The other replied, "As to the appointment of a ruler, there are the ministers, the great officers, and the keeper of the tortoise-shell in the State [to decide about it]; I dare not take any knowledge of it. As to those who followed the ruler, let those who left the State from a feeling of propriety return, and let those who did so as enemies [of Ke-sun] go elsewhere. As to myself, our ruler knew of my leaving the State, but he did not know that I would enter it [again]. I will go to another State."

"When the coffin arrived at Hsue-tzu, the Kung-tse Sung entered Loo before it, and those who had followed the duke all went back from that place. In the 4th month, on Kwei-han,

the coffin arrived in the capital, and on Mo-shin duke [Ting] became marquis."

The accession of Ting thus took place on the 5th day after the arrival of duke Ch'ao's coffin, as if the latter had died; like most of his predecessors, in his palace in Loo. On the 5th day (Acc. to Tso Yu) after the death of the ruler of a State, his body in its coffin was solemnly conveyed to the ancestral temple, and there and then his successor solemnly took his place; and again, on the 1st day of the next year, another solemn declaration of the new rule was made. This, however, was dispensed with in the present case, and the whole of this year was considered as belonging to duke Ting.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"Ke-sun was sending workmen to Kan (The place where the dukes of Loo were interred), intending to separate by a ditch the [last] home of the duke [from the other graves]; but Yung K'ao-go said to him, "You could not serve him when alive, and now he is dead, you would separate him [from his fathers], to be a monument of yourself. You may bear to do so [now], but the strong probability is that hereafter you will be ashamed of it." On this Ke-sun desisted from that purpose; but he asked K'ao-go, saying, "I wish to give him his posthumous title, so that his descendants may know him [by it]." That officer replied, "You could not serve him, when he was alive, and now that he is dead, you still hate him;—you would thereby show the truth about yourself." He [again] desisted from his purpose, and in autumn, in the 7th month, on Kwei-see, he buried duke Ch'ao on the south of the road to the tomb. When Confucius was minister of Crime, he united this tomb with the others by means of a ditch."

Par. 5. Yang was the 3d duke of Loo, a son of Pih-k'in, and grand-son of the duke of Chaw. He held the marquise for 6 years, a.c. 1037—1032, as successor to his brother duke K'an. There had of course long ceased to be any temple to him, and why one was now erected does not clearly appear. All the critics agree in holding that it was done by Ke-sun, though made to appear as the act of the State.

The Chuen says:—"When duke Ch'ao went forth, on that account Ke-sun prayed to duke Yang, and [now] in the 9th month, he erected a temple to him." The meaning of this Chuen, as Tso explains it, is that for some reason or other, on duke Ch'ao's leaving the State, Ke-sun had selected Yang's displaced tablet from among all the others, and prayed to him for his protection. This he supposed had been accorded to him, and he raised the temple as an expression of his gratitude.

A more plausible account of the affair is devised by Wan Hsiao-kung (萬孝恭; early in the Yuan dynasty), who connects the succession of Yang, though only a brother, to duke K'an, with the accession of Ting, to the exclusion of the sons of duke Ch'ao.

[The Chuen appends the following brief notice:—"Duke Keen of Kung set aside his sons and younger brothers, and liked to employ strangers."]

Par. 6. The 10th month of Chow was only the 8th of Hsiao. Frost so early, and at the same time so bitter, was an unusual thing, and is



therefore recorded. We need not suppose, with some critics, that only the pulse was killed by it. The pulse is specified as an important part

of the food of the people. As K'uh-liang says, 曰菽舉重也。

*Second year.*

二年春王正月夏五月壬辰雉門及兩觀災。秋楚人伐吳。冬十月新作雉門及兩觀。

之肉焉奪之杖以敲。姑飲酒私出閤乞。克之獲楚公子繁。豫章敗之遂圍巢。十月吳軍楚師於章。而潛師於巢。冬章吳人見舟於豫。囊瓦伐吳師於豫。我使之無忌。秋楚師臨我。我伐桐。爲鳩氏誘。楚人曰以羣子弟賊簡公。桐叛楚。吳子使舒。四月辛酉。羣氏之。左傳曰。二年夏。

- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, it was the spring, the king's first month.
- 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Jin-shin, the south gate of the palace, and the two side towers caught fire.
- 3 In autumn, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Woo.
- 4 In winter, in the tenth month, we made anew the south gate of the palace, and its two side towers.

Par. 1. [The Chuen gives here the sequel of the narr. appended to par. 8. of last year.—] In summer, in the 4th month, on Shin-yüw, the sons and younger brothers of the House of Kung put duke K'een to death.]

Par. 2. The 雉門 was 公宮之南門, the south or first gate belonging to the duke's palace. See the note on the Shao, V. xxii. 10. The 兩觀 were two towers, one on either side of the gate. They were also called 闕 and 象魏. Maon says, 'The king and the princes of States had towers at their gates. They raised earth so as to form the towers, and then the frame of the gate was set up between them, and they were called "the gate-towers (門臺)." They were also called 闕 (闕 and 闕觀), the last name being given to them because the pictures and descriptions of punishments were hung up on them for the people to look at.'

Ho Hsü on Kung-yang relates some remarks of Tsze-kên K'ên (駟), that this gate and its towers were a usurpation on the part of Loo of the distinctions of the royal palace, and hence that the fire was a token of the displeasure of Heaven. But the premises is without foundation.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'T'ung revolted from Ts'oo, on which the viscount of Woo made the chief of Shoo-k'ew entice the people of Ts'oo, advising them to proceed against Woo with an army, while they would then invade T'ung; so that they would thus help Woo by making Ts'oo have no fears of it. In autumn, Wang Wa of Ts'oo invaded Woo, and encamped with his army at Yu-chang. The people of Woo then appeared with their boats at that place, [as if they were going to attack T'ung], and at the same time privately sent a force against Ch'ao. In the 10th month, Woo attacked the army of Ts'oo in Yu-chang, and defeated it, after which it laid siege to Ch'ao, reduced it, and took the Kung-tsoo Fan of Ts'oo prisoner.'

In the Chuen, at the end of duke Ch'ow's 30th year, Woo Yun suggests to the viscount of Woo that he should keep on harassing Ts'oo.



and in many ways leading it astray. The above narrative gives one of the delusions practised on Teoo in accordance with that advice.

[There is a brief narrative here, apparently meaningless in itself, but introductory to par. 2 of next year:—Duke Chwang of Choo was

drinking with E Yih-koo, when that officer went out for a private occasion. [As he did so], the porter begged a piece of meat from him, on which he took his staff from him, and beat him with it.]

Par. 4. 新作.—see on V. xx. 1.

*Third year.*

三年春王正月公如晉至河乃復二月辛卯邾子穿卒夏四月秋葬邾莊公冬仲孫何忌及邾子盟于拔

左傳曰三年春二月辛卯邾子在門臺臨廷闕以緡水沃廷邾子望見之怒闕曰夷射姑旋焉命執之弗得滋怒自投於牀廢於爐炭爛遂卒先葬以車五乘殉五人莊公卞急而好潔故及是

○秋九月鮮虞人敗晉師於平中獲晉觀虎恃其勇也

冬盟于鄆修邾好也

○蔡昭侯爲兩佩與兩裘以如楚獻一佩一裘於昭王昭王服之以享蔡侯蔡侯亦服其一子常欲之弗與三年止之唐成公如楚有兩肅爽馬子常欲之弗與亦三年止之唐人或相與謀請代先從者許之飲先從者酒醉之竊馬而獻之子常歸唐侯自拘於司敗曰君以弄馬之故隱君身棄國家羣臣請相夫人以償馬必如之唐侯曰寡人之過也二三子無辱皆賞之蔡人聞之固請而獻佩於子常子常朝見蔡侯之徒命有司曰蔡君之久也官不共也明日禮不畢將死蔡侯歸及漢執玉而沈曰余所有濟漢而南者有若大川蔡侯如晉以其子元與其大夫之子爲質焉而請伐楚

- III. 1 In the duke's third year, in spring, in the king's first month, he was going to Tsai; but when he got to the Ho, he returned.
- 2 In the second month, on Sin-maou, Ch'uen, viscount of Choo, died.
- 3 It was summer, the fourth month.



- 4 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Chwang of Choo.  
 5 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke and the viscount of Choo made a covenant in Pih.

Par. 1. We do not know why the duke suffered this repulse from Tsin. K'ea Kwei thinks it may have been because Tsin considered that he was dilatory in presenting himself at its court after he succeeded to Loo. It may have been so; but there is no historical evidence to go upon in the matter.

Par. 2. Kung and Kuh have 三月 instead of 二月. The Chuen says:—'In the 2d month, on Shu-ma, the viscount of Choo was in one of the gate-towers (See on II. 2), looking down upon the court-yard, which the porter was sprinkling with a pitcher of water. The sight made him angry, but the porter said that E Yih-kao had made his water in the court (See the Chuen after par. 3 of last year). The viscount ordered that officer to be seized, but he could not be found, which put him in a greater rage, so that he threw himself down on a bench, fell upon a vessel of charcoal, was burned and died. Before he was put into his grave, five chariots and five men were buried [in an adjoining grave]. It was owing to the irascibility of duke Chwang, and his love of cleanliness, that he came to this end.'

Ch'uen had been viscount of Choo for 33 years. He was succeeded by his son Yih (益), known as duke Yin (隱公).

Par. 4. [The Chuen appends here:—'In autumn, in the 9th month, the people of Sien-yu defeated an army of Tsin at Ping-chung, and captured Kwan Hpo of that State;—through his reliance on his valor.']

Par. 5. Kung-yang has 枝 for 拔. Too does not assign the position of Pih. Most of the critics take it as the same as Tan;—see VII. 1. 1. Too says the object of this covenant was to confirm the friendship of Loo and Choo. The viscount of Choo is of course the son of duke Chwang; and the transaction is commented on as improper on his part, so soon after the death of his father.

[We have here a narrative about the rapacity of the chief minister of Ts'oo:—Ch'iao, marquis of Ts'ao, had made two sets of girdle-ornaments and two robes of fur, with which he went to Ts'oo, where he presented one set and one robe to king Ch'iao. The king wore them at an entertainment which he gave to the marquis, who himself wore the others. Ts'ao-chang (Nang Wa: the minister) wished to get them, but was refused; in consequence of which he detained the marquis in Ts'oo for 3 years. Duke Ching of Tang [also] went to Ts'oo, with two splendid gray horses, which Ts'ao-chang wanted; and when they were not given to him, he detained the marquis also for 3 years. Some officers of Tang took counsel together, and asked leave to take the place of those who had attended the marquis to Ts'oo. This being granted them, they made those others drunk, stole the horses, and presented them to Ts'ao-chang, who thereupon allowed the marquis to return to Tang. Those men then presented themselves as prisoners to the minister of Crime, saying, "Our ruler, through his fondness for those horses, put his body in straits, and abandoned his country. We beg leave to assist the parties concerned to recover other horses, which shall be equal to them." The marquis said, "It was my fault. Do not you, gentlemen, subject yourselves to disgrace;"—and he rewarded them all.

When the officers of Ts'ao heard this, they urgently begged their marquis to present the girdle ornament to Ts'ao-chang; and this was followed by the minister's saying to the officers, when he was at audience, and saw the followers of the marquis of Ts'ao, "The ruler of Ts'ao has been here so long, because you have not been ready [with the necessary gifts]. If they are not all furnished by to-morrow, ye shall die." When the marquis of Ts'ao had got to the Han on his return, he took a piece of jade in his hand, and sank it in the water, saying, "I swear by this great stream that I will not cross the Han again to go to the south." He went [by and by] to Tsin, with his son Yuan and the sons of his great officers, and presented them as hostages, begging that Ts'oo might be invaded.')

Fourth year.

四年春，王  
 二月，癸巳，  
 陳侯卒。  
 三月，公會  
 劉子、晉侯、  
 宋公、蔡侯、  
 衛侯、陳子、  
 鄭伯、許男、  
 曹伯、莒子、  
 邾子、頓子。



胡子、滕子、薛伯、杞伯、小邾子、齊國夏、于召  
 陵、侵楚。三章夏四月、庚辰、蔡公孫姓帥師滅  
 沈、以沈子嘉歸、殺之。四章五月、公及諸侯盟  
 于皋鼬。五章杞伯成卒于會。六章六月、葬陳惠  
 公。七章許遷于容城。八章秋七月、公至自會。  
 劉卷卒。九章葬杞悼公。十章楚人圍蔡。十一章  
 晉士鞅、衛孔圉帥師伐鮮虞。十二章葬劉文公。  
 冬十有一月、庚午、蔡侯以吳子及楚人戰  
 于柏舉、楚師敗績、楚囊瓦出奔鄭。十三章  
 庚辰、吳入郢。十四章

左傳曰、四年春、三月、劉文公合  
 諸侯于召陵、謀伐楚也、晉荀寅  
 求貨於蔡侯、弗得、言於范獻子  
 曰、國家方危、諸侯方貳、將以襲  
 敵、不亦難乎、水潦方降、疾遽方  
 起、中山不服、棄盟取怨、無損於  
 楚、而失中山、不如辭蔡侯、吾自  
 方城以來、楚未可以得志、祇取  
 勤焉、乃辭蔡侯、晉人假羽旄於  
 鄭、鄭人與之明日、或旆以會、晉  
 於是乎失諸侯。  
 沈人不曾於召陵、晉人使蔡伐  
 之、夏、蔡滅沈。  
 將會、衛子行敬子言於靈公曰、  
 會同難、嘖有煩言、莫之治也、其  
 使視佗從、公曰、善、乃使子魚子  
 魚辭曰、臣展四體、以率舊職、猶  
 懼不給、而煩刑書、若又共二微



大罪也。且夫祝社稷之常職也。社稷不動。祝不出竟。官之制也。君以軍行。祓社釐鼓。祝奉以從。於是乎出竟。若嘉好之事。君行師從。卿行旅從。臣無事焉。公曰。行也。及臯鼫。將長蔡於衛。衛侯使祝佗私於長弘曰。聞諸道路。不知信否。若聞蔡將先衛。信乎。長弘曰。信。蔡叔康叔之兄也。先衛不亦可乎。子魚曰。以先王觀之。則尚德也。昔武王克商。成王定之。選建明德。以藩屏周。故周公相王室。以尹天下。於周爲睦。分魯公以大路。大旂。夏后氏之璜。封父之繁弱。殷民六族。條氏。徐氏。蕭氏。索氏。長勺氏。尾勺氏。使帥其宗氏。輯其分族。將其類醜。以法則周公。用卽命於周。是使之職事於魯。以昭周公之明德。分之土田。陪敦。祝宗。卜史。備物。典策。官司。彝器。因商奄之民。命以伯禽。而封於少皞之虛。分康叔以大路。少帛。緡。旂。旄。大呂。殷民七族。陶氏。施氏。繁氏。錡氏。樊氏。饅氏。終葵氏。封畛土畧。自武父以南。及圃田之北。竟。取於有閭之土。以共王職。取於相土之東。都以會王之東。蒐。聃季授土。陶叔授民。命以康誥。而封於殷虛。皆啟以商政。疆以周索。分唐叔以大路。密須之鼓。闕鞶。沽洗。懷姓九宗。職官五正。命以唐誥。而封於夏虛。啟以夏政。疆以戎索。三者皆叔也。而有令德。故昭之以分物。不然。文武成康之伯。猶多。而不獲。是分也。唯不尙年也。管蔡啟商。甚聞王室。王於是乎殺管叔。而蔡叔以車七乘。徒七十人。其子蔡仲。改行帥德。周公舉之。以爲己卿士。見諸王。而命之以蔡。其命書云。王曰。胡。無若爾考之違王命也。若之何其使蔡先衛也。武王之母弟八人。周公爲大宰。康叔爲司寇。聃季爲司空。五叔無官。豈尙年哉。曹文之昭也。晉武之穆也。曹爲伯甸。非尙年也。今將尙之。是反先王也。晉文公爲踐土之盟。衛成公不在。夷叔其母弟也。猶先蔡。其載書云。王若曰。晉重。魯申。衛武。蔡甲午。鄭捷。齊潘。宋王臣。莒期。殲在周府。可覆視也。吾子欲復文武之畧。而不正其德。將如之何。長弘說。告劉子。與范獻子謀之。乃長衛侯於盟。反自召陵。鄭子犬叔未至而卒。晉趙簡子爲之臨。甚哀。曰。黃父之會。夫子語我九言。曰。無始亂。無怙富。無恃寵。無違同。無敖禮。無驕能。無復怨。無謀非德。無犯非義。



秋，楚爲沈故圍蔡。

伍員爲吳行人以謀楚，楚之殺卻宛也。伯氏之族出，伯州犂之孫，爲吳大宰，以謀楚。楚自昭王卽位，無歲不有吳師。蔡侯因之，以其子乾與其大夫之子爲質於吳。冬，蔡侯、吳子、唐侯伐楚，舍舟於淮汭，自豫章與楚夾漢。左司馬戌謂子常曰：「子必漢而與之土下，我悉方城外以毀其舟，鑿靈大隧直轅冥阨，子濟漢而伐之，我自後擊之，必大敗之。」旣謀而行，武城黑謂子常曰：「吳用木也，我用革也，不可久也，不如速戰。」史皇謂子常：「楚人惡子而好司馬，若司馬毀吳舟於淮，塞城口而入，是獨克吳也。子必速戰，不然不免。」乃濟漢而陳，自小別至於大別。三戰，子常知不可欲奔。史皇曰：「安求其事？」離而逃之。將何所入？子必死之。初，罪必盡說，十一月庚午，二師陳於柏舉。闔廬之弟夫槩王晨請於闔廬曰：「楚瓦不仁，其臣莫有死志，先伐之，其卒必奔，而後大師繼之，必克。」弗許。夫槩王曰：「所謂臣義而行，不待命者，其此之謂也。」今日我死，楚可入也，以其屬五千先擊子常之卒。子常之卒奔，楚師亂，吳師大敗之。子常奔鄆，史皇以其乘廣死。

吳從楚師，及清發將擊之。夫槩王曰：「困獸猶鬪，況人乎？若知不免而致死，必敗我。若使先濟者知免，後者慕之，蔑有鬪心矣。」半濟而後可擊也。從之，又敗之。楚人爲食，吳人及之，奔食而從之，敗諸雍澨。五戰及郢，己卯，楚子取其妹季芊畀我以出，涉睢，鍼尹固與王同舟。王使執燧象以奔吳師。庚辰，吳入郢，以班處宮，子山處令尹之宮。夫槩王欲攻之，懼而去之。夫槩王入之左司馬戌及息而還，敗吳師於雍澨，傷初司馬闔廬，故耻爲禽焉。謂其臣曰：「誰能免吾首？」吳句卑曰：「臣賤，可乎？」司馬曰：「我實失子，可哉。」三戰皆傷曰：「吾不可用也。」己句卑布裳，到而裹之，藏其身，而以其首免。楚子涉睢，濟江，入於雲中，王寢，盜攻之，以戈擊王。王孫由于以背受之，中肩，王奔。鄆鍾建負季芊畀以從，由于徐蘇而從。鄆公辛之弟懷將弑王，曰：「平王殺吾父，我殺其子，不亦可乎？」辛曰：「君討臣，誰敢讐之？君命，天也。若死天命，將誰讐？」詩曰：「柔亦不茹，剛亦不吐，不侮矜寡，不畏彊禦。」唯仁者能之。違彊陵弱，



非勇也。乘人之約，非仁也。滅宗廢祀，非孝也。動無令名，非知也。必犯是，余將殺汝。闕辛與其弟巢，以王奔隨。吳人從之，謂隨人曰：「周之子孫，在漢川者，楚實盡之。天誘其衷，致罰於楚，而君又貪之。周室何罪？君若顧報周室，施及寡人，以獎天衷，君之惠也。」漢陽之田，君實有之。楚子在公宮之北，吳人在其南。子期似王，逃王而己爲王。曰：「我與之王，必免。」隨人卜與之，不吉。乃辭吳曰：「以隨之辟小，而密邇於楚，楚實存之。世有盟誓，至於今未改。若難而棄之，何以事君？執事之患，不唯一人。若鳩楚覓，敢不聽命。」吳人乃退。鍾金初宦於子期氏，實與隨人要言。王使見辭曰：「不敢以約爲利。」王割子期之心，以與隨人。盟初，伍員與申包胥友。其亡也，謂申包胥曰：「我必復楚國。」申包胥曰：「勉之，子能復之，我必能與之。」及昭王在隨，申包胥如秦乞師。曰：「吳爲封豕長蛇，以荐食上國，虐始於楚。寡君失守社稷，越在草莽，使下臣告急。曰：夷德無厭。若鄰於君，疆場之患也。逮吳之未定，君其取分焉。若楚之遂亡，君之土也。若以君靈撫之，世以事君。」秦伯使辭焉，曰：「寡人聞命矣。子姑就館，將圖而告。」對曰：「寡君越在草莽，未獲所伏。下臣何敢即安？立依於庭牆而哭。日夜不絕聲，勺飲不入口。七日，秦哀公爲之賦無衣，九頓首而坐。秦師乃出。」

- IV. 1. In the duke's fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Woo, marquis of Ch'in, died.
2. In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Lāw, the marquis of Tsin, the duke of Sung, the marquises of Ts'ae and Wei, the [heir-]son of Ch'in, the earl of Ch'ing, the baron of Heu, the earl of Ts'aou, the viscounts of Ken, Choo, Tun, Hoo, and T'ang, the earls of S'eh and K'e, the viscount of little Choo, and Kwoh H'ea of Ts'e, in Shaou-ling, when they made an incursion into Ts'oo.
3. In summer, in the fourth month, on K'ang-shin, the Kung-sun S'ang of Ts'ae led a force and extinguished Shin, carrying back with him K'ea, the viscount of Shin, whom he then put to death.
4. In the fifth month, the duke and the above princes made a covenant in Kaou-y'ew.
5. Ch'ing, earl of K'e, died during the meeting.
6. In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Hwuy of Ch'in.



- 7 Heu removed [its capital] to Yung-shing.
- 8 In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the meeting.
- 9 K'eu'en of Lëw died.
- 10 There was the burial of duke Taou of K'e.
- 11 A body of men from Ts'oo laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ae.
- 12 Sze Yang of Tsin and K'ung Yu of Wei led a force, and invaded Sëen-yu.
- 13 There was the burial of duke Wan of Lëw.
- 14 In winter, in the eleventh month, on Käng-woo, the marquis of Ts'ae and the viscount of Woo fought with an army of Ts'oo in Pih-keu, when the army of Ts'oo was disgracefully defeated. Nang Wa of Ts'oo fled from that State to Ch'ing.
- 15 On Käng-shin, Woo entered Ying.

Par. 2. Shaou-ling,—see V. iv. 3. The Chuen says:—In the 3d month, duke Wan of Lëw assembled the States in Shaou-ling, to consult about invading Ts'oo. Seun Yin of Tsin asked a bribe from the marquis of Ts'ae; and when he did not get it, he said to Fan Hsien-tse, "The State is now in a perilous condition, and the other States are disaffected towards it; shall we not find it a difficult enterprise to invade an enemy in such circumstances? The rains are beginning to come down; fever is arising; Chung-shan (Sëen-yu) is not subsistive. To throw away our covenant with Ts'oo, and excite its enmity, will occasion no injury to Ts'oo, but to us the loss of Chung-shan. Our best plan will be to refuse [the request of] the marquis of Ts'ae. Since the affair at Fang-shing (See on IX. xvi. 7) we have not been able to get our will on Ts'oo;—we shall only be making toll for ourselves." Accordingly, the request of the marquis of Ts'ae was refused. The men of Tsin borrowed a [royal] pennon with feathers from Ch'ing [to look at]; and when it was given to them, a man of no note carried it, next day, at the top of a flag to the meeting, [to humiliate Ch'ing]; and in consequence of this Tsin lost the States.

A great opportunity was thus lost by Tsin of establishing more than its former supremacy among the States, but the above Chuen shows us the reason of its failure. Though the princes were present at the meeting, they were only puppets in the hands of their ministers, who were not animated by any spirit of unity, or regard for any advantage but their own. An incursion into Ts'oo was but a lame and impotent conclusion to such a gathering under the sanction of a representative of the king; and even that 'incursion' is difficult to make out from the Chuen. Leu Ts'uei (呂大圭, towards the end of the Sung dynasty) describes the occasion very clearly:—By this meeting in Shaou-ling Tsin might have regained its supremacy among the States, but it lost the opportunity. Ts'ao, Ch'in, Ch'ing, Hsü, Tsin, and Hoo had been the submissive servants of Ts'oo, but they all joined in this meeting, showing that they were distressed

by Ts'oo and weary of it, and wanted to transfer their service to Tsin. For 24 years, from the meeting at Ping-k'ew (X. xiii. 4), Tsin had not been able to assemble the States; but now, above, it had got the presence of the viscount of Lëw, and, below, it had called together the rulers of 17 States;—the forces of duke Hwan of Ts'ae had never been on so grand a scale. Of the [grand] expedition of Hwan, however, it is written that he invaded Ts'oo, and that he imposed a covenant [on Ts'oo] at Shaou-ling (V. iv. 15); while of this expedition of [duke] Ting of Tsin, where he assembled the rulers of 17 States, it is only said, that "An incursion was made into Ts'oo." An incursion is a small affair. Ting was evidently a man with whom nothing could be done. From this time Tsin could have no hope of again presiding over the States.

Par. 3. Shin,—see on VI. iii. 1. It is necessary to distinguish this Shin from the city of the same name, belonging to Ts'oo, of the 尹 or commandants of which we read so often in the Chuen. It was in the pres. dia. of Koo-ch'ue (固始), Kwang Chow (光州), Ho-nan. This latter 沈 is sometimes written 寢 (Ts'ip). 姓 is here pronounced as 生 (Sang).

The Chuen says:—The people of Shin did not attend the meeting in Shaou-ling, and they of Tsin sent Ts'uei to attack it. In summer, Ts'uei extinguished Shin. Mencius thinks that it was to the meeting in Shaou-ling that Kung-sun Sang carried the viscount of Shin, and that it was Tsin which there put him to death. It may have been so, and the concluding sentence of the Chuen relates what took place after the meeting.

Par. 4. Kung-yang has 浩油 for 鼻鼈. Kao-yew was in the pres. dia. of Lin-ying (臨穎), dep. K'ao-fang. It belonged to Ch'ing.

The Chuen says, "In prospect of the meeting, Tze-hing King-tse of Wei had said to duke Ling of that State, "It may be difficult to get an



agreement of opinion at the meeting, and there will be troublesome speeches about which no one can decide. You should make the Hianist T'o (See Ann. VI. xiv.) go with you." The duke approved of the advice, and instructed T'ao-yu (The designation of T'o) to go with him; but he declined to do so, saying, "When I do all my four limbs are capable of to discharge the duties of my old office, I am still afraid of not being equal to them, and of giving the penal officer the trouble to record my failings. If I must now discharge two offices, I shall commit some great offence. Moreover, the priest is an ordinary inferior officer, attached to the altars of the land and grain. While those are not moved, he does not go out of the limits of the State;—this is the rule of his office. When the ruler is about to march with an army, the priest sprinkles the altar of the land, anoints the drums, and follows the ruler, carrying the Spirit-tablets with him. On such an occasion he passes beyond the limits of the State; but when the business is one of civility or friendship, the ruler goes at the head of 2,500 men, or a minister goes at the head of 500; but I take no part in the affair." The duke, however, replied, "You must go."

"When they got to Kaon-yew, it was in contemplation to give T'ao precedence over Wei, and the marquise sent the priest T'o to speak privately to Chung H'wang, saying, "I have heard something on the road, and do not know whether it be true or not. Should I have heard that T'ao is going to have precedence (at this meeting) over Wei, is it true?" H'wang replied, "T'ao Shuh was the elder brother of K'ang Shuh (See the Shoo V. Bk. ix. and xvii.); is it not proper that [T'ao] should take precedence of Wei?" T'ao-yu said, "Looking at the matter from [the example of] the former kings, we find that what they exalted was virtue. When King Woo had subdued Shang, King Ch'ing completed the establishment of the new dynasty, and chose and appointed [the princes of] intelligent virtue, to act as bulwarks and screens to Chow. Hence it was that the duke of Chow gave his aid to the royal house for the adjustment of all the kingdom, he being most dear and closely related to Chow. To the duke of Loo (Pih-k'in, the duke of Chow's son) there were given—a grand chariot, a grand flag with dragons on it, the *sheng*-stone of the sovereigns of Hsia, and the [great bow], Fan-joh of Fung-fu. [The Heads of] six clans of the people of Yin,—the T'ou, the Sen, the Soou, the Noh, the Chung-chih, and the Wo-chih, were ordered to lead the chiefs of their kindred, to collect their branches, the remainder as well as the near, to conduct the multitude of their connexions, and to repair with them to Chow, to receive the instructions and laws of the duke of Chow. They were then charged to perform duty in Loo, that thus the brilliant virtue of the duke of Chow might be made illustrious. Lands [also] were apportioned [to the duke of Loo] on an enlarged scale, with priests, superintendents of the ancestral temple, diviners, historiographers, all the appendages of State, the tablets of historical records, the various officers and the ordinary instruments of their offices. The people of Shang-yen were also attached; and a charge was given to Pih-k'in, and the old capital of Shann-hao was assigned as the centre of his State."

"To K'ang Shuh (The first marquise of Wei) there were given a grand carriage, four flags,—of various coloured silks, of red, of plain silk, and ornamented with feathers,—and [the bell], Ta-hen, with seven clans of the people of Yin,—the T'ao, the She, the Po, the E, the Pan, the Ke, and the Chung-k'wei. The boundaries of his territory extended from Woo-fu southwards to the north of Poo-t'ien. He received a portion of the territory of Yew-yen, that he might discharge his duty to the king, and a portion of the lands belonging to the eastern capital of Shang-t'oo, that he might be able the better to attend at the king's journeys to the east. Tan Ke delivered to him the land, and T'ao Shuh the people. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement to K'ang (Shoo, V. ix.)' and the old capital of Yin was assigned as the centre of his State. Both in Wei and Loo they were to commence their gov't. according to the principles of Shang, but their boundaries were defined according to the rules of Chow."

"To T'ang Shuh (The first lord of Tsin) there were given a grand carriage, the drums of Mei-hou, the *Keou-fang* mail, the bell Koo-sien, 9 clans of the surname H'wo, and five presidents over the different departments of office. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement of T'ang (Now lost),' and the old capital of Hsia was assigned as the centre of his State. He was to commence his gov't. according to the principles of Hsia, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Jang. Those three princes were all younger brothers, but they were possessed of excellent virtue, and they were therefore distinguished by those grants of territory and other things. If it were not so, there were many elder brothers in the families of Wan, Woo, Ch'ing, and K'ang, but they obtained no such grants;—showing that it was not years which [these kings] valued. Kwan and T'ao instigated the [remaining descendant of] Shang poisonously to dismember the royal House, on which the king put Kwan Shuh to death, and banished T'ao Shuh, giving him seven chariots and an attendance of seventy men. His son T'ao Chung adopted a different style of conduct, and pursued a virtuous course, on which the duke of Chow raised him to be a minister of his own, introduced him to the king, and obtained a charge appointing him to the rule of T'ao. In that charge it is said, 'He not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders (Shoo, V. xxvii. 3);—how then can T'ao be made to take precedence of Wei? The own brothers of king Woo were eight. The duke of Chow was prime minister; T'ang Shuh was minister of Crime; Tan Ke was minister of Works; and five were not in any office. Was any preference given to years? [The first lord of] T'ao was a son of Wan (By a dist. mother from the duke of Chow or King Woo), and [the first lord of] Tsin was a son of Woo; yet T'ao was [only] an earldom in this domain,—showing that no preference was given to years. And now you are going to give a preference to them,—contrary to the practice of the former kings. When duke Wan of Tsin presided over the covenant of T'ao-t'ao (V. xviii. 8; but in the text there T'ao has precedence of Wei. Too tries to explain this in harmony with the Chuen here), duke Ch'ing of Wei was not present, but [only] his full brother E-shuh, who notwithstanding



ing took precedence of Ts'ao. The writing of the covenant was—"The king speaks to this effect:—Ch'ung of Tsin, Shin of Loo, Woo of Wei, K'eh-woo of Ts'ao, Ts'eh of Ch'ing, P'wan of Ts'ao, Wang-shin of Sung, K'e of K'uei—' It is deposited in the royal library, and can there be examined and seen. You wish to observe the old ways of Wan and Woo;—how is it then that you do not make virtue your regulating principle as they did?"

'Chang Hwang was pleased with this representation, and laid it before the viscount of L'ow, who took counsel upon it with Fan Hsien-tze, the result being that precedence was given to Wei of the covenant.

'In returning from Shaou-ling, Tze-t'ao-shuh died before he arrived at Ch'ing. Chao K'ien-tze wept for him very sorrowfully, and said, "At the meeting of Hwang-foe (X. xxv. 2), he gave me these nine maxims:—Do not begin disorder; do not trust in riches; do not rely on favour; do not oppose a common agreement; do not carry yourself proudly in ceremonies; do not be proud of your power; do not transfer your anger; take no counsels that are contrary to virtue; do nothing against righteousness."

Par. 5, Kung-yang has 戊 instead of 成 Duke Ch'ing was succeeded by his son K'eh (乞), known as duke Yin (隱公), but he was murdered very soon by a younger brother Kwo (過), who established himself in his place, and is known as duke Ho (僖公).

Par. 7. Yung-shing was in the pres. dis. of K'ien-lo (監利), dep. King-chow, Hoo-pih. This is now the 4th time within the Ch'un Ts'ew period that Hsu changed its capital. The Chuen says nothing about this removal; but Wang Faou observes that the changes were all ordered by Ts'ao, though the text represents them as if they originated with Hsu itself. This removal would be forced on Hsu for having obeyed the summons of Tsin, and attended the meeting in Shaou-ling.

Par. 2. This was duke Wan (文) of L'ow, who first appears in the Chuen on IX. xail. 4, by his designation of Pih-fun (伯父), and which records also his elevation to be viscount. His name was K'uen (卷). The king sent notices of his death to the princes with whom he had been present at the meeting of Shaou-ling, according to royal practice. Otherwise, there was no interchange of such communications between the princes of the States and the nobles of Chow. It was also in accordance with royal practice that such notices should only contain the name of the deceased noble, without mentioning his title. Kung and Kuh give such a different reason for the notification of this death, but both are incorrect. A Chuen, under the 28th year of Ch'ao, however, gives Teih as the name of the viscount of L'ow (劉秋). The individual probably had the two names, Teih and K'uen.

Par. 11. This attack on Ts'ao was, no doubt, as Ts'ao says, in consequence of Ts'ao's extinction of Shin. It was the duty of Tsin to come now

to the help of Ts'ao; and as it did not do so, we shall presently find Ts'ao league with Woo.

Par. 12. For 圍 Kung-yang has 圍. In the Chuen on par. 2, we have Seun Yin urging on Fan Hsien-tze the necessity of action against S'een-ya. Chao P'ang-fei says, "For Tsin to invade Ts'ao would have been a gain to the other States, but an injury to its own six ministers; hence when duke Ting went out against Ts'ao, the ministers, jealous of his acquiring the merit of success, refused the request of Ts'ao, humiliated Ch'ing, and frustrated the whole enterprise. The invasion of S'een-ya was an injury to the marquis of Tsin, but a gain to his ministers; hence Seun-she, Sze-she, and Chao-she, one after another, attacked it, to show their merit and ability."

Par. 13. Notice of the death of the viscount of L'ow having been sent to the States, because he had covenanted with their princes, it was in order for them to send representatives to his funeral. Many of the critics fail to see this, and find it difficult to account for this par. Chao K'wang says the thing was contrary to propriety (非禮); Mao K'ang, that only Loo sent a representative, and therefore the thing is recorded. The remarks of Lo L'ow (李廉; end of the Yuen dyn.) are worthy of notice:—"The three Kung (公) of the son of Heaven (See Shoo, V. xx. 6) were so denominated. Any one who filled that office, and had territory as a noble of the royal domain, was also called Kung, the title following the name of the territory, as in the instances of "The duke of Chao (祭公)," "the duke of Chow (周公-州公)" &c. The king's other ministers and great officers, who had received investiture as nobles of the royal domain, were all called "viscounts (子)," as in the instances of "the viscount of Wan (溫子)," "the viscount of L'ow (劉子)," "the viscount of Shen (單子)," &c. But towards the end of the Chow dynasty, all the nobles of the domain received the title of Kung after their death, as in the instances of "duke Suh of Ch'ing (成肅公)," "duke Ping of Shen (單平公)," &c. The Ch'un Ts'ew, in this par., takes the opportunity of the burial of "duke Wan of L'ow," to call attention to the usurpation. In the mention of the individual, when alive, as "the viscount of L'ow," when dead as "K'uen of L'ow," and, at his burial, as "duke Wan of L'ow," we have the careful and severe pencil of the sage."

Par. 14. For 柏舉 Kung-yang has 伯莒 and Kuh-iesang 伯舉. The place belonged to Ts'ao, and was in the present dis. of Ma-shing (麻城), dep. Hwang-chow (黃州), Hoo-pih. The Chuen says:—"Woo Yun acted as messenger [to other States] for Woo, [constantly]



laying plans against T'oo. When K'eh Yuen was put to death by T'oo (X. xvii. 3), the different branches of the Pih family left that State, and P'ei, the grandson of Pih Chow-lai, was made grand-administrator of Woo, that he [also] might plan against T'oo. From the date of king Ch'ou's accession, there was no year in which T'oo was not [somehow] attacked by Woo. The marquis of Ts'ao took advantage of these circumstances, and placed his son K'ien, and the sons of his great officers, in Woo as hostages [of his fidelity in an alliance against T'oo].

"This winter, the marquis of Ts'ao, the viscount of Woo, and the marquis of Ts'ang, invaded T'oo. They left their boats in a bend of the Hwang, and advancing from Yu-chang, they lined one side of the Han, the army of T'oo being on the other. Seuh, marshal of the Left, said to Tze-chang (The chief minister of T'oo): "Do you keep on this side of the Han, going up or down, according as they move. I will [meantime] lead all the troops outside the wall of defence, and destroy their ships; and then, on my return, I will shut up the passes of Ts'ao, Chih-yuan, and Ming-gae. If you then cross the Han, while I fall on them from behind, we shall give them a great defeat." Having agreed on this plan, he marched [to execute his part of it]; but Hih, [commandant] of Woo-shing, said to Tze-chang, "Woo uses [shields] of wood, while ours are of leather. We must not remain here long; your best plan is to fight soon." The historiographer Hwang [also] said to him, "The people of T'oo hate you, and love the marshal. If he destroys the boats of Woo on the Hwang, and then enters the country, after stopping up the passes in the wall, he alone will have [the merit of] conquering Woo. You must fight soon, or you will not escape [your doom]." Tze-chang then crossed the Han, and drew up his troops. Three battles were fought between Seuh-pieh and Ts'ao-pieh (See on the Shoo, III. i. Pt. ii. 3), and then Tze-chang, knowing that he could not conquer, wished to flee [to another State]. The historiographer said to him, "You sought the office, when it seemed safe; if now, in difficulty, you flee from it, what State will you enter? You must die in this struggle, and will thus make a complete atonement for your former offences."

"In the 11th month, on K'ang-woo, the two armies were drawn up at Pih-ken, when the younger brother of Hoh-lu, [who afterwards called himself] king Foo-k'ue, early in the morning made a request to Hoh-lu, saying, "In consequence of the want of benevolence in Wu of T'oo, his officers have no mind to die [in this struggle]. If I first attack him, his soldiers are sure to flee, and if you then follow up my success with the whole army, we are sure to conquer." Hoh-lu refused him permission, but he then said, "I will now give an illustration of the saying that a minister does what is right without waiting for orders. I will die to-day, but [the capital of] T'oo can be entered [in consequence]." He then with his own men, 5,000 in number, commenced the battle by an attack on the soldiers of Tze-chang, who took to flight. The army of T'oo was thrown into confusion, and that of Woo inflicted a great defeat upon it. Tze-chang fled to Ch'ing, and the historiographer Hwang died in his war chariot."

The 蔡侯以吳子 of the text indicates that the marquis of Ts'ao was the mover of the expedition against T'oo, of which this battle was the first great event. As Maou says, 經特書蔡侯以之以主在蔡也. The ruler of Woo appears in this

par. for the first time with his title of 子 or viscount, and many of the critics foolishly see in this a sign of the sage's approval. The circumstance seems to be immaterial. Though Ts'ao instigated the expedition, it was of course carried on and carried out by the power of Woo.

Par. 15. Kung and Kuh have 楚 郢. Ying, 10 miles to the north of the present city of King-chow (荊州), Hoo-pih, had been the capital of T'oo since the time of king Woo (B.C. 740-689).

Continuing the preceding narrative, the Ch'ou says:—Woo pursued the army of T'oo to the T'ing-fah, and was about to fall upon it there, but king Foo-k'ue said, "A wild beast in the talls will still fight; how much more will men! If they know that there is no escape for them, and so fight to the death, they will be sure to defeat us. If we let the first of them cross, and know that they can escape, the rest will be anxious to follow them, and have no mind to fight. Let us then attack them when the half of them have crossed." This plan was taken, and so the army of T'oo was defeated again. [At one place] the men of T'oo were taking their meal when those of Woo came upon them, and they fled. The latter ate the food and resumed the pursuit, defeating them again at Yung-she; and with five battles, they reached Ying.

"On Ke-mao, the viscount of T'oo took his youngest sister, Me Pe-go, left the city, and crossed the T'ien. Koo, the director of Remonstrances, went with him in the same boat, the king, [to keep back] the army of Woo, making men load elephants with torches [tied to their tails], so as to rush upon it. On K'ang-shin, Woo entered Ying, and [the viscount and others] occupied the palaces according to their rank. Tse-shao (A son of the viscount) took the palace of the chief minister, where Foo-k'ue was going to attack him, which frightened him so that he left it, and the other then entered it."

"Seuh, marshal of the Left, returned, after getting as far as Seih, and defeated the troops of Woo at Yung-she, but was wounded himself. Aforetime he had been in the service of Hoh-lu, and therefore felt that it would be a disgrace to him to be taken. He said to his officers, "Which of you can carry off my head?" Woo Kow-pe said, "Will it do if one so mean in rank as I do it?" "Yes," said the marshal; "It has been my error that I [did not know your worth before]. In each of these three battles I have been wounded, and am of no more use." Kow-pe then spread his skirt on the ground, cut off the marshal's head, and wrapped it up, after which he hid the body, and made his escape with the head."

"The viscount of T'oo, after crossing the T'ien, crossed [also] the K'uang, and took



refuge in the marsh of Yen. While he was sleeping, some robbers attacked him, and [one of them] aimed a blow at him with a spear, which Wang-sun Yew-yu intercepted by interposing his back, and receiving the weapon in his shoulder. The king on this fled to Yen, followed by Chung Koen carrying his young sister on his back. Yew-yu [also] slowly revived, and followed him. Hwas, the younger brother of Sin, commandant of Yen, wanted to kill the king, saying, "King Ping put my father to death. May I not now put his son to death?" Sin said, "When a ruler punishes a subject, who dare count him an enemy for it? The ruler's order is [the will of] Heaven. If a man dies by the will of Heaven, who can be regarded as the enemy? The ode (She, III. iii. ode VI. 3) says,

'He neither devours the mild,  
Nor violently rejects the strong.  
He does not insult the poor nor the widow;  
Nor does he fear the violent or powerful.'

It is only the truly virtuous man who can do thus. To avoid the powerful and insult the weak is contrary to valour. To take advantage of another's straits is contrary to benevolence. To cause the destruction of your ancestral temple and the discontinuance of its sacrifices is contrary to filial piety. To take action which will have no good name is contrary to wisdom. If you are determined to violate all these principles, I will kill you."

'(After this), Tow Sin, and another younger brother Ch'au, fled with the king to Suy, whither they were followed by the men of Woo, who said to the people of Suy, "The States about the Han, possessed by descendants of [the House of] Chow, have been all destroyed by Ts'oo. Heaven has now moved our hearts to inflict punishment on Ts'oo, and your ruler is concealing its [ruler]. What is the offence of the House of Chow? If your ruler will try to recompense the House of Chow, and extend his favour to us, so that we may accomplish the purpose which Heaven has put into our hearts, it will be the act of his kindness, and the lands of Han-yang shall be his." The viscount of Ts'oo was on the north of [one of] the palaces of the marquis of Suy, and the men of Woo were on the south of it. Ts'ao-k'e (A brother of king Ch'au), who was like the king, [told the latter] to make his escape, and as if he himself were the king, proposed to the people of Suy to deliver him up, for that so the king would escape. They consulted the tortoise-shell about it, and receiving an unfavourable reply, they refused the request of Woo, saying, "Suy, though small and isolated, and situated near to

Ts'oo, has been preserved by that State. For generations there have been the engagements of covenants between us, which to this day we have not violated. If in the time of its calamity we should abandon it, wherewith should we serve your ruler? The troubles of your ministers would not arise from one man only. If you can consolidate under Woo all the territory of Ts'oo, we shall not presume not to obey your orders." On this the men of Woo withdrew. Loo Kin before this had been an officer in the family of Ts'ao-k'e, and [now] appealed to the people of Suy not to give up [the fugitives]. The king requested that Kin might be introduced to him, but he declined the honour, saying, "I do not dare to make your straits a source of profit." The king made a cut over [the region of] Ts'ao-k'e's heart, and [with the blood] made a covenant with the people of Suy.

'At an earlier period, Woo Yen had been on terms of friendship with Shin Paou-sen; and when he fled from Ts'oo, he said to him "I shall repay Ts'oo for this." Paou-sen replied, "Do your utmost. You can repay [your wrong], and I can raise up Ts'oo [again]." When king Ch'au was in Suy, Shin Paou-sen went to Ts'in to beg the help of an army, and said, "Woo is a great pig and a long snake, bent on eating up the superior States, one after another. Its tyranny has commenced with Ts'oo. My ruler having failed to maintain his allies, is now a fugitive in the wilds, and has sent me to tell you of his distress, and to say for him, 'That barbarous State of the east is inextinguishable. If it become your neighbour, it will be a constant cause of trouble to your borders. While Woo has not settled its conquest, let your lordship [come and] take a portion of it. If Ts'oo indeed perish, the land will be yours; if by your powerful help and comfort [I can preserve it], it will be to serve your lordship with it for generations.'" The earl of Ts'in sent a refusal [for the present] to him, saying, "I have heard your orders. Go in the meantime to your lodging. I will take counsel and inform you of the result." Paou-sen replied, "My ruler is a fugitive in the wilds, and has nowhere to lie down. How dare I go to a place of ease?" He stood leaning against the wall of the courtyard, and cried. Day or night his voice was not silent; a spoonful of water did not enter his mouth,—for seven days. [At the end of that time], duke Gao of Ts'in sang to him the Woo-e (She, I. xi. ode VIII. 7), on which he bowed his head nine times to the ground, and remained kneeling on the earth. Soon after an army of Ts'in took the field."



## Fifth year.

五年<sup>一</sup>春王三月辛

亥朔日有食之。

夏<sup>二</sup>歸粟于蔡。

於越<sup>三</sup>入吳。

六月<sup>四</sup>丙申季孫意

如卒。

秋七月<sup>五</sup>壬子叔孫

不敢卒。

冬<sup>六</sup>晉士鞅帥師圍

鮮虞。

①左傳曰五年春王人殺子朝於楚。夏歸粟于蔡以周亟矜無資。越入吳吳在楚也。

六月季平子行東野還未至丙申卒於房陽虎將以瑣璫餽仲梁懷弗與曰改步改玉陽虎欲逐之告公山不狃不狃曰彼爲君也子何怨焉既葬桓子行東野及費子洩爲賈宰逆勞於郊桓子敬之勞仲梁懷仲梁懷弗敬子洩怒謂陽虎子行之乎。

②申包胥以秦師至秦子蒲子虎帥車五百乘以救楚子蒲曰吾未知吳道使楚人先與吳人戰而自稷會之大敗夫槩王於沂吳人獲蘧射於柏舉其子鮑奔徒以從子西敗吳師於軍祥秋七月子期子蒲滅唐九月夫槩王歸自立也以與王戰而敗奔楚爲堂谿氏吳師敗楚師于雍澨秦師又敗吳師吳師居麇子期將焚之子西曰父兄親暴骨焉不能收又焚之不可子期曰國亡矣死者若有知也可以飲舊祀豈憚焚之焚之而又戰吳師敗又戰於公壻之谿吳師大敗吳子乃歸因闔閭罷圖與罷請先遂逃歸葉公諸梁之弟后臧從其母於吳不待而歸葉公終不正視。

③乙亥陽虎囚季桓子及公父文伯而逐仲梁懷冬十月丁亥殺公何藐己丑盟桓子於稷門之內庚寅大誅逐公父驪及秦遄皆奔齊。



晉土鞅圍鮮虞，報觀虎之役也。  
 余受其戈，其所猶在，袒而示之背，曰：「此余所能也。」  
 脾洩之事，余亦弗能也。  
 楚子入於郢，初，鬬辛聞吳人之爭官也，曰：「吾聞之，不讓則不和，不和不可以遠征，吳爭於楚，必有亂，有亂則必歸，焉能定楚？」王之奔隨也，將涉於成臼，鬬尹盪涉其帑，不與王舟，及寧，王欲殺之，子西曰：「子常唯思舊怨以敗，君何效焉？」王曰：「善。」使復其所，吾以志前惡。王賞鬬辛，王孫由于，王孫圉，鍾建，鬬巢，申包胥，王孫賈，宋木，鬬懷，子西曰：「請舍懷也。」王曰：「大德滅小怨，道也。」申包胥曰：「吾為君也，非為身也。」君既定矣，又何求？且吾尤子旗，其又為諸遂也。逃賞，王將嫁季芊，季芊辭曰：「所以為女子，遠丈夫也。」鍾建負我矣，以妻鍾建，以為樂尹。王之在隨也，子西為王輿服，以保路，國於脾洩，聞王所在，而後從王。王使由于城麇，復命。子西問：「高厚焉？」弗知。子西曰：「不能如辭，城不知高厚，小大何知？」對曰：「固辭不能，子使余也。人各有能有不能，王遇盜於雲中，余受其戈，其所猶在，袒而示之背，曰：『此余所能也。』脾洩之事，余亦弗能也。」

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Sin-hae, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.  
 2 In summer, we sent grain to Ts'ae.  
 3 Yu-yueh entered Woo.  
 4 Ke-sun E-joo died.  
 5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-tsze, Shuh-sun Puh-kan died.  
 6 In winter, Sze Yang of Tsin led a force, and laid siege to [the chief town of] S'een-yu.

PAR. 1. This eclipse took place, at noon, on Feb'y 10th, B.C. 504. Kung-yang has 正月 instead of 三月, which is an error.

[The Chuen introduces here the death of [the king's] son Chou who maintained so long a struggle for the throne:—'This spring, an officer of the king killed [the king's] son Chou in T'oo.]

PAR. 2. 粟 is the general name for glutinous grain, now generally applied (See Williams' Phonetic Dict. is *oac*.) to millet and maize; but the meaning need not be restricted here. Tso-she says that Lou did this to encumber Ts'ao in his distress, pitying his want of supplies. Kung and Kih supply 諸侯, 'the States,' as

the nominative to 歸; but, according to the analogy of other passages, the text can only be speaking of Loo. Other States may have done the same thing, though no notice is taken of their

action. We can understand how Ts'ao should have been in distress from want of provisions, over-run, as it had been, in the previous year by Ts'oo, and taking a prominent part, as it had done, in the operations of Woo against that State.

PAR. 3. Yu-yueh is Yueh; but it is difficult to account for the initial Yu. Tso makes it simply an initial sound (發聲). Loo Ch'ang tells us that the people of the State themselves called it Yu-yueh, and that the States of Chow called it Yueh; which account would agree with the use of the former style in the text here, Yueh, we may suppose, having sent a notification to Loo of its movement. Other explanations have been offered on which we need not dwell.

We must understand 吳 here as the name of the State. Yueh entered the boundaries, not the capital, of Woo, taking advantage, as Tso-she says, of the vicissitude of Woo's being in Ts'oo with all his forces.



Par. 4. The Chuen says:—"In the 5th month, Ke P'ing-tze went to Tung-yay; and on his return, before he arrived at the capital, on Ping-shin he died in Pang. Yang Hoo [the Yang Ho of the Ana, XVIII.1; he was the principal officer of the Ke family] was going to put his body into the coffin, having [still] on the [precious stone] Yu-fan [which he had worn when the duke was absent from the State]. Chung-liang Hwae (Another minister of the Ke family), however, would not give it for that purpose, saying, "He had ceased to tread on the [ruler's] steps, and another stone should be used." Yang Hoo wished to expel Hwae, and told Kung-shan Puh-shu (See on Ana, XVII. 2.) the circumstance, but that officer said, "He was acting in the interest of the ruler. Why should you be angry with him?"

"After the burial, Hwan-tze went to Tung-yay. When he arrived at P'o Tze-seeh (The above Kung-shan Puh-shu), who was in charge of that city, met him, with complimentary offerings because of his journey, in the suburbs. Hwan-tze received him with respect. Chung-liang Hwae, however, to whom he also presented offerings, showed him no respect, in consequence of which he was angry, and said to Yang Hoo, "You can send him away."

The form of this notice of the death of P'ing-tze is very troublesome to the critics, and they think that the death of a man who had expelled his ruler, and held the State against him, should not have appeared without some sign of condemnation. Some of them say that it exhibits strikingly the weakness of duke Ting!

The Hwan-tze in the Chuen was the son of P'ing-tze, and had succeeded him. His name was Ssu (斯).

Par. 5. Shuh-sun Puh-kan was mentioned in the Chuen on I. 2. He was succeeded by his son Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew (州仇), better known as Shuh-sun Woo-shuh (武叔). Both he and Hwan-tze were young and feeble, and the power of the State fell into the hands of Yang Hoo.

[We have here three narratives in the Chuen. The 1st continues the narrative of the invasion of Te'oo by Woo with which the last year concludes.—Shin Pao-sen arrived [in Te'oo] with the army of Ts'in, Tze-p'oo and Tze-hoo of that State having command of 500 chariots for its relief. Tze-p'oo, being unacquainted as yet with the ways of Woo, made the troops of Te'oo engage a body of the Woo-ltes, and then joined them himself from Tsieh, and a great defeat was thus inflicted on king Foo-k'ue at E. The men of Woo, however, captured Wei Yih at Pih-ken, but his son led the fugitives, and joined Tze-se, who defeated an army of Woo at Keun-t'iang.

"In autumn, in the 7th month, Tze-k'ue and Tze-p'oo extinguished Tang. In the 9th month, Foo-k'ue returned to Woo, and set himself up for king; but, being defeated in a battle with the king, he fled to Te'oo, where he became the founder of the Tang-k'ue family.

"The army of Woo defeated that of Te'oo at Yung-shé, but the army of Ts'in again defeated Woo, whose army occupied Keun. Tze-k'ue proposed to burn that city, but Tze-se said, "The bones of our fathers and elder brothers

are lying exposed there. We cannot collect them, and surely they ought not to be burned." Tze-k'ue replied, "The State is [in danger of] perishing. If the dead have any knowledge, they will enjoy the old sacrifices. Why should they be afraid of being burned?" They did burn the city, and fought another battle, in which Woo was defeated. It was defeated again severely in a battle in the valley of Kung-shan, after which the viscount of Woo returned to his own State. He had as a prisoner Yin Yu-p'o, who asked leave to go before him to Woo, but made his escape on the way, and returned to Te'oo.

"Hwa-tang, a younger brother of Choo-liang, commandant of Shieh, had followed their mother, [when she was carried a prisoner] to Woo, and [now] he returned without waiting for her. The commandant of Shieh would never look straight at him."

2d, regarding the course of Yang Hoo, tyrannizing over the Ke family.—"On Yih-hae, Yang Hoo imprisoned Ke Hwan-tze and Kung-foo Wao-pih (A cousin of Hwan-tze), and drove out Chung-liang Hwae. In winter, in the 10th month on Ting-hae, he killed Kung-ho M'aoon. On Ke-sh'ow, he imposed a covenant on Hwan-tze, inside the Tseih gate. On Kung-yia, there were great imprecations, and he drove out Kung-foo Ch'nh and Ts'in Ch'uen, both of whom fled to Te'oo."

3d, a continuation of the affairs of Te'oo. "The viscount of Te'oo [re-] entered Ying. Before this, when Tow Sin had heard that the Woo-ltes were quarrelling about the palaces [of Te'oo], he said, "I have heard that where there is no spirit of concession there is no harmony, and that where there is no harmony, a distant enterprise cannot be carried out. The people of Woo thus quarrelling in Te'oo, there is sure to be disorder among themselves, which will compel their return to their own State; how is it possible for them to settle Te'oo?"

"When the king was fleeing to Say, he wished to get across the Ch'ing-k'ew. [Just then], Mo, commandant of Loo, was conveying his children across it, and refused to give the boat to the king, in consequence of which, when tranquillity came again, the king wanted to put him to death. Tze-se, however, said to him, "It was by thinking of old wrongs that Tze-chang came to ruin; why should your majesty imitate him?" The king said, "Good!" and he made Mo resume his office, intending thereby to keep in mind his own former offences. [At the same time], he rewarded Tow Sin, the Wang-suns Yé-yu and Yu, Chung Keen, Tow Ch'au, Shin Pao-sen, the Wang-sun K'ia, Sang Muh, and Tow Hwae. Tze-se said to him, "Please pass Hwae by;" but he replied, "He displayed great virtue in overcoming his [own] small resentment, thus acting rightly."

"Shin Pao-sen said, "I acted for the ruler, and not for myself. Since you are now [re-] established what have I to seek? Moreover I blamed Tze-k'ue (See after X. xiv. 5), and shall I now do as he did?" Accordingly he declined any reward.

"The king was going to give his youngest sister in marriage [to some one], but she refused, saying, "A young lady shows what she is by keeping far from all men; but Chung Keen has carried me on his back." She was given to him,



accordingly, to wife, and he was made director of Music.

When the king was in Suy, Taze-se had assumed the royal carriage and robes, in order to keep the people [who were wandering about] on the roads together, and had made P'e-sch his capital, joining the king; afterwards when he heard where he was. The king employed Yé-yu to wall Keen; and when he was reporting the execution of his commission, Taze-se asked him how high and thick the walls had been made. He did not know, and Taze-se said, "Since you were not able for the work, you should have declined it. After walling a city,

if you do not know the height, thickness, and length of the walls, what do you know?" Yé-yu replied, "I did refuse the commission on the ground of my incompetency, but you sent me to do it. Every man has what he can do, and what he cannot do. When the king met with robbers in [the marsh of] Yun, I received the spear in my person. The mark is still here." With this he bared his person, and showed him his back saying, "This is what I could do. What you did at P'e-sch I could not do."

Par. 6. Tze-she says this expedition was undertaken to avenge the affair in which Kwan Hoo was taken (See after III. 4.).

*Sixth year.*

六年<sup>一</sup>春王正月癸亥鄭游速帥師滅許以許男斯歸<sup>二</sup>二月公侵鄭<sup>三</sup>公至自侵鄭<sup>四</sup>夏季孫斯仲孫何忌如<sup>五</sup>晉<sup>六</sup>秋晉人執宋行人樂祁犁冬城中城<sup>七</sup>季孫斯仲孫忌帥師圍鄆<sup>八</sup>

左傳曰六年春鄭滅許因楚敗也二月公侵鄭取匡爲晉討鄭之伐胥靡也往不假道於衛及還陽虎使季孟自南門入出自東門舍於豚澤衛侯怒使彌子瑕追之公叔文子老矣輦而如公曰尤人而效之非禮也昭公之難君將以文之舒鼎成之昭兆定之鑿鑑苟可以納之擇用一焉公子與二三臣之子諸侯苟憂之將以爲之質此羣臣之所聞也今將以小忿蒙舊德無乃不可乎大嬖之子唯周公康叔爲相睦也而效小人以棄之不亦誣乎天將多陽虎之罪以斃之君姑待之若何乃止夏季桓子如晉獻鄭俘也陽虎強使孟懿子往報夫人之幣晉人兼享之孟孫立於房外謂范獻子曰陽虎若不能居魯而息肩於晉所不以爲中軍司馬者有如先君獻子曰寡君有官將使其人



鞅何知焉。獻子謂簡子曰：魯人患陽虎矣，孟孫知其費，以爲必適晉，故強爲之請，以取入焉。

④四月己丑，吳太子終嬖敗楚舟師，獲潘子臣、小惟子及大夫七人。楚國大惕懼亡，子期又以陵師敗於繁陽，令尹子西喜曰：「乃今可爲矣。」於是乎遷郢於郢，而改紀其政，以定楚國。

⑤周儋翩率王子朝之徒，因鄭人將以作亂於周。鄭於是乎伐漚、滑、胥靡，負黍、狐人、闕外。六月，晉闔沒戍周，且城胥靡。

秋八月，宋樂祁言於景公曰：「諸侯唯我事晉，今使不往，晉其憾矣。」樂祁告其宰陳寅。陳寅曰：「必使子往他日。」公謂樂祁曰：「唯寡人說子之言，子必往。」陳寅曰：「子立後而行，吾室亦不亡。」唯君亦以我爲知難而行也。見瀾而行，趙簡子逆而飲之酒於綿上，獻楊楸六十於簡子。陳寅曰：「昔吾主范氏，今子主趙氏，又有納焉，以楊楸賈禍，弗可爲也已。」然子死晉國，子孫必得志於宋。范獻子言於晉侯曰：「以君命越疆而使，未致使而私飲酒，不敬二君，不可不討也。」乃執樂祁。

⑥陽虎又盟公及三桓於周社，盟國人於亳社，詛於五父之衢。

⑦冬十二月，天王處於姑蘇，辟儋翩之亂也。

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Kwei-hae, Y'ew Suh of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, extinguished Heu, and carried Sze, baron of Heu, back with him to Ch'ing.
- 2 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing.
- 3 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ch'ing.
- 4 In summer, Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke went to Tsin.
- 5 In autumn, the people of Tsin seized Yoh K'e-le, the messenger of Sung.
- 6 In winter, we walled Chung-shing.
- 7 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ke led a force, and laid siege to Yun.

Par. 1. Tao-ah says that Ch'ing now extinguished Heu through taking advantage of the defeats which Ts'oo had sustained from Woo. Ch'ing had pursued Heu with implacable hatred (See I. xl. 3), and it might seem that it had now obtained the gratification of its desires, yet we find the State of Heu still existing in the 1st year of duke Gao. Here and elsewhere Kung-yang has 速 for 速.

Par. 2. The Chuen says:—In the 2d month, the duke made an incursion into Ch'ing and took K'wang, to punish, in behalf of Tsin, the action of Ch'ing in attacking Sen-niel (See below, the 2d narr. after par. 4). On his way he did not ask liberty to pass through Wei; and on their return Yang Woo made Ke and Mang enter by the south gate [of its capital], and pass out by the east, halting [afterwards] at the marsh of Yun. The marquis of Wei was enraged, and was sending Me Tzu-hia to pursue



them. Kung-shih Wan-tse [at this time] was old, but he had himself wheeled by men to the marquis and said to him, "To condemn others and to imitate them is contrary to propriety. During the troubles of duke Ch'ao, your lordship was going to take the Shoo tripod of [duke] Wan, [the tortoise-shell of duke] Ch'ing, which gave such clear responses, and the mirrored-girdle of [duke] Ting, and give the choice of any one of them to whoever would restore him. Your own son and the sons of us your ministers you were ready to give as hostages, if any of the States would take pity on him. This is what we have heard; and does it not seem improper that for a small occasion of anger you should now cover over your former kindly feeling and action? Of all the sons of T'ae-tse (King Wan's queen) the duke of Chow and K'ang Shih were the most friendly; and will it not be acting under a delusion if, to imitate [the conduct of] a small man, you throw away [that good relation between Wei and Loo]? Heaven means to multiply the offences of Yang Hoo, in order to destroy him. Suppose that your lordship wait for the present for that issue." The marquis on this desisted from his purpose.

The rulers of Loo had not in person conducted any military expedition since the 18th year of duke Sseui, a period of 80 years. The power of the State had been in the hands of the three great clans. These were now very much reduced, and we find duke Ting himself taking the field. Yet he was merely a puppet in the hands of the ministers of those clans, who made use of him to further their own ambitious designs against their chiefs.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—In summer, Ke Hwan-tse went to Tain, to present the spoils of Ch'ing. Yang Hoo forced M'ang E-tse to go [at the same time] with offerings in return for those which the marchioness [of Tain] had sent [to Loo]. The people of Tain entertained them both together. M'ang-sun, standing outside the apartment, said to Fan Hsien-tse, "If Yang Hoo cannot remain in Loo, and rests his shoulder against Tain, by the former rulers you must make him marshal of the army of the centre?" Hsien-tse replied, "If our ruler have that office [vacant], he will employ the proper man [to fill it]. What should I know about it?" [Afterwards] he said to K'ien-tse, "The people of Loo are distressed by Yang Hoo. M'ang-sun knows that an occasion will arise, when he thinks Hoo will be obliged to flee the State. He therefore forces himself to make this request for him, to obtain his entrance [into our State]."

[The Chuen gives here two brief narratives:—1st, about Woo and T'ao. "In the 4th month, Chung-luy, the eldest son of [the viscount of] Woo, defeated the fleet of T'ao, and captured [the two commanders], Chin, viscount of P'wan, and the viscount of S'ao-wai, along with 7 great officers. T'ao was greatly alarmed, and afraid it would be ruined. [About the same time], T'ao-k'e was defeated with an army on the land at Fan-yang. The chief minister T'ao-so, however, was glad, and said, "Now it can be done," and upon this he removed the capital from Ying to Joh, and changed the regulations of the government, in order [the better] to settle the State."

2d, about troubles in Chow, and the share of Ch'ing in them. "Tan P'ien of Chow had led

on the adherents of king [King's] son Ch'ao, and endeavoured by the assistance of Ch'ing to raise an insurrection in Chow. Upon this Ch'ing had attacked Fung, Hwah, Seu-mei, Hoo-shoo, Hoo-lin, and K'ueh-wan. In the 6th month, Yen Muh of Tain went to guard [the territory of] Chow, and walled Seu-mei."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month, Yoh K'w of Sung said to duke King, "Of all the States only we do service to Tain. If an envoy do not now go there, Tain will be offended." Having told his steward Ch'in Yin [what he said], that officer observed, "He is sure to send you." After a few days the duke said, "I am pleased with what you said; you must go [to Tain]." Ch'in Yin, [on hearing this], said, "Get your successor appointed [a minister] before you set out, and our House will not go to ruin. The ruler also will know that we are proceeding with a knowledge of the dangers it involves." Yoh K'w accordingly introduced [his son] Hwan [to the duke], and took his departure. Ch'ao K'een-tse met him, and entertained him at a drinking-feast in M'een-shang, being presented by Yoh K'w with 60 shields of willow. Ch'in Yin said, "Formerly we lodged with Fan-shu, but now you are going to lodge with Ch'ao-shu, and are presenting him with gifts besides. You should not have given those willow shields;—you are purchasing misfortune with them. But though you die in Tain, your descendants will meet with prosperity in Sung."

Fan Hsien-tse said to the marquis of Tain, "He crossed the borders of his State, charged with the orders of his ruler; but before discharging his commission, he has accepted a private invitation to drink, thus acting disrespectfully both to his own ruler and to you. He should not be left unpunished." Accordingly Yoh K'w was seized.

Par. 6. Chung-shing,—see VIII. ix. 18. Loo was not at this time on good terms either with Ch'ing or T'ao, and we may suppose that the walls of Chung-shing were now repaired as a precautionary measure against hostilities.

Par. 7. The omission of 何 before 忌 must be regarded as an error of the text. The marquis of T'ao had taken Yun in Ch'ao's 26th year, and given it to that prince. The people left it in Ch'ao's 30th year, and the probability is that, when they re-occupied it, they had endeavoured to do so under the protection of T'ao. The scribe in the text would be to recall them to their allegiance to Loo.

[We have here two brief narratives:—

1st, on the progress of Yang Hoo's encroachments in Loo. "Yang Hoo imposed another covenant on the duke and the 3 Hwan clans at the altar of Chow, and one upon the people at the altar of Poh; the imprecations being spoken in the street of Woo-so."

2d, on affairs in Chow. "In winter, in the 12th month, the king by Heaven's grace took up his residence in Koo-yew, that he might escape from the insurrection of Tan P'ien (See the 3d narr. after par. 4)."



## Seventh year.

七年<sup>二章</sup>春王正月。  
 夏<sup>三章</sup>四月。  
 秋<sup>四章</sup>齊侯鄭伯盟于鹹。  
 齊人執衛行人北宮結<sup>五章</sup>以侵衛。  
 齊侯衛侯盟于沙。<sup>六章</sup>  
 大雩。<sup>七章</sup>  
 齊國夏帥師伐我西鄙。<sup>八章</sup>  
 九月大雩。<sup>九章</sup>  
 冬十月。

①左傳曰七年春二月周儋翩入於儀栗以叛。

②齊人歸鄆陽關陽虎居之以爲政。

③夏四月單武公劉桓公敗尹氏於窮谷。

秋齊侯鄭伯盟于鹹徵會於衛。

衛侯欲叛晉諸大夫不可使北宮結如齊而私於齊侯曰執結以侵我齊侯從之乃盟於瑣。

齊國夏伐我陽虎御季桓子公斂處父御孟懿子將宵軍齊師齊師聞之墮伏而待之處父曰虎不圖禍而必死苦夷曰虎陷二子於難不待有司余必殺汝虎懼乃還不敗。

④冬十一月戊午單子劉子逆王於慶氏晉籍秦送王己巳王入於王城館於公族黨氏而後朝於莊宮。

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, it was the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 It was summer, the fourth month.  
 3 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in Hsien.  
 4 The people of Ts'e seized Pih-kung K'eh, the messenger of Wei, and proceeded to make an incursion into that State.  
 5 The marquises of Ts'e and Wei made a covenant in Sha.  
 6 There was a grand sacrifice for rain.



- 7 Kwoh Hëa of Ts'e led a force and invaded our western border.
- 8 In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 9 It was winter, the tenth month.

Par. 1. [The Chuen appends two brief notices—1st, concerning events in Chow. 'This spring, in the 2d month, Tan P'ien of Chow entered into E-jeh, and held it in revolt.' 2d, of the relations between Loo and Ts'e. 'The people of Ts'e restored Yun and Yang-kwan (to Loo). Yang Hoo took the merit of this, and assumed [the more] the functions of the govt.']

Par. 2. [The Chuen continues the narrative of events in Chow:—In the 4th month duke Woo of Shen and duke Hwan of Lëw defeated the lord of Yin at K'ung-kuh.

Par. 3. Hëen,—see V. xiii. 8. This covenant is remarkable as indicating that the dominion of the pa, or leaders of the States, had passed away. The kingdoms had in this respect reverted to the condition in which it was before the rise of duke Hwan of Ts'e. No one State could maintain pre-eminence over others. One and another now began to meet and covenant together as suited their private convenience, though Ts'e, perhaps, cherished a lingering hope of regaining its former influence. The Chuen says that these princes now required [the marquis of] Wei to attend a meeting.

Par. 4, 5. Instead of 沙 Kung-yang has 沙澤 and the Chuen has 瑣. The place is the same as the 瑣澤 in VIII. xli. 2, and was in the east of the prin. dis. of Yuan-shing (元城), dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. It belonged to Ts'in. The Chuen says:—'The marquis of Wei wished to revolt from Ts'in, but his great officers objected to such a course. On this he dispatched Pih-kung Këeh to Ts'e, and sent a

private message to the marquis, saying, "Seize Këeh, and then make an incursion upon us." The marquis of Ts'e did so, and then the marquis of Wei made a covenant with him in So.' The 以 in par. 4 must be taken as 遂. See V. xli. 4, where we have it used in the same way.

Par. 7. The object of Ts'e in now invading Loo was, we may suppose, to force it to revolt from Ts'in, as Ch'ing and Wei had done. Loo tried to meet the invaders, when, according to the Chuen, 'Yang Hoo acted as charioteer to Ke Hwan-tszu, and Kung-lëen Ch'oo-foo to Mäng E-tszu. [Hoo] was about to attack at night the army of Ts'e, which got intelligence of the project, assumed the appearance of being unprepared, and lay in ambush to await the onset. Ch'oo-foo said, "Hoo, you have not calculated the danger; you shall die." Chen E said to him, "Hoo, you are plunging the two ministers into danger. I will kill you, without waiting for the officers [of justice]." Hoo became afraid, and withdrew, so that no defeat was sustained.'

Par. 8. This is the second instance of the repetition of a sacrifice for rain. The other was in the 25th year of duke Ch'au.

Par. 9. [The Chuen goes on here with the account of things in Chow:—In winter in the 11th month, on Mow-woo, the viscounts of Shen and Lëw met the king in the house of K'ing-shu (commandant of Koo-yew). Tsieh Ts'in of Ts'in escorted him, and on Ke-sze he entered the royal city. He lodged (first) in the house of Chang, head of a ducal clan, and afterwards repaired to announce his arrival in the temple of king Chwang.]

*Eighth year.*

八年<sup>一</sup>春王正月公<sup>二</sup>侵齊<sup>三</sup>。  
 公至自侵齊<sup>三</sup>。  
 二月公侵齊<sup>三</sup>。  
 三月公至自侵齊<sup>四</sup>。  
 曹伯露卒<sup>五</sup>。  
 夏齊國夏帥師伐<sup>六</sup>  
 我西鄙<sup>七</sup>。  
 公會晉師于瓦<sup>七</sup>。  
 公至自瓦<sup>八</sup>。



<sup>九章</sup>秋七月戊辰陳侯柳卒。

<sup>十章</sup>晉士鞅帥師侵鄭遂侵

衛。

<sup>十一章</sup>葬曹靖公。

<sup>十二章</sup>九月葬陳懷公。

<sup>十三章</sup>季孫斯仲孫何忌帥師

侵衛。

<sup>十四章</sup>冬衛侯鄭伯盟于曲濮。

<sup>十五章</sup>從祀先公。

<sup>十六章</sup>盜竊寶玉大弓。

左傳曰八年春王正月公侵齊門於陽州士皆坐列曰顏高之弓六鈞皆取而傳觀之陽州人出顏高奪人弱弓籍丘子鉏擊之與一人俱斃偃且射子鉏中頰顏息射人中眉退曰我無勇吾志其目也師退再猛僞傷足而先其兄會乃呼曰猛也殿

③二月己丑單子伐穀城劉子伐儀栗辛卯單子伐簡城劉子伐孟以定王室

④趙鞅言於晉侯曰諸侯唯宋事晉好逆其使猶懼不至今又執之是絕諸侯也將歸樂祁士鞅曰三年止之無故而歸之宋必叛晉獻子私謂子梁曰寡君懼不得事宋君是以止子子姑使邴代子子梁以告陳寅陳寅曰宋將叛晉是棄邴也不如待之樂祁歸卒於大行士鞅曰宋必叛不如止其尸以求成焉乃止諸州

公侵齊攻廩丘之郛主人焚衝或濡馬褐以救之遂襲之主人出師奔陽虎僞不見再猛者曰猛在此必敗猛逐之顛而無繼僞顛虎曰盡客氣也苦越生子將待事而名之陽州之役獲焉名之曰陽州

夏齊國夏高張伐我西鄙

晉士鞅趙鞅荀寅救我公會晉師于瓦范獻子執羔趙簡子中行文子皆執鴈魯於是始尚羔



晉師將盟衛侯於鄆澤。趙盾子曰：「羣臣誰敢盟衛君者？」涉佗成何曰：「我能盟之。」衛人請執牛耳。成何曰：「衛，吾溫原也，焉得視諸侯？」將歃，涉佗援衛侯之手及挽衛侯怒。王孫賈趨進曰：「盟以信禮也，有如衛君，其敢不唯禮是事而受此盟也？」衛侯欲叛晉而患諸大夫。王孫賈使次於郊。大夫問故，公以晉詬語之。且曰：「寡人辱社稷，其改卜嗣，寡人從焉。」大夫曰：「是衛之禍，豈君之過也？」公曰：「又有患焉，謂寡人必以而子與大夫之子爲質。」大夫曰：「苟有益也，公子則往。」羣臣之子敢不皆負羈紲以從？將行，王孫賈曰：「苟衛國有難，工商未嘗不爲患，使皆行而後可，公以告大夫，乃皆將行之。」行有日，公朝國人，使賈問焉。曰：「若衛叛晉，晉五伐我，病何如矣？」皆曰：「五伐我，猶可以能戰。」賈曰：「然則如叛之病而後質焉，何遲之有？」乃叛晉。晉人請改盟，弗許。秋，晉士鞅會成桓公，侵鄭，圍豳，牢報伊闕也，遂侵衛。

九月，師侵衛，晉故也。

季寤，公鉏極，公山不狝，皆不得志於季氏。叔孫輒無寵於叔孫氏。叔仲志不得志於魯，故五人因陽虎。陽虎欲去三桓，以季寤更季氏，以叔孫輒更叔孫氏，己更孟氏。冬十月，順祀先公而祈焉。辛卯，禘於僖公。

壬辰，將享季氏於蒲圃而殺之。戒都車曰：「癸巳至。」成宰公斂處父告孟孫曰：「季氏戒都車，何故？」孟孫曰：「吾弗聞。」處父曰：「然則亂也，必及於子。」先備諸與孟孫以壬辰爲期。陽虎前驅，林楚御桓子。虞人以鉞盾夾之。陽越殿，將如蒲圃。桓子呼謂林楚曰：「而先皆季氏之良也，爾以是繼之。」對曰：「臣聞命後，陽虎爲政，魯國服焉，違之徵死，死無益於主。」桓子曰：「何後之有，而能以我適孟氏乎？」對曰：「不敢愛死，懼不免主。」桓子曰：「往也。」孟氏選圉人之壯者三百人，以爲公期。築室於門外，林楚怒馬及衛而馳。陽越射之，不中。築者闔門，有自門間射陽越，殺之。陽虎劫公與武叔，以伐孟氏。公斂處父帥成人自上東門入，與陽氏戰於南門之內，弗勝。又戰於棘下，陽氏敗。陽虎說甲如公宮，取寶玉大弓以出，舍於五父之衢，寢而爲食。其徒曰：「追其將至。」虎曰：「魯人聞余出，喜於徵死，何暇追？」



爲嗣<sup>①</sup>叛。諸陽之爵子懼桓許之。斂斂鳴。余  
政。子鄭陽虎廟於言而子陽孟陽陽速從  
犬駟關入而季辨歸孟欲孫請在。駕者  
叔歎以於出氏舍之。孫殺弗追公公曰。

- VIII. 1 In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke made an incursion into Ts'e.  
2 The duke arrived from the incursion into Ts'e.  
3 In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Ts'e.  
4 In the third month, the duke arrived from the incursion into Ts'e.  
5 Loo, earl of Ts'aou, died.  
6 In summer, Kwoh Hëa of Ts'e led a force, and invaded our western border.  
7 The duke had a meeting with an army of Tsin in Wa.  
8 The duke arrived from Wa.  
9 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Mow-shin, Lëw, marquis of Ch'in, died.  
10 Sze Yung of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ch'ing, going on to make one into Wei.  
11 There was the burial of duke Tsing of Ts'aou.  
12 In the ninth month, there was the burial of duke Hwae of Ch'in.  
13 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and made an incursion into Wei.  
14 In winter, the marquis of Wei and the earl of Ch'ing made a covenant in K'ëuh-puh.  
15 We sacrificed to the former dukes according to their proper order.  
16 A robber stole the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.

Parr. 1, 2. This incursion would be made to retaliate the invasion of Loo by Kwoh Hëa in the previous autumn. The Chuen says:—The duke made an incursion into Ts'e, and attacked the gate of Yang-chow. The soldiers all sat in ranks on the ground, and talked of the bow of Yen Kaou, how it was 180 catties in weight, taking it also and handing it round for all to look at. [In the meantime], the men of Yang-chow came out, and Yen Kaou seized a weak bow from another man; but Tze-tse'oo of Tsih-k'ow attacked him with a sword, [or spear], and he and another man both fell down; but Yen then shot Tze-tse'oo in the jaw, and killed him. Yen Seih shot a man in the eyebrow, and retired saying, "I have no valour. I want to hit his eye." When the army withdrew, Jen Mäng preceded it, pretending to be wounded in his foot. His elder brother Hway, [when he saw the troops return without Mäng], cried out, "Mäng must be bringing up the rear!"

[The Chuen introduces here two narratives:—1st, about affairs in Chow. "In the 2d month,

on Ke-ch'ow, the viscount of Shen attacked K'uh-shing, and the viscount of Lëw attacked K'ieh. On Shu-mann, the former attacked K'ien-shing, and the latter Yu. The object of these operations was to effect the settlement of the royal House."

2d, about the affairs of Tsin and Sung. "Chao Yang said to the marquis of Tsin, "Of all the States it is only Sung which [heartily] serves Tsin. We should be glad to meet a messenger from it, still apprehensive lest he would not come. But now by seizing and holding his messenger, we are repelling the States from us." It was [then] designed to send Yoh K'v back to Sung, but Sze Yang said, "We have detained him three years; and if we send him back without any ground for doing so, Sung is sure to revolt from us." Hëen-tze then said privately to Tze-liang (Yoh K'v), "This ruler was afraid of not finding an opportunity to serve the ruler of Sung, and therefore detained you. Do you get Hwan [your son] to come and take your place for the present." Tze-liang told this to Ch'in Yin,



who said, "Sung will revolt from Tsin. It would only be throwing Hwan away. You had better wait here." [In the end, Yoh K'w was returning to Sung], and died in T'ao-heng, on which Sze Yang said, "Sung is sure to revolt. We had better detain his body as a means of seeking peace with it." The body was accordingly detained in Chow.]

Par. 2, 4. Dissatisfied with the little success of his expedition in the 1st month, the duke now made, or was compelled by Yang Hoo to make, another, which was as fruitless. The Chuen says:—"The duke made an incursion into T'ao, and attacked the outer suburbs of Lin-k'ew. The inhabitants set fire to their large war chariots; but some of the men put out the flames with horse-rugs soaked in water, and they then broke down [the wall of the suburbs]. The inhabitants came out, and [the rest of] the army hurried forward. Yang Hoo, pretending that he did not see Jen Mang, cried out, "If Mang were here, he would be sure to be defeated!" Mang pursued the enemy, but looking round, and seeing no others following him, he pretended to be hit, and threw himself down, when Hoo said, "All behave like visitors."

Chen Tsch had a son born at this time, and was waiting the result of these expeditions to give him a name. As some prisoners were taken in the affair at Yang-chow (in the 1st month), he gave the child the name of Yang-chow.

Par. 3. Wang Kih-k'wan thus runs over the history of the two last earls of Ts'au:—"When duke Shing (聲) had occupied the earldom 5 years, he was murdered by his younger brother Tung (通), who took his place. He again—duke Yin—after 4 years was murdered by his younger brother, Loo, who took his place. Loo was succeeded by his son Yang (陽)."

Par. 6. T'ao repeats this par. with the addition of Kao Ching as commanding the troops of T'ao, along with Kueh Hia. This attack was, of course, in retaliation for the two incursions into T'ao.

Par. 7, 8. Wa was in Wei, in the pres. dia. of Hwah (滑), dep. Wei-hway, Ho-nan. The army of Tsin had come to the relief of Loo, but the troops of T'ao had withdrawn before its arrival. The duke, however, felt it his duty to go on to meet its leaders; but as he had not left his capital for that purpose, the 8th par. simply says that he came 'from Wa,' and not 'from the meeting.' The Chuen says:—"Sze Yang, Chao Yang, and Seun Yin, [came to] relieve us, and the duke went to meet the army of Tsin at Wa. Fan Hien-tse (Sze Yang) had a lamb carried with him (As his present of introduction); and Chao Kien-tse and Chung-hang Wan-tse (Seun Yin) had each of them a goose. From this time Loo valued the lamb [as a present of introduction]."

Par. 10. Kung-yang has 趙鞅 instead of 士鞅. The Chuen says:—"The army of Tsin was going to impose a covenant on the marquis of Wei at Chuen-tsih; and Chao Kien-tse said, "Which of you, my officers, will venture to make the covenant with the

marquis of Wei?" Shih To and Ching Ho undertook to do it, and the people of Wei asked them to hold the bull's ear. But Ching Ho said, "Wei is [only] like our Wan or Yuen. How can [its lord] be regarded as the prince of a State?" When the marquis was about to put his fingers into the [vessel of] blood, Shih To pushed his hand in up to the wrist. The marquis was enraged, and Wang-sun K'ia hurried forward, and said, "Covenants should serve to illustrate the rules of propriety. Even one like our ruler of Wei did not presume not to do service to [Tsin as being] observant of those rules, and was going to receive this covenant!" The marquis wished to revolt from Tsin, but had a difficulty with the great officers. Wang-sun K'ia made him halt in the suburbs; and when the great officers asked the reason, the marquis told them the insults of Tsin, and added, "I have disgraced the altars. You must consult the tortoise-shell, and appoint another in my place. I will agree to your selection." The great officers said, "It is the misfortune of Wei, and not any fault of yours." "There is something worse," said the duke. "They told me that I must send my son and the sons of my great officers as hostages [to Tsin]." The officers replied, "If it will be of any benefit, let the prince go, and our sons will follow him carrying halters and ropes on their backs." It was then arranged that the hostages should go; but Wang-sun K'ia said, "If the State of Wei has had any misfortunes, the mechanics and merchants have always shared in them. Let [the sons of] all classes go." The marquis reported this to the great officers, who were willing to send all, and a day was fixed for their setting out. The marquis [in the meantime] gave audience to the people, and made K'ia ask them, saying, "If Wei revolt from Tsin, and Tsin 5 times attack us, how would you bear the distress?" They all replied, "Though it should 5 times attack us, we should still be able to fight." "Then," said K'ia, "we had better revolt from it at once. We can give our hostages when we are brought to distress. It will not then be too late." Accordingly Wei revolted from Tsin, and refused, though Tsin requested it, to make another covenant.

In autumn, Sze Yang of Tsin joined duke Hwan of Ching (成) in an incursion into Ch'ing, when they laid siege to Ch'ing-lao. In retaliation for Ch'ing's [attack of] E-keueh (See the 2d narr. after VI. 4). They then went on to an incursion into Wei.

Par. 13. T'ao says this incursion was made on account of Tsin. That State now called in the help of Loo to wreak its anger on Wei.

Par. 14. 曲濮 is explained as if it were 濮曲, a well known bend or turn of the river Puh, in the pres. Puh Chow, dep. Tsuen-chow, Shao-tung. It was in Wei. The object of the covenant between Ching and Wei was, no doubt, to encourage each other in their revolt from Tsin.

Par. 15. To understand this par., the reader must refer to the long note on VI. II. 5. The tablets of the dukes Min and He were then made to change places, contrary to the natural order, and this would affect the order in which the tablets of the subsequent dukes had been



arranged. This error was now corrected; the tablet of Min was restored to its proper place, and the others placed where they ought always to have been. This is the view of Tso-she, Kung-yang, and Kuhl-ssang, who make the former dukes to be He and Min. Maou, however, argues from XII. iii. 3, that the shrine-house of He continued at that time to follow that of Hwan; but we cannot be certain that the fire which is there mentioned followed what may be called 'its natural course.' Hoo Gan-kwoh, following some scholar of Shuh, called Fung Shan (蜀人馮山), prefers to under-

stand 先公 of duke Ch'ou, whose tablet, he supposes, had till this time been kept out of the ancestral temple by the influence of the Ke family. But, as the K'ang-ho editors observe, if this view, otherwise not unreasonable, were the correct one, the analogy of the Classic would make us expect the name 昭 in the text, rather than the indefinite 先公.

The Chuen says:—Ke Woo, Kung-t'ao Keih, and Kung-shan Puh-p'ow could not get their way with Ke-she. Shuh-sun Cheh did not find favour with Shuh-sun-she, and Shuh-chang Che could not get his way in the State. These five men, in consequence, joined Yang Hoo, who wished to take off [the Heads of] the three Hwan clans, and to give to Ke Woo the place of Ke-she, and to Shuh-sun Cheh that of Shuh-sun-she, while he himself took the place of Mang-she. In winter, in the 10th month, they offered sacrifice to the former dukes in their natural order, and prayed [for their adhesion to their scheme]; and on Sin-maou, they offered the sacrifice in the temple of duke He.

According to this narrative, the re-arrangement of the sacrificial order proceeded from Yang Hoo; and as it was made in contemplation of a coup, he probably designed to intimate that his object was to put civil matters, as well as religious, 'in a natural order.' The sacrifice in He's temple, where all the tablets were brought together, would be to console He's Spirit, for the previous degradation of his own tablet.

Par. 16. The Chuen says:—On Jin-shin, [Yang Hoo] was going to give an entertainment to Ke-she in the orchard of P'oo, with the intention of killing him there, and gave notice to the war-chariots of the capital to come to him on Kwei-sun. Kung-lien Ch'oo-foo, commandant of Ch'ing, told Mang-sun of this, and asked why Ke-she (Yang Hoo must have done it in his name) had given such an order. Mang-sun said he had not heard of it. "Then," observed Ch'oo-foo, "they are going to raise an insurrection, which will be sure to extend to you. Let us be prepared for it beforehand;" and accordingly he arranged with Mang-sun to be ready to act on Jin-shin.

[That day], Yang Hoo rode [to the orchard] before the others, and Lin T'ao drove Hwan-tze, with a body of foresters armed with spears and shields on each side of the chariot, while Yang Yueh brought up the rear. As they drew near to the place, Hwan-tze, in doubt, said to Lin T'ao, "Your forefathers were all faithful servants of the Ke family;—is it in this way

that you are following their example?" T'ao replied, "Your order comes too late. The government is in the hands of Yang Hoo, and the State is submissive to him. To oppose him is to invite death; and my death would be of no advantage to you." Hwan-tze said, "It is not too late. Can you go with me to Mang-she's?" "I do not dare to grudge dying," was the reply, "but I am afraid I shall not be able to bring you off." "Go," said Hwan-tze.

Mang-she had selected 300 of his grooma, who were all strong men, and had set them to build a house outside his gate for Kung-k'ie. Lin T'ao made his horses furious, and when he got to the street, galloped them along [to Mang-she's house]. Yang Yueh sent an arrow after him which missed, and the builders shut the gate, through which some one shot Yang Yueh, and killed him.

Yang Hoo [now] brought by force the duke and Woo-shuh (Shuh-sun-she) with him to attack Mang-she; but Kung-lien Ch'oo-foo, at the head of the men of Ch'ing, entered the city by the upper east gate, and fought with the adherents of Yang inside the south gate. This battle was unsuccessful, but in another, in Keih-hia, the Yang-ites were defeated. Yang Hoo then threw off his armour, went to the duke's palace, and took from it the precious symbol of jade, and the great bow. With these he came forth and halted in the street of Woo-foo, where he went to sleep, and afterwards had a meal prepared. His followers said, "The pursuers will be upon us;" but he replied, "When the people hear that I am gone forth, they will all be rejoicing over [Ke-sun's escape from] the summons to death, and will have no leisure to pursue me." His followers, however, said, "Ha! get the horses quickly yoked. Kung-lien Yang (Ch'oo-foo) will be here!" Kung-lien Yang did ask leave to pursue the fugitives, but Mang-sun refused it. Yang also wished to kill Hwan-tze, but Mang-sun was afraid, and sent Hwan-tze to his own house.

T'ao-yen (Ke Woo) drank and replaced the cups, all round, before the shrines in the temple of the Ke family, and then went forth. Yang Hoo entered the pass of Hwan-yang, and held it in revolt.

From this narrative it appears that by the 'robber' in the text we are to understand Yang Hoo. It was not proper, according to T'ao, that the name or family name of him, who was merely the minister of a clan in the State, should appear in the text. The precious jade and the great bow have, since Liew Hin of the Han dynasty, been understood to be 'the lucky-stone of the sovereigns of Hsia, and the great bow Yan-joh of Fung-foo,' mentioned in the long narrative on IV. 4, as having been given by King Ch'ing to the first duke of Loo. The loss of them in such a way was very insulting to Loo, and might be considered ominous of its destruction.

[The Chuen appends here:—In Ch'ing, Ssu Chuen (known as 騶子然, a son of T'ao-hia) succeeded T'ao-t'ao-shih as chief minister of that State.]



Ninth year.

九年春王正

月

夏四月戊申

鄭伯蠆卒

得寶玉大弓

六月葬鄭獻

公秋齊侯

衛侯次于五

氏秦伯卒

冬葬秦哀公

⑤左傳曰九年春宋公使樂大心盟於晉且逆樂祁之尸辭僞有疾乃使向巢如晉盟且逆子梁之尸子明謂桐門右師出曰吾猶衰絰而子擊鐘何也右師曰喪不在此故也既而告人曰己衰絰而生子余何故舍鐘子明聞之怒言於公曰右師將不利戴氏不肯適晉將作亂也不然無疾乃逐桐門右師

⑥鄭駟敵殺鄧析而用其竹刑君子謂子然於是不忠苟有可以加於國家者棄其邪可也靜女之三章取彤管焉竿旄何以告之取其忠也故用其道不棄其人詩云蔽芾甘棠勿剪勿伐召伯所茇思其人猶愛其樹况用其道而不恤其人乎子然無以勸能矣

夏陽虎歸寶玉大弓書曰得器用也凡獲器用曰得得用焉曰獲六月伐陽關陽虎使焚萊門師驚犯之而出奔齊請師以伐魯曰三加必取之齊侯將許之鮑文子諫曰臣嘗爲隸於施氏矣魯未可取也上下猶和衆庶猶睦能事大國而無天菑若之何取之陽虎欲勸齊師也齊師罷大臣必多死亡己於是乎奮其詐謀夫陽虎有寵於季氏而將殺季孫以不利魯國而求容焉親富不親仁君焉用之君富於季氏而大於魯國茲陽虎所欲傾覆也魯免其疾而君又收之無乃害乎齊侯執陽虎將東之陽虎願東乃囚諸西鄙盡借邑人之車鑊其軸麻約而歸之載慈靈寢於其中而逃追而得之囚於齊又以慈靈逃奔宋遂奔晉適趙氏仲尼曰趙氏其世有亂乎

秋齊侯伐晉夷儀敝無存之父將室之辭以與其弟曰此役也不死反必娶於



高國先登，求自門出，死於甯下。東郭書讓登，犂彌從之，曰：「子讓而左，我讓而右，使登者絕而後下。」書左，犂彌先下，書與王猛息，猛曰：「我先登，書，愨甲曰：『曩者之難，今又難焉。』」猛笑曰：「吾從子如驂之靳，晉車千乘在中，犂彌將如五氏，卜過之，龜焦，犂彌曰：『可也。』犂車當其半，寡人當其半，敵矣。乃過中，犂車中人欲伐之，犂彌師闕亡在中，犂曰：『犂雖小，其君在焉，未可勝也。』齊師克城而驕，其帥又賤，遇必敗之，不如從齊，乃伐齊，師敗之。齊侯致禘，媚杏於衛，齊侯賞犂彌，犂彌辭曰：『有先登者，臣從之。』愨情而衣，纁製，公使視東郭書，曰：『乃夫子也。』吾脫子，公賞東郭書，辭曰：『彼賓旅也。』乃賞犂彌，齊師之在夷儀也，齊侯謂夷儀人曰：『得敵無存者，以五家免。』乃得其尸，公三撻之，與之犀軒與直蓋，而先歸之，坐引者，以師哭之，親推之三。

- IX. 1 It was [the duke's] ninth year, the spring, the king's first month.  
 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Mow-shin, Ch'ae, earl of Ch'ing, died.  
 3 We got [again] the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.  
 4 In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke H'een of Ch'ing.  
 5 In autumn, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at Woo-she.  
 6 The earl of Ts'in died.  
 7 In winter, there was the burial of duke Gae of Ts'in.

Par. 1. [We have here two narratives in the Chuen:—1st, relating to affairs in Sung, a sequel to that after the 2d par. of last year. "This spring, the duke of Sung wished to send Yoh Ts'in to make a covenant with Tsin, and to receive the corpse of Yoh K'e, but he declined the mission on the pretence that he was unwell, and it was entrusted to H'eng Ch'ou. [In consequence of this], Tse-ming (Yoh K'e's son, Hwan), ordered the master of the Right (Ts'in, who is here also called Ts'ang-mun, 桐門, as a sort of surname from his place of residence) away [when he called upon him], saying, "Why is it that you strike your bells, when I am still wearing deep mourning for my father?" The master replied, "Your mourning could not be affected by that," and afterwards he remarked to some one, "He could beget a child while wearing his deep mourning; why should I not strike my bells?" Tse-ming heard of this, and was angry, so that he said to the duke, "The master of the Right will prove injurious to the clans descended from duke Tse. His refusal to go to Tsin must have come from a design to

some insubordinate proceedings. It must be so, for he had no sickness." On this they drove the master out of the State.]

2d, about the new chief minister of Ch'ing, a sequel to the concluding notice of last year:—"See Chuen of Ch'ing put to death Tang Seih, and proceeded to employ the penal laws inscribed by him on tablets of bamboo. The superior man will say that in this matter Tse-jen (Chuan) did not act in a good and generous way. If a man has what will be of advantage to the State, any perversity of his may be overlooked. The three stanzas of the Tsing-nie (Shu, I. li. Ode XVII.) had their place assigned them [in the Shu] because of the "Red-coloured reed" [in the 2d]. The Kan maou (I. iv. ode VII.) with its "What will thou tell him?" had its place from the generous loyalty [which it indicates]. Therefore, when we make use of a man's methods, we do not cast himself away. The ode (I. li. ode V.) says,

This umbrageous sweet pear tree!  
 Clip it not nor hew it down;—  
 Under it the Chief of Shau lodged.



The writer, thinking of the man, loved even his tree; how much more should we compassionate the man of whose methods we are making use! Tze-jen took no means to encourage ability.]

Par. 2. Kung-yang has 獲 for 獲.

Par. 3. Tze-she gives here a canon about the use of 得 and 獲. 'We have here,' he says, '得, because the things were articles of use, and the taking such articles is described by 得; but when the use of them follows on the getting them, that getting is described by 獲.' The meaning is not clear, and the canon is unnecessary. The Chuen says:—Yang Hoo returned the precious symbol of jade and the great bow. In summer we attacked the Yang pass, but Hoo ordered the Jao gate to be set on fire; and while the troops were alarmed, he assailed them, and made his escape. Having fled to T'w, he begged [the assistance of] an army, with which to invade Loo, saying that after three attacks that State was sure to be taken. The marquis was about to grant his request, when Pao Wai-tze remonstrated, saying, "I was in the service formerly of She-she (See the Chuen on VIII. xvi. 5. Wai-tze was the Pao Kwoh there, and must now have been more than 90), [and know that] Loo cannot be taken. There is still harmony between its high officers and low, and its masses are well-affected. It is able to do service to the great State, and has not suffered calamity from Heaven;—how should we be able to take it? Yang Hoo wishes to impose hard toll on the army of T'w, so that many of our great officers are sure to die under its fatigues, and he will then play out his deceitful plans. He found favour with Ke-she, and then wanted to kill him, that through the disasters of the State he might seek for forbearance with himself. He makes friends of the rich, and not of men of virtue;—why should you use him? You are richer than Ke-she, and [T'w] is greater than Loo;—it is just you whom Yang Hoo will want to overthrow. Loo has got rid of its plague;—is not your lordship doing yourself an injury in receiving him?" [On this,] the marquis of T'w seized Hoo, and was going to send him to the east. [He said that] he wished to go there, and he was banished to [a city on] the western border. There he borrowed all the chariots of the city, cut through their axes, and returned them, bound up with hemp. He then went into a baggage waggon, lay down in it, and made his escape. He was pursued, however, taken, and sent to be confined in the capital, but he made his escape from it again in a baggage-waggon, and fled to Sung. From Sung he fled to Tain, and took refuge with the Head of the Chao family. Chung-ne said, "Shall not the family of Chao always be troubled with insubordination?"

Par. 4. Woo-she was a city of Tain,—in the west of the pres. dis. of Han-tan (邯鄲) dep. Kwang-ping, Chih-le. The marquises of T'w and Wei were now engaged in an invasion of Tain, and the text might have been 齊侯衛侯伐晉. Tze supposes that they shrank

from publicly announcing in plain terms their commencement of hostilities against a State which had so long been lord of covenants, and therefore sent this modified notification in the text.

The Chuen says:—This autumn, the marquis of T'w attacked [the city] E-e of Tain. Pe Woo-tsun's father was about to marry him [at that time] to a lady, but he declined the match, asking that she might be given to his younger brother. "If I do not die," said he, "in this expedition, when I return, I shall take a wife from the House of Kuan or from that of Kwoh." He mounted the wall [of E-e] before any other, but in seeking to get out at the gate, he was killed under the eaves. Tung-kwoh Shoo then took it on him to ascend before the roost, and was followed by Le Mo, who said to him, "Do you stand aside to the left, and I will do the same to the right. When the others have done scaling, we can then go down [and open the gates]." On this Shoo took the left, and Mo was down before him. [After the city was carried,] Shoo was resting by Wang Mang, who said to him, "I was the first to get up," on which Shoo fastened his buff-coat and said, "He placed me a little ago in a false position, and you are now doing the same." Mang smiled and said, "I followed you as closely as the outside horse follows the inside."

Tain had a thousand chariots in Chung-mow, and as the marquis of Wei wished to go to Woo-she, he consulted the tortoise-shell about passing that place. The shell was [only] burnt [and gave no indication], on which he said, "It will do. The chariots of Wei can cope with half of them, and I will cope with the other half. We shall be a match for them." Accordingly, he passed by Chung-mow, and when the men of that place wanted to attack him, Choo-see Poo of Wei, who was a refugee there, said, "Though Wei is but small, its ruler is there. You will not conquer him. The army of T'w is arrogant through having reduced the city. Its commander also is of mean rank. If you meet it, you are sure to defeat it. Your best plan is to pursue T'w." In accordance with this advice, they attacked the army of T'w, and defeated it.

The marquis of T'w gave to Wei [the three cities of] Choh, Wei, and Hing. He was going to reward Le Mo, but that officer declined any reward, saying, "There was one who mounted the wall before me, with a white complexion, fine teeth, and wearing a fox's fur." The marquis sent to see Tung-kwoh Shoo, and then said to him, "It was you. I will give the reward to you." Shoo, however, said, "He [and I] were like ghosts [at the same feat];"—declining the reward, which was then given to Le Mo.

When the army of T'w was in E-e, the marquis said to the inhabitants, "He who finds Pe Woo-tsun shall be made chief of 5 houses and exempted from all services." In this way he recovered Woo-tsun's body, which was encased with 3 suits of clothes from the marquis. A chariot of rhinoceros' hide went before the coffin, and a high umbrella, and in this fashion it was sent home before the army. While the trackers knelt, the marquis wept by the coffin before the troops, and with his own hand pushed the bier on three turns of the wheels.



## Tenth year.

一十年春，王三月，及齊平。  
二夏，公會齊侯于夾谷。三公至自夾谷。  
四晉趙鞅帥師圍衛。  
五齊人來歸鄆、讙、龜陰田。  
六叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師圍郕。  
七秋，叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師圍郕。  
八宋樂大心出奔曹。九宋公子地出奔陳。  
十冬，齊侯、衛侯、鄭游速會于安甫。  
十一叔孫州仇如齊。  
十二宋公之弟辰、暨仲佗、石彊出奔陳。

左傳曰：十年春，及齊平。夏，公會齊侯於祝其，實夾谷。孔丘相，犂彌言於齊侯曰：孔丘知禮而無勇，若使萊人以兵劫魯侯，必得志焉。齊侯從之。孔丘以公退，曰：士兵之兩君合好，而裔夷之俘以兵亂之，非齊君所以命諸侯也。裔不謀夏，夷不亂華，俘不干盟，兵不偪好，於神為不祥，於德為愆義，於人為失禮，君必不然。齊侯聞之，遽褫之。將盟，齊人加於載書曰：齊師出竟，而不以甲車三百乘從我者，有如此盟。孔丘使茲無還揖對曰：而不反我汶陽之田，吾以共命者，亦如之。齊侯將享公。孔丘謂梁丘據曰：齊魯之故，吾子何不聞焉？事既成矣，而又享之，是勤執



事也。且徽象不出門，嘉樂不野合，饗而既具，是棄禮也。若其不具，用稅稗也。用稅稗，君辱，棄禮名惡。子盍圖之，夫享所以昭德也，不昭，不如其已也。乃不果享。

晉趙鞅圍衛，報夷儀也。初，衛侯伐邯鄲，午於寒氏，城其西北而守之，宵燭。及晉圍衛，午以徒七十人，門於衛西門，殺人於門中。曰：「請報寒氏之役。」涉佗曰：「夫子則勇矣，然我往，必不敢啟門，亦以徒七十人，且門焉，步左右，皆至而立如植，日中不啟門，乃退。反役，晉人討衛之叛，故曰：『由涉佗，成何？』於是執涉佗，以求成於衛，衛人不許。晉人遂殺涉佗，成何奔燕。君子曰：『此之謂棄禮，必不鈞。』詩曰：『人而無禮，何不過死？』涉佗亦過矣哉。」齊人來歸鄆、讙、龜陰之田。

初，叔孫成子欲立武叔，公若藐固諫曰：「不可。」成子立之而卒。公南使賊射之，不能殺。公南爲馬正，使公若爲郕宰。武叔既定，使郕馬正侯犯殺公若，弗能。其國人曰：「吾以劍過朝，公若必曰：『誰之劍也？』吾稱子以告，必觀之。吾僞固而授之，末則可殺也。」使如之。公若曰：「爾欲吳王我乎？」遂殺公若。侯犯以郕叛，武叔懿子圍郕，弗克。

秋，二子及齊師復圍郕，弗克。叔孫謂郕工師，駟赤曰：「郕非唯叔孫氏之憂，社稷之患也。將若之何？」對曰：「臣之業在楊水，卒章之四言矣。」叔孫稽首。駟赤謂侯犯曰：「居齊魯之際，而無事，必不可矣。子盍求事於齊，以臨民。不然，將叛。」侯犯從之。齊使至，駟赤與郕人爲之宣言於郕中曰：「侯犯將以郕易於齊，齊人將遷郕民，衆見懼。」駟赤謂侯犯曰：「衆言異矣。子不如易於齊，與其死也，猶是郕也，而得紿焉，何必此？齊人欲以此僞魯，必倍與子地，且盍多舍甲於子之門，以備不虞。」侯犯曰：「諾。」乃多舍甲焉。侯犯請易於齊，齊有司觀郕，將至。駟赤使周走呼曰：「齊師至矣。」郕人大駭。介侯犯之門甲，以圍侯犯。駟赤將射之，侯犯止之曰：「謀免我。」侯犯請行，許之。駟赤先如宿。侯犯殿，每出一門，郕人閉之。及郭門，止之曰：「子以叔孫氏之甲出，有司若誅之，羣臣懼死。」駟赤曰：「叔孫氏之甲有物，吾未敢以出。」犯謂駟赤曰：「子止而與之數。」駟赤止而納魯人。侯犯奔齊，齊人乃致郕。



宋公子地變適富獵十一分其室，而以  
其五與之。公子地有白馬四，公變向魋，  
魋欲之。公取而朱其尾鬣以與之。地怒，  
使其徒扶魋而奪之。魋懼將走，公閉門  
而泣之，目盡腫。母弟辰曰：「子分室以與  
獵也，而獨卑魋，亦有頗焉。」子爲君禮，不  
過出竟。君必止子。公子地出奔陳。公弗  
止。武叔聘於齊，齊侯享之，曰：「子叔孫，若使  
卿在君之側，寡人何知焉。」屬與敝邑  
際，故取助君憂之。對曰：「非寡君之望也。  
所以事君，封疆社稷是以，敢以家隸勤  
君之執事，夫不令之臣，天下之所惡也。  
君豈以爲寡君賜。」辰爲之請，弗聽。辰曰：「是我廷吾兄也，吾  
以國人出，君誰與處？」冬，母弟辰暨仲佗、  
石彊出奔陳。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, we made peace with Ts'e.  
2 In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Kēah-kuh.  
3 The duke came from Kēah-kuh.  
4 Chaou Yang of Ts'in led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Wei.  
5 An officer came from Ts'e and restored [to us] Yun, Hwan, and the lands of Kwei-yin.  
6 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to How.  
7 In autumn, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to How.  
8 Yoh Ta-sin of Sung fled from that State to Ts'au.  
9 The Kung-tsze Te of Sung fled from that State to Ch'in.  
10 In winter, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei, and Yēw Suh of Ch'ing, had a meeting in Gan-poo.  
11 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew went to Ts'e.  
12 Shin, a younger brother of the duke of Sung, with Chung T'o and Shih K'ow, fled from that State to Ch'in.

Par. 1. For 8 years now there had been hostilities between Loo and Tse, which were happily terminated by this peace. The influence of Confucius was now felt in the councils of Loo, and many of the critics ascribe the peace, with probability, to that. In the omission of 公 before 及, Le Léon sees an intimation that the peace was desired by the whole State; but when some other critics would press the 及 as indicating that the peace was agreed to by Ts'e at the earnest instance of Loo, he demurs to such a view as inconsistent with the calm dignity of the sage.

Par. 2. For 夾 Kung-yang has 煩. The situation of Kēah-kuh is not positively determined, and it has been assigned to three different places. The Kang-ho editors incline to place it in the dis. of Lao-woo (萊蕪), dep. Tan-gan. The object of the meeting was, no doubt, to confirm the peace which had been agreed upon.

The Chun says:—In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e at Chuh-k'ew, i. e., Kēah-kuh, when K'ung K'ew attended him as director [of the ceremonies]. Le Mé had said to the marquis, "K'ung K'ew is ac-



quainted with ceremonies, but has no courage. If you employ some of the natives of Loo to come with weapons and carry off the marquis of Loo, you will get from him whatever you wish." The marquis of T'e had arranged accordingly, but K'ung K'ew withdrew with the duke, saying, "Let the soldiers smite those [intruders]. You and the marquis of T'e are met on terms of friendship, and for those captives from the distant barbarous east to throw the meeting into confusion with their weapons is not the way to get the States to receive his commands. Those distant people have nothing to do with our great land; those wild tribes must not be permitted to create disorder among our flowery States; captives in war should not break in upon a covenant; weapons of war should not come near a friendly meeting. As before the Spirits, such a thing is inauspicious; in point of virtue, it is contrary to what is right; as between man and man, it is a failure in propriety:—the ruler [of T'e] must not act thus." When the marquis heard this, he instantly ordered the Loo-ites away.

"When they were about to covenant together, the people of T'e added to the words of the covenant these sentences, "Be it to Loo according to [the curses of] this covenant, if, when the army of T'e crosses its own borders, it do not follow us with 300 chariots of war." On this K'ung K'ew made Tze Woo-suen reply with a bow, "And so be it also to T'e, if without restoring to us the lands of Wan-shang you expect us to obey your orders!"

The marquis of T'e wanted to give an entertainment to the duke, but K'ung K'ew said to Lêng-k'ew Ken, "Are you not acquainted with former transactions between T'e and Loo? The business is finished, and now to have an entertainment besides would only be troubling the officers. Our cups of ceremony, moreover, do not erase our gates, and our admirable instruments of music are not fit for the wild country. An entertainment at which things were not complete would be a throwing away of the [proper] ceremonies. If things were not complete, it would be like employing chaff and *gao* [instead of the good grain]. Such employment would be disgraceful to our rulers; and to throw away the proper ceremonies would be to bring a bad report [upon our meeting]—why should you not consider the matter? An entertainment answers the purpose of displaying virtue; if that be not displayed, it is better to have no entertainment."

"Accordingly the purpose of an entertainment was not carried into effect."

The substance of the above narrative is given by K'uh-ikang, with the embellishment of a jester whom T'e sent to dance before the tent of the marquis of Loo; but the K'ung-he editors here reject both the Chuen, as derogatory to Confucius, and licentious additions of romancists. They have the authority for doing so of Chao He, and other Sung scholars; but the objections are mainly based on the inconsistency of the narrative with what they think T'e was likely to do in the circumstances, and what they feel sure Confucius would have done. Surely something like what Tso-she tells us did take place at K'ieh-k'uh. We may believe that he has given us what was the current tradition about the meeting soon after it was held. K'ang

Ping-chang says, "Tso-she was well acquainted with the history of Confucius in Loo;—he had heard and seen the facts. What other testimony can be needed to support him, as if he were speaking of things strange and beyond the sphere of his own knowledge?"

Par. 4. This siege was to be revenge on Wei for the taking of E-e in the autumn of last year. The Chuen says:—"Last year when the marquis of Wei had attacked Woo, the commandant of Han-tan, in Han-she (五氏), he raised a wall to the north-west of that city, and guarded it, in consequence of which the inhabitants dispersed in the night. [In consequence of this] Woo now attacked the west gate of the capital of Wei, having 70 footmen with him, and killed a man right in the gate, saying, "Allow me to repay you for the affair of Han-she." Shih T'o said to him, "You are indeed a man of courage; but if I go, they will not dare to open the gate." Accordingly he also attacked the gate next morning, having with him 70 footmen, whom he arranged on the right and left, where they all stood like trees till noon, when they retired, the gate not having been opened.

"When the expedition returned, the people of Tsin discussed the cause of Wei's revolt, and it was said that it was occasioned by Shih T'o and Ch'ing Ho. On this they laid hold on Shih T'o, and asked Wei, [in consideration of their doing so], to come to a good understanding with them; and when Wei refused to do so, they proceeded to put Shih T'o to death, while Ch'ing Ho fled to Yen.

"The superior man will say that this was an illustration of the saying that they who cast propriety away shall have a different fate from other men. The ode (She, I, iv. ode VIII. 3) says,

"If a man observes not the rules of propriety, Why does he not quickly die?"

Shih T'o did die quickly."

Par. 5. Kung and Kuh have 運 instead of 鄆, and Kuh has 之 between 陰 and 田. This is the sequel to par. 2, the result of the meeting at K'ieh-k'uh. Yun, Hwan, and Kwei-yin constituted what were called the lands of Wan-shang. Yun has often occurred. Hwan, —see on II. III. 6. We might translate 龜陰

田 by 'the lands on the north of mount Kwei,' —which mount lies between the dia. of Sin-t'ao (新泰), dep. Tse-gan, and that of Sze-shway (泗水), dep. Yen-chow. T'e, we

were told under par. 1 of the 7th year, restored Yun to Loo; but when Yang Hoo fled to T'e, he had again delivered it to that State in the 8th year, as well as the other places mentioned.

Par. 6, 7. How was the principal city of the Shuh-sun family, and was at this time held in revolt by one of its retainers. In par. 7, Kung-yang has 賈 instead of 鄆; but his text must be wrong. Perhaps the two paragraphs following one another, identical save in one character, made him think the 鄆 was a mistake; but the thing is clear enough in Tso-she's narrative.



The Chuen says, "Before this, when Shuh-sun Ch'ing-tze wanted to appoint Woo-shuh his successor, Kung-joh Miaoou remonstrated strongly, and urged him not to do so. Ch'ing-tze, however, made the appointment, and died (soon after). Kung-nan then employed a ruffian to shoot Miaoou, but he did not succeed in killing him. Kung-nan was superintendent of [Shuh-sun's] horses, and sent Kung-joh to be commandant of How.

"When Woo-shuh was established in his position, he employed the superintendent of his horses in How, called How Fan, to kill Kung-joh. He was not able to do so; but one of his groomers said [to Shuh-sun], 'I will pass by the court of audience, carrying a sword. Kung-joh will be sure to ask whose it is. I will tell him it is yours, and as he will [want to] look at it, I will pretend to be stupid, and hand it to him with the point turned towards him;—and in this way I can kill him.' [Shuh-sun] told the man to do as he proposed; and when Kung-joh was saying, 'Do you want to deal with me as the king of Woo was dealt with [See IX. xlix. 4]?' the other killed him. [On this], How Fan took possession of How, and held it in revolt. Woo-shuh and E-tze (Hu-ka) laid siege to it, but could not reduce it.

"In autumn they laid siege to it again, having with them an army of T'e, but were again unable to take it. Shuh-sun said to Sze Ch'ih, superintendent of the mechanics of How, 'The place is not only an occasion of grief to our own family, but also a source of distress to the whole State; what is to be done?' Ch'ih replied, 'My duty is in four words of the last stanza of the Yang-shuey (Sze, I. x. ode III. 8. The words are, 'I have heard your orders'), on which Shuh-sun bowed to him with his head to the ground. [Soon after], Ch'ih said to How Fan, 'It will not do for you to dwell here between T'e and Loo, and not be serving either of them. Why not ask to be allowed to do service to T'e, and so present yourself to the people with its authority? If you do not do so, they will revolt from you.'

"How Fan took his advice, and [ere long] a messenger arrived from T'e, for whom Sze Ch'ih and some others spread the report through the city, that How Fan was going to exchange How for a city in T'e, and that T'e would remove to it the people of How. The people were indignant and frightened, on which Ch'ih said to How Fan, 'The people talk differently from what they did. You had better make an exchange with T'e. That is better than dying here. It will be another How, and you will be at ease there; why must you stick to this city? The people of T'e wish to have this, and so be near to [the capital of] Loo;—they will be sure to give you as much territory again. And why not place a large number of buff-coats near your gate, to be prepared for any unexpected movement?' 'Very well,' said How Fan, and accordingly he placed a number of buff-coats [at his gate]. He [also] asked leave of T'e to make an exchange with it of How, and [it was arranged that] a commissioner should come from that State to view the city. Just before his arrival, Ch'ih sent men to run about everywhere, crying out, 'The army of T'e is come.' The people were in

great alarm, got between the buff-coats and the gate, and held How Fan in siege. Ch'ih proposed shooting at them, but Fan stopped him, saying, 'Try to get me off.' He then asked to be allowed to leave the place, which the people granted. Ch'ih preceded him to Suh, and Fan himself went last of all. Whenever he went out at a gate, the people shut it. When he had got to the gate in the suburbs, they stopped him saying, 'You are going away with the buff-coats of the Shuh-sun family. If the officers require them from us, we are afraid we shall have to die.' See Ch'ih said (He must have returned from Suh), 'Shuh-sun's buff-coats have their own mark. We do not dare to take them with us.' How Fan said to him, 'Do you stop, and number them with them.' Ch'ih accordingly stayed, and delivered the buff-coats to the men of Loo. How Fan fled to T'e, and the people of that State gave the city over to Loo.

Par. 8. Kung-yung has 世 for 大. See the 1st narr. appended to par. 1 of last year, where this par. is anticipated.

Par. 9, 12. Here and afterwards, Kung-yung has 池 for 地, as the name of the prince. Both he and Shin were brothers of the duke. After 豎 in par. 12 Kung and Kah introduce 宋.

The Chuen says:—The Kung-tze Te of Sung was so much attached to Kên Foo-lieh, that he divided his property into 11 parts, and gave him 8 of them. He had 4 white horses, which the duke's favourite Hsiao Tuy wanted to get; and the duke gave them to him, having coloured their manes and tails red. Te was enraged, and made his servants beat Tuy, and take the horses from him. Tuy was afraid, and going to run away, when the duke shut his gate, and wept over him, till his eyes were quite swollen.

"T'e's own brother Shin, said to him, 'You divided your property, and gave [half] to Lieh. That you should make an exception of Tuy, and humiliate him, was an act of partiality. You must show respect to the ruler. If you just cross the borders, he will be sure to send and stop you.' [On this] Te fled to Ch'iu, without the duke's stopping him; and when Shin interceded for him, the duke would not listen to him. Shin then said, 'It was I who deceived my elder brother. If I leave the State taking the people with me, whom will you have to stop with you?' In winter he left and fled to Ch'iu, along with Chung T'e and Shih K'ow.

Par. 10. Kung-yung has simply 董 for 安甫. Where Gau-poo was has not been ascer-



tained. The meeting of the three States shows how disaffection to Tsin continued to grow, and the dread of it to become less.

PAR. 11. This visit was no doubt to express the acknowledgments of Loo for the surrender to it of How, and for other favours received from Te's during the year. The Chun says:—Woo-shuh went on a complimentary visit to Te's, when the marquis entertained him; and said to him, "Sir Shuh-sun, if How had been in another part of your ruler's State, I should have

taken no knowledge of it; but as it immediately adjoins my own State, I assisted your ruler in his trouble about it." Woo-shuh replied, "That was not what my ruler expected. His service of your lordship depends on his [command of his] territories, and the [stability of his] altars. How dared I trouble your lordship's officers with my domestics? And a bad subject is an object of indignation to all under heaven;—your lordship should not consider what you did as a special gift to my ruler."

*Eleventh year.*

十<sup>二</sup>有一年春宋  
公之弟辰及仲  
佗石彊公子地  
自陳入于蕭以  
叛。夏四月。  
秋宋樂大心自  
曹入于蕭。  
冬及鄭平叔還  
如鄭涖盟。

左傳曰十  
一年春宋  
公母弟辰  
暨仲佗石  
彊公子地  
入于蕭以  
叛。秋樂大  
心從之。  
爲宋患。  
龍向魑故也。  
冬及鄭平  
始叛晉也。

- XI. 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, with Chung T'ao, Shih K'ow, and the Kung-tsze Te, [returning] from Ch'ín, entered Sēaou, and held it in revolt.
- 2 It was summer, the fourth month.
- 3 In autumn, Yoh Ta-sin entered Sēaou from Ts'aou.
- 4 In winter, we made peace with Ch'ing, and Shuh Seuen proceeded thither to make a covenant.

PAR. 1, 3. Here we find all who were described as flying from Sung last year returning to it in a way which was, as Tso-she says, 'very distressing to Sung, and all because of the duke's favouritism for Hsiang Tui.' In par. 1 a prominence in the return and revolt is given to the Kung-tsze Shin. Sēaou,—see V. xxx. 6. It was then a small attached State of Sung, having been raised to that distinction about the

12th year of Chwang. This State was extinguished by T'ao in the 12th year of Seuen, and Seuen became again a simple city of Sung.

PAR. 4. Shuh Seuen was the successor to Shuh E, whose death is mentioned in X. xxix. 3, as head of the Shuh family. Tso-she observes that in this peace and covenant Loo took his first public step in revolting from Tsin. It had made an incursion into Ch'ing in the duke's 6th year at the requisition of Tsin.



## Twelfth year.

一十有二年春薛伯定卒。  
二夏葬薛襄公。  
三叔孫州仇帥師墮郕。  
四衛公孟驅帥師伐曹。  
五季孫斯仲孫何忌帥師墮費。  
六秋大雩。  
七冬十月癸亥公會  
八齊侯盟于黃。  
九十有一月丙寅朔日有食之。  
十公至自黃。  
十一十有二月公圍  
十二成。公至自圍成。

左傳曰十二年夏衛公孟驅伐曹克郊還滑羅殿未出不退於列其御曰殿而在列其爲無勇乎羅曰與其素厲寧爲無勇。  
 仲由爲季氏宰將墮三都於是叔孫氏墮郕季氏將墮費公山不狃叔孫輒帥費人以鷁魯公與三子入於季氏之宮登武子之臺費人攻之弗克入及公側仲尼命申句須樂頎下伐之費人北國人追之敗諸姑蔑二子奔齊遂墮費將墮成公斂處父謂孟孫墮成齊人必至於北門且成孟氏之保障也無成是無孟氏也子僞不知我將不墮冬十二月公圍成弗克。

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, Ting, earl of S'eh, died.  
 2 In summer, there was the burial of duke S'ang of S'eh.  
 3 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew led a force, and pulled down the walls of How.  
 4 Kung-m'ang K'ow of Wei led a force, and invaded Ts'au.  
 5 Ke-sun Sze and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and pulled down the walls of Pe.



- 6 In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-hae, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, when they made a covenant in Hwang.
- 8 In the eleventh month, on Ping-yin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 9 The duke arrived from Hwang.
- 10 In the twelfth month, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing.
- 11 The duke arrived from besieging Ching.

PAR. 1, 2. Ting had been earl of Szech for 3 years, and was succeeded by his son Pe (比). Kao K'ang observes that the death of 3 earls of Szech is recorded in the Ch'un T'ew; but in no case is the day or month of their burial given,—through the indifference of the historiographers. Evidently they did not think it worth their while to be particular about so small a State. It is of no use to look for great meanings, as many critics do, in these omissions of dates.

PAR. 3, 5. 墮 is pronounced both to and hwei, the second sound being taken probably, from 毀 which has the same meaning. Mao says, 所云墮者謂毀其城壞其郭夷其隄塞使失所險阻而無可憑也, the term thus indicating the entire dismantling of the cities, the overthrow of all their walls and outworks. We could wish that we had more information as to how this movement originated, and how far it was proposed to carry it. How, Pe, and Ch'ing were the principal cities of the three clans, which had long got all the power of Loo into their hands. Each of the cities was fortified in the strongest manner, and could defy any attempts of the marquises against them. Latterly, however, the chiefs had found these engines of their influence turned against themselves. How Fan had held How in revolt, and defied Shuh-sun. First Nan Kwai and then Kung-sun Puh-n'w had held Pe; and Kung-l'ien Ch'oo-foo was in Ch'ing, all but independent of the Mang-sun or the State. The three chiefs thus found their weapons turned against themselves, and were prepared to listen to the exhortations of Confucius, who was at this time minister of Crime, and advocated the dismantling of their cities, as an important step towards restoring the authority of the ruler of the State, and establishing an impartial justice throughout its borders. The sage was seconded by T'ao-loo, or Chung Yew, one of his most energetic disciples, who was in the employment of the Ke family. The Chuen says:—Chung

Yew was [at this time] steward to Ke-she, and proposed dismantling the three capitals [of the clans]. On this Shuh-sun dismantled How, and Ke-sun was going to do the same with Pe. Kung-sun Puh-n'w, however, and Shuh-sun Ch'eh, led the men of Pe to surprise the capital. The duke with the 3 chiefs entered the palace of Ke-she, and ascended the tower of Woo-t'ze. There the men of Pe attacked them unsuccessfully, but they penetrated near to the duke's side. [On this], Chung-ne ordered Shin K'uen-sen and Yui K'e to go down and attack them. The men of Pe were defeated and fled, pursued by the people, who defeated them [again] at Koo-m'eh. Their two leaders fled to Ts'e, and Pe was dismantled."

PAR. 4. The Chuen says:—In summer, Kung-mang K'ow invaded Ts'ao, and reduced K'ao. In his retreat, Hwah Lo had the charge of defending the rear, but he did not leave the ranks of the main body, until they had crossed [the border of Ts'ao]. His charioteer said to him, "Does it not seem as if you were deficient in courage to be keeping in the ranks, when you should be in the rear?" Lo replied, "It is better to [seem to] be without courage than to make a useless display of defiance."

PAR. 7. Kung-yang gives wrongly 晉侯 instead of 齊侯. Hwang,—see II. xii. 1. Too thinks this covenant was to confirm the revolt of Loo from Tsai.

PAR. 8. This eclipse took place in the forenoon of Sept. 15th, B.C. 497.

PAR. 10, 11. The Chuen says:—It was intended to dismantle Ch'ing; but Kung-l'ien Ch'oo-foo said to Mang-sun, "If you dismantle Ch'ing, the men of Ts'e will [soon] be at the north gate. Ch'ing, moreover, is the sure defence of the Mang family. If there be no Ch'ing, there will be no Mang-she. Do you pretend that you do not know anything about it, and I will not dismantle the place." In winter, in the 12th month, the duke laid siege to Ch'ing, but he could not take it.

Thus the work of reformation was stopped. About this time, too, Confucius was obliged by the intrigues of Ts'e and the falling off from him of Ke-she, to abandon Loo.



Thirteenth year.

十<sup>一</sup>有三年春齊侯衛侯次

于垂葭。

夏築蛇淵囿。

大蒐于比蒲。

衛公孟彊帥師伐曹。

秋晉趙鞅入于晉陽以叛。

冬晉荀寅士吉射入于朝

歌以叛。

晉趙鞅歸于晉。

薛弑其君比。

左傳曰十三年春齊侯衛侯次于垂葭實郕氏使師伐晉將濟河大夫皆曰不可邴意茲曰可銳師伐河內傳必數日而後及絳絳不三月不能出河則我既濟水矣乃伐河內齊侯皆斂諸大夫之軒唯邴意茲乘軒齊侯欲與衛侯乘與之宴而駕乘廣載甲焉使告曰晉師至矣齊侯曰比君之駕也寡人請攝乃介而與之乘驅之或告曰無晉師乃止

晉趙鞅謂邴邴午曰歸我衛貢五百家吾舍諸晉陽午許諾歸告其父兄父兄皆曰不可衛是以爲邴邴而冀諸晉陽絕衛之道也不如侵齊而謀之乃如之而歸之於晉陽趙孟怒召午而囚諸晉陽使其從者說劍而入涉賓不可乃使告邴邴人曰吾私有討於午也二子唯所欲立遂殺午趙稷涉賓以邴邴叛夏六月上軍司馬籍秦圍邴邴邴午荀寅之甥也荀寅范吉射之姻也而相與睦故不與圍邴邴將作亂董安于聞之告趙孟曰先備諸趙孟曰晉國有命始禍者死爲後可也安子曰與其害於民寧我獨死請以我說趙孟不可秋七月范氏中行氏伐趙氏之宮趙鞅奔晉陽晉人圍之



范臯夷無寵於范吉射，而欲爲亂於范氏，梁嬰父嬖於知文子，文子欲以爲卿，韓簡子與中行文子相惡，魏襄子亦與范昭子相惡，故五子謀將逐荀寅，而以梁嬰父代之，逐范吉射，而以范臯夷代之，荀躒言於晉侯曰：「君命大臣，始禍者死。」載書在河，今三臣始禍而獨逐鞅，刑已不鈞矣。請皆逐之。冬十一月，荀躒、韓不信、魏曼多奉公以伐范氏，中行氏弗克，二子將伐公。齊高彊曰：「三折肱知爲良醫，唯伐君爲不可，民弗與也。」我以伐君在此矣。三家未睦，可盡克也。克之，君將誰與？若先伐君，是使睦也。弗聽，遂伐公。國人助公，二子敗，從而伐之。丁未，荀寅、士吉射奔朝歌。韓魏以趙氏爲請，十二月辛未，趙鞅入于絳，盟于公宮。⑤初，衛公叔文子朝而請享，靈公退見史黯而告之，史黯曰：「子必禍矣。」子富而君貪，罪其及子乎？文子曰：「然，吾不先告子，是吾罪也。」君既許我矣，其若之何？史黯曰：「無害，子臣可以免富而能臣，必免於難。」上下同之，成也。驕其亡乎？富而不驕者鮮，吾唯子之見驕而不亡者，未之有也。成必與焉。及文子卒，衛侯始惡於公叔戌，以其富也。公叔戌又將去夫人之黨，夫人憫之曰：「戌將爲亂。」

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at Ch'uy-k'ea.  
 2 In summer, we enclosed the park of Shay-yuen.  
 3 There was a grand review at P'ie-p'oo.  
 4 Kung-māng K'ow of Wei led a force and invaded Ts'aou.  
 5 In autumn, Chaou Yang of Tsin entered into Tsin-yang, and held it in revolt.  
 6 In winter, Seun Yin and Sze Keih-shih of Tsin entered into Chaou-ko and held it in revolt.  
 7 Chaou Yang of Tsin returned to [the capital of] that State.  
 8 S'eh murdered its ruler Pe.

Par. 1. K'uh-k'ang has no 衛侯, and Kung-yang has 瑕 instead of 蔑. Ch'uy-k'ea, or as it was also called Keih-shu (即氏), was in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Ken-yay, (鉅野), dep. Ts'au-chow. As to the force of 次, see on IX. 5. Too says here, that the two princes were intending to send a force against Tsin, and halted here themselves, to succour it if necessary.

The Chouan say:—'The marquises halted at Ch'uy-k'ea, or Keih-shu, and sent a force to invade Tsin. When it was about to cross the Ho, the great officers all objected to its doing so;

but Ping E-tze said, "We can do so. A light-armed force can attack the country inside the Ho (in the pres. dep. of Wei-hway, Ho-nan). It will take several days to transmit the news to K'iang, and troops from K'iang cannot be on the Ho in less than 3 months, by which time we shall have crossed the river again." Accordingly they ravaged the country inside the Ho. The marquis of Ts'e called in the conveyances of all the great officers, and only Ping E-tze was allowed to use his.

'The marquis wished to ride in the same carriage with the marquis of Wei; and [to bring this about], he asked him to a feast, and caused a large war chariot to be yoked, with buff-coats in it. Then he made word [suddenly] be



brought that the army of Tain was coming, and said to his guest, "Till your lordship's carriage is yoked, I beg to offer you mine instead." He then put on his armour, and they rode together, driving very fast. [By and by], some one told them that there was no army of Tain; and they stopped.

Par. 2. Shai-yuen was in the south of the pres. dis. of Feh (肥), dep. Tso-man. The summer was not the season for such an undertaking. "We may be sure," says Le Luen, "that by this time the master had nothing to do with the government of Loo." Camp. VIII. xviii. 10; X. ix. 5.

Par. 3. See X. xi. 5.

Par. 4. This attack was made, it is supposed, because T'aoou would not join in the revolt against Tain.

Par. 5. Tain-yang was a city and district of Tain,—the principal seat of the Chaoou clan;—in the pres. dis. of Tso-yuen, dep. T'ao-yuen (太原), Shan-se.

The Chuen says:—Chaoou Yang of Tain said to Woo, [the commandant] of Han-tan, "Make over to me the 500 families rendered to you by Wei, and I will set them in Tain-yang." Woo agreed to do so; but, on his return home, he told the elders of his family about the matter, and they all objected, saying, "It is on account of these families that Han-tan enjoys the favour of Wei. If you place them in Tain-yang, you will cut off the communication between us and Wei. You had better make an incursion into T'ao, and then take counsel about the matter, [as if you sent them away for fear of T'ao]." Woo accordingly adopted this plan, and sent the families to Tain-yang. Chaoou-ming was angry, called Woo to him, and imprisoned him in Tain-yang, causing his followers to give up their swords before they entered [the city], which, however, Shieh Pin refused to do. He then sent word to the men of Han-tan that for some private reasons he had punished Woo, and would appoint any other [of his family] whom they wished in his place. Immediately after, he put Woo to death; but Chaoou Tseih (Woo's son) and Shieh Pin held Han-tan in revolt against him. In summer, in the 6th month, Tseih Tsin, marshal of the 1st army, laid siege to Han-tan. Woo of Han-tan had been a nephew of Seun Yin, and Seun Yin's son had married a daughter of Fan Keih-shih. Thus these chiefs of the Seun and Fan families were friendly together, and therefore they took no part in the siege of Han-tan, and intended to make a rising. Tung Gan-yu heard of their purpose, and told it to Chaoou-ming, saying that he should be prepared for them beforehand. That minister replied, "There is an order of the State that he who commences an insurrection shall die. I will wait for them." "Then that the people should be injured, I," said Gan-yu, "should prefer to die alone. [Make your preparations, and] explain your doing as by [throwing the blame on] me." Chaoou-ming, however, refused to do so.

"In autumn, in the 7th month, the Fan and the Chung-hang attacked the palace of the Chaoou, when Yang fled to Tain-yang, where they came from the capital and besieged him."

The above narrative seems hardly to bear out the statement of the text that "Chaoou-yang

held Tain-yang in revolt." Maou says:—"Chaoou-yang fled to Tain-yang to escape the danger with which he was threatened; and how is it that the text says he held it in revolt? Tain-yang was a city of Tain; but Chaoou-yang looked upon it as his own, and wished to remove people from elsewhere to fill it; this done, he further regarded it as an independent State, and resided in it the army of Tain, so that it no longer belonged to Tain. This might be described as revolt, and from this time the Chaoou family wanted to dismember Tain." If the Fan and the Seun were acting against Yang by the orders of the ruler he was certainly in opposition to the government, and a rebel; if they were acting on their own authority, or authority extorted from the marquise, a justification of his course might be pleaded. Only one thing is plain, that the rulers of Tain, once all-powerful, were now reduced as low as the rulers of Loo.

Par. 6. Chaoou-ko was the old capital of Yin, and at this time belonged to Tain. It was in the north of the pres. dis. of K'e (淇); dep. Wei-hwuy. Ho-nan. The Chuen says:—"Fan K'aoou did not find favour with Fan Keih-shih, and wished to create an insurrection in the Fan family. Lêng Ying-foo was a favourite with Che Wan-tze (Seun Leih), who wished to have him made a minister. Han K'aoou-tze was on bad terms with Chung-hang Wan-tze (Seun Yin), as was Wei Shiang-tze with Fan Ch'aoou-tze (Fan Keih-shih). These five took counsel together how they might expel Seun Yin and Fan Keih-shih, and got Lêng Ying-foo substituted for the former, and Fan K'aoou-tze for the latter. Seun Leih said to the marquise, "Your lordship gave a command to your great servants that the first who disturbed the peace should die. The words of it [were sunk] in the Ho. Three officers have now disturbed the peace, and only Yang has been driven out. Punishment is not equally distributed. I beg that all the three may be driven out."

"In winter, in the 11th month, Seun Leih, Han Puh-shin (K'aoou-tze), and Wei Man-to (Shiang-tze) carried the marquise with them, and attacked, without success, the Fan and the Chung-hang. The chiefs of these two families prepared to attack the marquise, but K'aoou K'ang of T'ao (A refugee in Tain. See the Chaoou on X. x. 2) said to them, "I know he is a good physician [who can heal] an arm broken in 2 places; but it is wrong to attack your ruler. The people will not side with you. I am here because I attacked my ruler. The three families (their opponents:—the Che represented by Seun Leih; the Han, and the Wei) are not on good terms among themselves, and may all be overcome. Reduce them, and with whom will the ruler find himself? If you first attack him, you will make them harmonious." They would not listen to him, but attacked the marquise, who was aided by the people of the capital. The chiefs were defeated, pursued, and attacked in their turn, and on Ting-wu, Seun Yin and Fan Keih-shih fled to Chaoou-ko."

Kung-yang has a 及 in the text after 寅. Seun Yin and Sze (or Fan) Keih-shih might properly be described as revolters.

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—"The chiefs of the Han and Wei made intercession for Chaoou-shih; and in the 12th month, on Sin-wu, Chaoou



Yang entered K'ang, and made a covenant in the marquis's palace.

We are left to form our own judgment on this event. The K'ang-he editors say that it is recorded by the sage to condemn the marquis of Tsai for failing to punish Chao Yang. Many critics have sought to vindicate the pardon and restoration of Yang on various grounds. The probability is that the marquis could not help himself, but was obliged to do as the great chiefs told him. The narratives about Yang bring before us, however, very distinctly, the six families which now divided the power of Tsai:—those of Chao, Han, Wei, Cho, Fan, and Chung-hang. We see also premonitions of the rise of the former three over the latter. A shadow is thrown before of the division of the great State of Tsai into the three States of Chao, Han, and Wei.

PAR. 8. The succession of Pe to S'eh was noticed on the 1st and 2d parr. of last year. Not one of the Chuen says anything of the circumstances of his death or murder, as the text calls it. He was followed by his son E, duke Hwuy (惠公夷).

[The Chuen gives here the following narrative about Wei:—'Before this, Kung-shuh Wan-tse, of Wei went to court, and begged that duke Ling would accept an entertainment from him. As he was retiring, he saw the historiographer Ts'ew, and told him, who said, "You are sure to meet with misfortune. You are rich, and the ruler is covetous. Some offence will be charged against you." "Yes," replied Wan-tse, "it was my fault that I did not tell you before. But the ruler has promised; what is to be done?" "There is no harm," said the historiographer. "Deport yourself as a subject, and you will escape. When a rich man can so deport himself, he will escape danger. It is thus with both high and low. But [your son] Shoo is proud, and is like to come to ruin. There are few who are rich without being proud. You are the only exception that I have seen. There has never been a case of a proud man, who did not come to ruin. Shoo is sure to fall into calamity." When Wan-tse was dead, the marquis of Wei began to hate Kung-shuh Shoo,—because of his riches. Shoo also wished to send away the partisans of the marchioness (The famous Nan Tze. See Ana. VI. xxvi.), and she accused him of intending to produce an insurrection.]

*Fourteenth year.*

十<sup>一</sup>章 十有四年春，衛公叔戌來奔。  
 二<sup>三</sup>章 衛趙陽出奔宋。二月辛巳，楚公  
 子結、陳公孫佗人帥師滅頓，以頓  
 子牂歸。夏，衛北宮結來奔。  
 五<sup>五</sup>章 五月，於越敗吳于檣李。  
 六<sup>六</sup>章 吳子光卒。公會齊侯、衛侯于牽。  
 八<sup>八</sup>章 公至自會。秋，齊侯、宋公會于洮。  
 十<sup>十</sup>章 天王使石尚來歸賑。  
 十一<sup>十一</sup>章 衛世子蒯聵出奔宋。  
 十二<sup>十二</sup>章 衛公孟彊出奔鄭。



十三  
宋公之

弟辰自

蕭來奔。

十四  
大蒐于

比蒲。

十五  
邾子來

會公。

十六  
城莒父。

及霄。

左傳曰十四年春衛侯逐公叔戌與其黨故趙陽奔宋戌來奔。

○梁嬰父惡董安于謂知文子曰不殺安于使終爲政於趙氏趙氏必得晉國蓋以其先發難

也討於趙氏文子使告於趙孟曰范中行氏雖信爲亂安于則發之是安于與謀亂也晉國有

命始禍者死二子既伏其罪矣敢以告趙孟思之安于曰我死而晉國寧趙氏定將焉用生人

誰不死吾死莫矣乃縊而死趙孟尸諸市而告於知氏曰主命戮罪人安于既伏其罪矣敢以

告知伯從趙孟盟而後趙氏定祀安于於廟

顧子詳欲事晉晉楚而絕陳好二月楚滅頓

夏衛北宮結來奔公叔戌之故也

吳伐越越子勾踐禦之陳於槁李勾踐患吳之整也使死士再禽焉不動使罪人三行觸劍於

頸而辭曰二君有治臣奸旗鼓不敏於君之行前不敢逃刑敢歸死遂自刎也師屬之目越子

因而伐之大敗之靈姑浮以戈擊闔廬闔廬傷將指取其一履還卒於陘去槁李七里夫差使

人立於庭苟出入必謂己曰夫差而忘越王之殺而父乎則對曰唯不敢忘三年乃報越

晉人圍朝歌公會齊侯衛侯於脾上梁之間謀救范中行氏析成魴小王桃甲率狄師以襲晉

戰於絳中不克而還士酈奔周小王桃甲入於朝歌

秋齊侯宋公會于洮范氏故也

衛侯爲夫人南子召宋朝會于洮犬子蒯聵獻孟於齊過宋野野人歌之曰既定爾婁豬盍歸

吾艾輶犬子羞之謂戲陽速曰從我而朝少君少君見我我顧乃殺之速曰諾乃朝夫人夫人

見犬子犬子三顧速不進夫人見其色啼而走曰蒯聵將殺余公執其手以登臺犬子奔宋盡

見犬子犬子三顧速不進夫人見其色啼而走曰蒯聵將殺余公執其手以登臺犬子奔宋盡



逐其黨，故公孟彊  
出奔鄭，自鄭奔齊。  
犬子告人曰：戲陽  
速禍余，戲陽速告  
人曰：犬子則禍余。  
犬子無道，使余殺  
其母，余不許，將戕  
於余，若殺夫人，將  
以余說，余是故許  
而弗爲，以紓余死。  
諺曰：民保於信，吾  
以信義也。  
○冬，十二月，晉人  
敗范中行氏之師  
於潞，獲籍秦、高彊  
又敗鄭師及范氏  
之師於百泉。

- XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Kung-shuh Shoo of Wei came a fugitive to Loo.  
2 Chaou Yang of Wei fled from that State to Sung.  
3 In the second month, the Kung-tsze K'eh of Ts'oo, and the Kung-sun T'o-jin of Ch'in, led a force and extinguished Tun, carrying Tsang, the viscount of Tun, back with them [to Ts'oo.]  
4 In summer, Pih-kung K'eh of Wei came a fugitive to Loo.  
5 In the fifth month, Yu-yueh defeated Woo at Tsuy-le.  
6 Kwang, viscount of Woo, died.  
7 The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Ts'e and Wei in K'een.  
8 The duke arrived from the meeting.  
9 In autumn, the marquis of Ts'e and the duke of Sung had a meeting in T'au.  
10 The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shih Shang to Loo with a present of the flesh of sacrifice.  
11 Kwae-wae, heir-son of Wei, fled from that State to Sung.  
12 Kung-m'ang K'ow of Wei fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
13 Shin, younger brother of the duke of Sung, came a fugitive to Loo from S'au.  
14 There was a grand review in P'e-p'oo.  
15 The viscount of Shoo came and had a meeting with the duke.  
16 We walled Keu-foo and S'au.

Parr. 1, 2. We have here the sequel of the narrative at the end of last year. The Chuen says here:—“This spring, the marquis of Wei drove out Kung-shuh Shoo and his partisans, in consequence of which Chaou Yang fled to Sung, and Shoo came a fugitive to Loo.”

Kung and K'eh both have, in parr. 2, 晉趙陽 for 衛趙陽, misread, probably, by the 晉趙鞅 in parr. 5 and 7 of last year.

[The Chuen appends here a continuation of affairs in Tsai:—Liang Ying-foo hated Tung Gan-yu, and said to Che Wan-tze (Seun Leih), “If you do not kill Gan-yu, but allow him to continue to direct the affairs of the Chao family, Chao-she is sure to get the State of Tsai; why not require Chao-she to punish him, on the ground that he was the first to excite our

[recent] troubles?” Wan-tze sent a representation to that effect to Chao-she, saying, “Although the Fan and the Chung-hang did really rise in insurrection, yet it was Gan-yu who provoked them. He was chargeable with the same crime as they. It is a law of Tsai that they who commence to disturb the peace should die. Those two chiefs have suffered for their crime; and I venture to subvert the case to you.” Chao-m'ang was troubled about the matter, but Gan-yu said, “If by my death the State of Tsai get repose, and the Chao family be established, why should I live? What man must not die? I shall [only] die [too] late.” Accordingly he strangled himself. Chao-m'ang exposed his body in the market-place, and sent word to Che-she, saying, “You ordered me to put to death the criminal Gan-yu. He has suffered for his crime, and I presume to inform



you of it." Che Pih made a covenant in consequence with Chou-ming, and then the Chou family was established, and married to Gan-yu in its ancestral temple.]

Par. 3. Tun had long been subservient to T'oo, and obedient to its call; but we saw in the 4th year how it transferred its allegiance to Tsin; and it now suffered for doing so. Chin however, was then among the revolters from T'oo, and here we find it aiding that State in its vengeance upon Tun. It must have found means to make its peace for the time with its powerful superior. Kung-yang has here 三

月 instead of 二月, 公子佗人 instead of 公孫佗人; and 糶 for 祥.

The Chuen says:—T'ang, viscount of Tan, wishing to serve Tsin, had rebelled against T'oo, and broken off its friendship with Chin. In the 2d month, T'oo extinguished Tun.

Par. 4. Tao observes that Pih-kung Kieh now fled to Loo, on account of [the affair of] Kung-shuh Shoo. Nan Tze was the cause of all the disturbances of Wei. K'ao K'ang says, "Duke Ling of Wei gave ear implicitly to what was told him in the harem. It was thus he sent out as fugitives the hereditary servants of the State, and all who favoured them. The State in fact was thus placed by him at the disposal of his harem."

Par. 5, 6. Kung-yang has 醉 for 搢. T'uy-le was in Woo;—45 & south of the present city of Kien-hing (嘉興) dep. Kien-hing, Chieh-keang. The Chuen says:—Woo invaded Yuch, and was met by Kow-tsen, viscount of Yuch. The two armies were drawn up at T'uy-le, when Kow-tsen, distressed by the order and steadiness of the troops of Woo, sent a body of men resolved to sell their lives, who made two daring attempts to break in upon them, but they did not move from their place. He [then] sent three lines of criminals, who held swords to their throats, and addressed their opponents, saying, "Your ruler and ours are here in the field of battle, and we are servants who have violated [the laws of his] flags and drums. We are here inactive before your ruler's tanks, and do not dare to flee from the punishment [which is our due];—we dare to go home to death." And with this they all cut their throats. The army of Woo was looking at them with fixed eyes, when the viscount of Yuch took the opportunity, and made an attack which was the prelude to a great defeat. Ling Koo-fow struck Hoh-lun with a great lance, and cut off one of his great toes, and carried away one of his shoes. [The viscount of Woo] then retreated and died at Hing. 7 & from T'uy-le. Foo-ch'ao (his son) made a man stand in his court, and say to him, whenever he came out or went in, "Foo-ch'ao, have you forgotten that the king of Yuch killed your father?" to whom he would reply, "Here I am, I dare not forget it." Three years after this he repaid Yuch for the affair.

Par. 7. Kung-yang has 堅 for 牽. The place was in Wei;—in the present dia. of Seun (潁), dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. The object of the meeting was to relieve the siege of Chou-ko, as the Chuen says:—The men of Tsin were besieging Chou-ko when the duke had a meet-

ing with the marquises of T'ao and Wei, between Pe and Shang-jang, to take counsel about relieving the chiefs of the Fan and Chung-hang clans (See par. 4 of last year). Foo of Self-ching and Sseu-wang T'ao-k'ieh led a force of Tsch to surprise [the capital of] Tsin, and fought in it, but were unsuccessful and retired. Sseu Foo fled to Chow, and Sseu-wang T'ao-k'ieh entered Chou-ko.

Par. 9. T'ao,—see V. viii. 1. This meeting, like the one at K'ien, was on account of the Fan family, and other revolters in Tsin. The K'ang-ho editors say, "At this time, Wei had its difficulties with Kung-shuh Shoo, and Sung its difficulties with the Kung-tse Shin. [Duke] King of T'ao could not settle their disorders for those States, but took counsel with their rulers how they could help the revolted subjects of Tsin. Wei and Sung, unable themselves to bring their own revolted subjects to order, could do nothing but follow T'ao;—they were all of them wrong."

Par. 10. 石 is the clan name, and 尙 is the name; from which the critics conclude the envoy must have been simply of the rank of an officer (天王之士). 脰 is the name of the flesh used by the king in sacrifice (祭肉);—especially of that offered at the altar of the land. A portion of this was put into the shell of a large bivalve, and sent round to the different princes of the surname Ko. The bivalve was called 蜃 and hence the flesh thus sent got the name of 脰. There has been no mention of any complimentary visit from the court of Chow to Loo since the 10th year of duke Seven. How it came to observe this special rule just at this time, it is not worth while to consider; but as Confucius had a short time before this left Loo, because the duke did not observe the rule of sending portions of the sacrificial flesh to his great officers, that circumstance may have led him to give the event of the text a place in the Ch'ün T'ew.

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—"The marquises of Wei, to gratify his wife Nan Tze, had invited Chou of Sung (Her brother) to his court. At the meeting at T'ao, Kwao-wae, eldest son of the marquise, had presented [the city of] Yu to T'ao; and as he was [returning] through the country of Sung, the country-people sang to him.

"Since you have allayed the heat of your sow, Why not send back our old bear?"

The prince was ashamed, and said to Sui of He-yang, "Follow me, when I visit the duchess; and when she sees me, and I look round, do you kill her." Sui agreed to this. The prince accordingly went to the court of the marchioness, who saw him, but though he looked round thrice, Sui did not advance. The marchioness observed his countenance, burst into tears, and ran off, crying, "The prince is going to kill me." The marquise took her by the hand, and went up with her into a tower. [On this] the prince fled to Sung, and all belonging to his party were driven out of the State. It was in consequence of this that Kung-mang Kow fled to Ching, and from Ching to T'ao.



'The prince said to people that Suh of He-yang had been the occasion of his calamity, but Suh [on the other hand] told people that the prince had brought calamity on him. "Contrary to all principle," he said, "the prince wanted me to kill his mother, and said that if I did not consent he would kill me. If I had killed the marchioness, he would have thrown the blame on me. I agreed to do it therefore, but did not do it, wishing to defer my death. The common saying is that people preserve themselves by good faith. I held that the good faith must be in regard to what is righteous."

Par. 12. See the preceding narrative.

Par. 13. See X. 12 and XL 1. Why Shin alone of all the insurgents in Season fled from Sung, if indeed it were so, we do not know.

Par. 14. See par. 3 of last year.

Par. 15. It is to be understood that it was to P'e-p'oo that the viscount of Choo came. Com-

pare III. xalii. 7, where a visit is paid to duke Chwang at Kuh. Then the ceremonies of a court visit were observed, however, and we have 朝 instead of 會.

Par. 16. Keu-foo and Season were two cities of Loo, in the pres. Kuo Chow, dep. E-chow (沂州). Loo walled these two places, in case of hostilities from Tsin, whose superiority it no longer acknowledged.

The character for 'in the winter' it will be observed, has somehow been omitted or lost from the paragraphs of this year.

[The Chuen appends here:—'In winter, in the 12th month, the men of Tsin defeated the forces of Fan-she and Chung-hung-she at Loo, and captured Tseih Tsin and Kaon K'iang. They also defeated the forces of Ch'ing and of Fan-she at Pih-t'ienan.']

*Fifteenth year.*

十<sup>二</sup>有五年春王正月邾子來朝。  
 二<sup>三</sup>月辛丑楚子滅胡以胡子豹歸。  
 夏<sup>四</sup>五月辛亥郊。壬申公薨于高寢。  
 鄭<sup>六</sup>罕達帥師伐宋。齊侯衛侯次于渠<sup>九</sup>蔭。邾<sup>八</sup>子來奔喪。秋七月壬申<sup>九</sup>。  
 姒<sup>十</sup>氏卒。八月<sup>十</sup>庚辰朔日有食之。  
 九<sup>十</sup>月滕子來會葬。丁巳<sup>十二</sup>葬我君定公<sup>十一</sup>。  
 公<sup>十一</sup>雨不克葬戊午<sup>十四</sup>日下<sup>十四</sup>。乃克葬。  
 辛巳<sup>十三</sup>葬定姒。冬<sup>十四</sup>城漆。



左傳曰十五年春邾隱公來朝子貢觀焉邾子  
執玉高其容仰公受玉卑其容俯子貢曰以禮  
觀之二君者皆有死亡焉夫禮死生存亡之體  
也將左右周旋進退俯仰於是乎取之朝祀喪  
戎於是乎觀之今正月相朝而皆不度心已亡  
矣嘉事不體何以能久高仰驕也卑俯替也驕  
近亂替近疾君爲主其先亡乎  
吳之入楚也胡子盡俘楚邑之近胡者楚既定  
胡子豹又不事楚曰存亡有命事楚何爲多取  
費焉二月楚滅胡  
夏五月壬申公薨仲尼曰賜不幸言而中是使  
賜多言者也  
鄭卒達敗宋師於老丘  
齊侯衛侯次于邊渚謀救宋也  
秋七月壬申嬀氏卒不稱夫人不赴且不祔也  
葬定公雨不克襄事禮也  
葬定嬀不稱小君不成喪也  
冬城漆書不時告也

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Choo came to Loo on a court visit.
- 2 Field-mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died; and another was divined for.
- 3 In the second month, on Sin-ch'ow, the viscount of Ts'oo extinguished Hoo, and carried P'aou, viscount of Hoo, back with him to Ts'oo.
- 4 In summer, in the fifth month, on Sin-hae, we offered the border sacrifice.
- 5 On Jin-shin, the duke died in the high chamber.
- 6 Han Tah of Ch'ing led a force, and invaded Sung.
- 7 The marquises of Ts'e and Wei halted at K'eu-ch'oo.
- 8 The viscount of Choo came hurrying to the [ceremonies consequent on the duke's] death.
- 9 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jin-shin, the lady Sze died.
- 10 In the eighth month, on K'ang-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 11 In the ninth month, the viscount of T'ang came to be present at the [duke's] funeral.
- 12 On Ting-sze there should have been the interment of our ruler duke Ting; [but] the rain came down, so that it couldnot be carried out. On Mow-woo, in the afternoon, it was done.
- 13 On Sin-sze, there was the burial of Ting Sze.
- 14 In winter, we walled Ts'eih.



Par. 1. The viscount of Choo had a meeting, we saw last year, with the duke, at P'e-p'oo, and here we find him, at the beginning of this year, paying a formal visit at his court; and in summer he hurries to it again, as soon as he hears of the duke's death. There must have been great friendship, or some other cogent reason, to make him thus demean himself.

The Chuen here says:—When duke Yin of Choo appeared at the court of Loo, Tze-kung (One of Confucius' most famous disciples) witnessed [the ceremony between the two princes]. The viscount bore his symbol of jade [too] high, with his countenance turned upwards; the duke received it [too] low, with his countenance bent down. Tze-kung said, "Looking on [and judging] according to the rules of ceremony, the two rulers will [soon] die or go into exile. Those rules are [as] a stem from which grow life or death, preservation or ruin. We draw our conclusion from the manner in which parties move to the right or to the left, advance and recede, look down and look up; and we observe this at court-meetings and sacrifices, and occasions of death and war. It is now in the first month that these princes meet at court together, and they both violate the proper rules;—their minds are gone. On a festival occasion like this, unobservant of such an essential matter, how is it possible for them to continue long? The high symbol and upturned look are indicative of pride; the low symbol and look bent down are indicative of negligence. Pride is not far removed from disorder, and negligence is near to sickness. Our ruler is the host, and will probably be the first to die."

Par. 2, 4. See VIII. vii. 1. Here we are not told in what part the mice attacked the ox, but the animal died. The sacrifice, notwithstanding, was performed, though the 6th month was beyond the equinox, and the ceremony was therefore irregular.

Par. 8. Comp. par. 3 of last year. T'oo had the same grounds of resentment against Hoo as against Tun. The Chuen says here:—When Woo entered T'oo (IV. 13), the viscount of Hoo had plundered all the cities of T'oo which were near his State, and carried the people off. After T'oo was settled again, P'ao, the viscount of Hoo, still refused to do service to it, saying, "Preservation and ruin happen as appointed; why should I incur the numerous expenses connected with serving T'oo?" In the 2d month, T'oo extinguished Hoo.

Par. 5. T'oo says that 高寢 is the 'name of a place,' and for Ting to die here was not to die in his proper place. Thus of the eleven irregularities of Loo whose deaths have now been chronicled, only three Chwang, Soum, and Ching—died, as all ought to have done, in the 'State chamber.' Some critics however, with whom I am inclined to agree, take 高寢 as synonymous with 路寢. The critics dwell on the privilege which Ting possessed in the counsels of Confucius, which might have raised Loo to more than its ancient eminence among the States of the kingdom. That he did not avail himself long of them was a proof, they say, both of his own weakness, and of the averted regards from Loo of Heaven.

The Chuen says:—On the death of the duke, Chung-ne said, "It is unfortunate for Tze (Tze-kung; see on par. 1) that his words have proved correct;—it will make him a still greater talker."

Par. 6. The Chuen says that at this time 'Tah defeated an army of Sung at Laon-k'ew.' The Kung-tsze, who fled at first from Sung to Ch'iu (X. 9), subsequently took refuge in Ch'ing. This led to hostilities between the two States, which continued for many years (See XII. xii. 5). Kung-yang has 軒 for 罕.

Par. 7. Kung has 蓮蔭 for 渠蔭; and the Chuen calls the place 蓮蔭. Nothing is known of it, but that it was in Sung. "The marquises," says Tso, "halted here, to take counsel about succouring Sung; i.e., they consulted about succouring it, but did not do so."

Par. 8, 11. Both the things related here were contrary to rule. We have not hitherto met with an instance of the prince of one State hurrying to be present at the preparatory obsequies of the prince of another. The student will mark the difference between the terms 奔

and 會. The funeral took place, according to rule, 5 months after the death; and there was time to go to it without 'hurrying.' Not so with the coffin and other preparatory rites, which commenced immediately after the decease.

Par. 9, 13. Kuh-lêng has 弋 for 嬖. This lady Sze was the mother, it is generally supposed, of duke Gao, and a concubine of Ting. She has not in the former of these paragraphs, the title of 夫人 or wife, nor in the latter

the title of 少君, or marchioness, because, though Gao was now marquis, the year had not expired, and he had not the title. This is more likely than, the reason which Tso-the gives for the former omission,—that the lady's death was not communicated to other States, nor was her spirit-tablet placed in its proper place in the temple; and for the latter, that her funeral rites were imperfectly attended to.

Par. 10. This is the last of the eclipses recorded in the classic, and took place in the eleventh of July 16th, B.C. 494.

Par. 12. See on VII. viii. 9, 10. Tso-the observes here, as there, that to defer the burial, in consequence of the rain, was proper. In the Yih (under the diagram Fung—豐) we find 日中昃 'after mid-day is the afternoon.'

Kuh-lêng has 稷 for 昃.

Par. 14. T'ieh:—see IX. xxi. 2, where T'ieh treacherously passes from Choo to Loo. The fortifying the plain now appears to have been in contemplation of hostilities against Choo. Perhaps it was a knowledge of such a design against his State which made the viscount of Choo so anxious in his attentions to duke Ting alive and dead.



First year.

哀公

<sup>一</sup>元年春王正月公卽

位。

<sup>二</sup>楚子陳侯隨侯許男

圍蔡。

<sup>三</sup>麋鼠食郊牛改卜牛。

<sup>四</sup>夏四月辛巳郊。

<sup>五</sup>秋齊侯衛侯伐晉。

<sup>六</sup>冬仲孫何忌帥師伐

邾。

左傳曰元年春楚子圍蔡報柏舉也。里而裁廣丈高倍夫屯。晝夜九日如子西之素。蔡人男女以辨使疆於江汝之間而還蔡於是乎請遷於吳。

○吳王夫差敗越於夫椒報檣李也。遂入越。越子以甲楯五千保於會稽使大夫種因吳大宰嚭以行成。吳子將許之。伍員曰不可。臣聞之。樹德莫如滋。去疾莫如盡。昔有過澆殺斟灌以伐斟鄩滅夏后相。后緡方娠逃出自竇歸於有仍生少康焉。爲仍牧正。昆澆能戒之。澆使椒求之。逃奔有虞爲之庖正。以除其害。虞思於是妻之以二姚而邑諸綸有田一成有衆一旅。能布其德而兆其謀以收夏衆撫其官職。使改艾諱澆使季杼誘殺之。遂滅過。戈復禹之績祀夏配天不失舊物。今吳不如過而越大於少康或將豐之不亦難乎。勾踐能親而務施施不失人親不棄勞與我同壤而世爲仇讐於是乎克而弗取將又存之違天而長寇讐後雖悔之不可食已。姬



之衰也，日可俟也。介在蠻夷，而長寇讐，以是求伯，必不行矣。弗聽，退而告人曰：越十年生聚，而十年教訓，二十年之外，吳其爲沼乎？三月，越及吳平。吳入越，不書。吳不告慶，越不告敗也。

⑤夏四月，齊侯、衛侯、救邯鄲，圍五鹿。

⑥吳之入楚也，使召陳懷公。懷公朝國人而問焉，曰：欲與楚者右，欲與吳者左。陳人從田，無田從黨，逢滑當公而進，曰：臣聞國之興也以福，其亡也以禍。今吳未有福，楚未有禍，楚未可棄，吳未可從，而晉盟主也，若以晉辭吳，若何？公曰：國勝君亡，非禍而何？對曰：國之有是多矣，何必不復？小國猶復，況大國乎？臣聞國之興也以視民如傷，是其福也；其亡也以民爲土芥，是其禍也。楚雖無德，亦不艾殺其民，吳日敝於兵，暴骨如莽，而未見德焉。天其或者正訓楚也，禍之適吳，其何日之有？陳侯從之。及夫差克越，乃修先君之怨。秋八月，吳侵陳，修舊怨也。齊侯、衛侯會于乾侯，救范氏也。師及齊師，衛孔圉、鮮虞人伐晉，取棘蒲。

⑦吳師在陳，楚大夫皆懼，曰：闔廬惟能用其民，以敗我於柏舉，今聞其嗣又甚焉，將若之何？子西曰：二三子恤不相睦，無患吳矣。昔闔廬食不二味，居不重席，室不崇壇，器不彤鏤，宮室不觀，舟車不飾，衣服財用，擇不取費，在國，天有蓄癘，親巡其孤寡，而共其乏困；在軍，熟食者分，而後敢食，其所嘗者，卒乘與焉。勤恤其民，而與之勞逸，是以民不罷勞，死知不曠。吾先大夫子常易之，所以敗我也。今聞夫差，次有臺榭陂池焉，宿有妃嬪嬪御焉，一日之行，所欲必成，玩好必從，珍異是聚，觀樂是務，視民如讐，而用之日新，夫先自敗也已，安能敗我。

⑧冬十一月，晉趙鞅伐朝歌。

- I. 1 In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.
- 2 The viscount of Ts'ao, the marquises of Ch'in and Suy, and the baron of Heu, laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ao.
- 3 Field-mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died; and another was divined for.



- 4 In summer, in the fourth month, on Sib-sze, we offered the border sacrifice.
- 5 In autumn, the marquises of Ts'e and Wei invaded Tsin.
- 6 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force and invaded Choo.

TITLE OF THE BOOK—哀公, 'Duke Gao.'

Duke Gao was a son of Ting, by the lady Sze, whose death took place about two months after her husband's. His name was Tszung (蔣). In his 14th year was found the *ku*, with the record of which event Confucius terminated his labours on the Ch'ün Ts'ew; but the rule of Gao lasted 27 years, from B.C. 493 to 467. The posthumous title denotes, 'Respectful and benevolent, short-lived (恭仁短折曰哀).'

His first year synchronized with the 26th of King King, the 18th of Ting of Tsin; the 54th of King of Ts'e; the 41st of King of Wei; the 25th of Ch'ao of Tsao; the 7th of Shing (聲) of Ching; the 8th of Yang (陽) of Ts'ao; the 9th of Min (閔) of Chin; the 12th of He (僖) of K'w; the 22d of King of Sung; the 7th of Hwuy (惠) of Tsin; the 23d of Ch'ao of Tsao; and the 2d of Foo-ch'ao (夫差) of Woo.

PAR. 1. This par. must be taken as showing that all was regular about the succession of duke Gao.

PAR. 2. We have met with Szy before, but not with 'the marquis of Szy,' as a peer of the kingdom. Tso supposes that in consequence of the services of Szy to the viscount of Tsao, when he was driven from his capital by Woo (See the Chuen on XI. iv. 15), he had rewarded him, and called his ruler now to take the field as one of the other princes. We read, in XI. vi. 1, that Ch'ing extinguished Hsa, and carried off the baron as a prisoner. Tsao must have constituted another State of Hsa, thus boldly exercising a royal prerogative.

The Chuen says:—This spring, the viscount of Tsao laid siege to [the capital of] Tsao, to repay that State for the action at Pili-ken (XI. iv. 14). He raised a mound at the distance of a *li* [from the walls], 10 cubits thick, and twice as many in height, stationing soldiers [inside, till the work was completed], which was accomplished in 9 days, the men working day and night;—according to the previous [calculation] of Tsao-sze. The people of this city [ran out and surrendered], the males in one body and the women in another. [The viscount then] ordered them to settle between the K'ang and the Joo, and returned, upon which Tsao asked leave from Woo to remove within the limits of that State.

[The Chuen turns here to the affairs of Woo and Yueh:—Foo-ch'ao, king of Woo, defeated Yueh at Foo-t'ien, in return for the battle of Ts'ao-le (XI. xiv. 3), and then went on to enter [the capital of] that State. The viscount of Yueh, with 6000 men armed with buff-coats and shields, maintained himself on [the hill of] Kwei-k'uei, while he sent his great officer Chung to obtain

peace by means of the services of P'ai, the grand-administrator of Woo. The viscount of Woo was about to grant his request, when Woo Yun said, "Do not do so. I have heard that in planting what will be advantageous to us we should try to make it great, and in removing what will be injurious we should do it entirely. Anciently there was K'ao of Kwo, who killed [the prince of] Chin-kwan, and then, going on to attack Chin-shu, destroyed S'ang, the sovereign of Hsa. S'ang's queen Min was then pregnant, and made her escape through a hole. She went to her native State of Jing, where she gave birth to Shao-h'ang. He became chief of the shepherds of Jing; and, afraid of the power of K'ao, he took precautions against him. K'ao employed T'ao-shu to seek for him; on which he fled to Yu, and was chief cook to its ruler, that thus he might escape the dangers which threatened him. Sze of Yu gave him his two daughters (Yaou, of the same surname as Shun) in marriage, and the territory of Lun, where he had territory to the extent of 10 *li* square, and troops to the number of 500. Thus he could make his virtue be felt, and commenced to lay his plans to collect again the people of Hsa and revive its [abolished] offices. He employed Joo E to watch K'ao, and Le Ch'ao to delude He, so that [by and by] he extinguished Kwo and K'ao, restored the line of Yu, and sacrificed to the sovereigns of Hsa with their founder as the correlatives of Heaven, recovering all that of old belonged to his family. Now Woo is not equal to Kwo, and [the ruler of] Yueh is greater than Shao-h'ang. Should you perhaps [by this peace] make him still greater, will it not be to the disadvantage [of Woo]? K'ow-t'ien is able to attract men's affection, and lays himself out to bestow favours. In his bounty, he does not fail to reward the proper men; in his kindness, he does not neglect [the smallest] services. His territory is similar to ours, but Woo and Yueh have been enemies for generations. Now you have vanquished it, but instead of taking it to yourself, you are going to preserve it;—this is to oppose the will of Heaven, and to strengthen your enemy. Though you repent of this hereafter, the evil cannot be digested away. The decay of the Ke may be expected to go on from day to day. Lying contiguous to the rude tribes of the south and east, and giving encouragement to our enemies, if in this way you seek to make yourself the master of the States, the thing can certainly not be done."

Yun was not listened to, so he retired, and said to some one, "Give Yueh 10 years for the growth of its people and the collection of its resources, and [after] ten years for the instruction of its people, and in little more than those 20 years, [the capital of] Woo is likely to be made a pool. In the 3d month, Yueh and Woo made peace."

Woo's entering of Yueh does not appear in the text, because Woo did not announce [to Loo] its success, nor did Yueh announce its defeat.]



## PART. 2. 4. K'uh-ling has here 角 after 牛

See on part. 2. 4 of last year, and the previous paragraphs of a similar nature. K'uh-ling differs, on this part, at great length on the presumption of Lo, exhibited and condemned in these passages; but his criticism goes on the supposition that the border sacrifice spoken of is that to Heaven in the 1st month. But we have seen reason to think that the texts only refer to the sacrifice for a blessing on the toils of husbandry, properly falling in the 2d month of Chow, but still allowable in the 4th month, up to the time of the equinox. Whether this year it was celebrated before or after that date, the text does not enable us to say.

[The Chuen appends here 2 narratives:—

1st, about the struggle between T'ao and Tsin. 'In summer, in the 4th month, the marquises of T'ao and Wei succoured Han-tan, and laid siege to Woo-luh.'

2d, about Woo's commencing hostilities against Ch'in. 'When Woo had entered [the capital of] T'ao (in T'ing's 4th year), [the viscount] sent to summon duke Hwah of Ch'in [to join him], who assembled the people of the State to ask their opinion, and said, "Let those who wish to side with T'ao go to the right, and those who wish to side with Woo go to the left." The people took the side of the State near to which their lands lay; and those who had no lands took the side they were inclined to. Fung Hwah, however, advanced right opposite to the duke, and said, "I have heard that States flourish through prosperity and perish through calamity. Now Woo has not yet enjoyed prosperity, nor has T'ao suffered calamity. T'ao is not to be rejected, and Woo is not to be followed. There is Tsin, the lord of covenants. Suppose you decline the requisition of Woo on the ground of [your duty to] Tsin." The duke said, "The State [of T'ao] is conquered, and its ruler is a fugitive. If this be not calamity, what would be so?" "Such things have happened to many States," was the reply. "Why may not T'ao recover itself? Small States have done so, and how much more may a great State do so! I have heard that States flourish when they regard their people as if apprehensive of their receiving hurt:—that brings prosperity. States again perish when they treat their people as earth or grass:—that brings calamity. Although T'ao does not show [much] kindness, it does not slay its people, whereas Woo is daily ruined with fighting, and the bones of its people lie like weeds on the ground. They experience no kindness from it. Heaven perhaps is teaching T'ao good lessons; but what [future] time need we look to for calamity to visit Woo?"

'The duke followed this advice; and [now] when Fung-ch'ao had subdued Yash, he determined to carry out the resentment of his father [against Ch'in]; and in autumn, in the 8th month, Woo made an incursion into Ch'in, reviving and feeding the old animosity.'

PART. 3. We have here a continuance of the efforts of the other States, at the instigation of T'ao, to break down the power of Tsin. The Chuen says:—'The marquises of T'ao and Wei had a meeting in Kan-how, to help the chief of the Fan clan. An army of ours, one of T'ao, K'ung Yu of Wei, and a body of the Sien-yu, invaded Tsin, and took Keth-proo.'

[The Chuen continues its narrative about Woo:—'When Woo was in Ch'in, the great officers of T'ao were all afraid, and said, "Hoh-leu was able to employ his people, and defeated us at Pih-ku, and now we have heard that his successor is still more [warlike] than he; what is to be done?" T'ao-w said to them, "You have only to be anxious, gentlemen, about a want of harmony among yourselves, and need not be troubled about Woo. Formerly Hoh-leu never partook of two dishes, did not sit on a double mat, dwelt in no lofty structures, had no red paint nor carving about his articles of furniture, built no towers about his palaces, used no ornaments about his boats and chariots, and in his choice of dress and in all his outlay avoided what was expensive. When any calamity or pestilence from Heaven visited the State, he went round himself among the orphans and widows, and ministered to their wants and distresses. When he was with his army, he did not venture to eat himself until all the soldiers had had their share of what was cooked; and in what he took himself his foot-guards and chariot-men all partook with him. Thus diligently did he care for his people, and share with them in their toils and pleasures; and the consequence was that they did not weary of hard service, and in death they knew that [their families] would not be injured for. Our former great officer, T'ao-chang, was the reverse of all this and so it was that Hoh-leu defeated us. But I have heard that Fung-ch'ao, wherever he halts, must have towers, raised pavilions, embankments, and lakes, and where he spends the night, must have ladies, high and low, to serve his purposes. If he take one day's journey, he must have whatever he desires done. His curiosities must follow him; he collects things precious and rare; he seeks after spectacles and music; he rewards his people as enemies; and uses them every day in some new way. Such an one will first defeat himself;—how can he defeat us?']

PART. 4. We have the commencement of the hostilities against Chao, spoken of under the concluding part of last year as in contemplation by Lo.

[The Chuen adds here:—'In winter, in the 11th month, Chao Yang of Tsin attacked Chao-ko.']



## Second year.

二年春，王二月，季孫斯、叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌帥師伐邾，取鄆、東田及沂西田。  
二癸巳，叔孫州仇、仲孫何忌及邾子盟于句繹。  
三夏四月丙子，衛侯元卒。四滕子來朝。  
五晉趙鞅帥師，納衛世子蒯聵于戚。  
六秋八月甲戌，晉趙鞅帥師及鄭罕達帥師戰于鐵，鄭師敗績。  
七冬十月，葬衛靈公。  
八十有一月，蔡遷于州來。  
九蔡殺其大夫公子驪。

左傳曰：二年春，伐邾，將伐綏，邾人愛其土，故略以鄆、沂之田而受盟。  
 初，衛侯遊於郊，子南僕公曰：余無子，將立女，不對。他日又謂之，對曰：鄆不足以辱社稷，君其改圖。君夫人在堂，三揖在下，君命祇辱夏，衛靈公卒，夫人曰：命公子郢爲犬子，君命也。對曰：郢異於他子，且君沒於吾手，若有之，郢必聞之，且亡人之子，輒在，乃立輒。  
 六月乙酉，晉趙鞅納



衛太子于戚。宵迷。陽虎曰：「右河而南，必至焉。」使太子統八人衰絰，僞自衛逆者，告於門，哭而入，遂居之。秋八月，齊人輸范氏粟。鄭子姚子般送之，士吉射逆之。趙鞅禦之，遇於戚。陽虎曰：「吾車少，以兵車之旆與罕驪兵車先陳，罕驪自後隨而從之。」彼見吾貌，必有懼心，於是乎會之，必大敗之。從之。卜戰，龜焦。樂丁曰：「詩曰：『爰始爰謀，爰契我龜。』謀協以故兆，詢可也。」簡子誓曰：「范氏中行氏，反易天明，斬艾百姓，欲擅晉國而滅其君，寡君恃鄭而保焉。今鄭爲不道，棄君助臣，二三子順天明，從君命，經德義，除詬恥，在此行也。克敵者，上大夫受縣，下大夫受郡，士田十萬，庶人工商遂，人臣隸圉免，志父無罪，君實圖之。若其有罪，絞縊以戮，桐棺三寸，不設屬，素車樸馬，無入於兆，下卿之罰也。」甲戌，將戰，郵無恤御簡子，衛太子爲右，登鐵上，望見鄭師衆，太子懼，自投於車下。子夏授太子綏，而乘之曰：「婦人也。」簡子巡列曰：「畢萬，匹夫也，七戰皆獲，有馬百乘，死於闕下，羣子勉之，死不在寇。」繁羽御趙羅，宋勇爲右，羅無勇，靡之。吏詰之，御對曰：「疇作而伏。」衛太子禱曰：「曾孫蒯聵敢昭告皇祖文王，烈祖康叔，文祖襄公，鄭勝亂從，晉午在難，不能治亂，使鞅討之，蒯聵不敢自佚，備持矛焉，敢告無絕筋，無折骨，無面傷，以集大事，無作三祖羞。」大命不敢請，佩玉不敢愛，鄭人掣簡子中肩，斃於車中，獲其纛旗。太子救之以戈，鄭師北，獲溫大夫趙羅。太子復伐之，鄭師大敗，獲齊粟千車。趙孟喜曰：「可矣。」傅偃曰：「雖克鄭，猶有知在，憂未艾也。」初，周人與范氏田，公孫尨稅焉。趙氏得而獻之，吏請殺之。趙孟曰：「爲其主也，何罪？止而與之田。」及鐵之戰，以徒五百人，宵攻鄭師，取纛旗於子姚之幕下。獻曰：「請報主德。」追鄭師姚般、公孫林，殿而射，前列多死。趙孟曰：「國無小，旣戰，簡子曰：『吾伏弋嘔血，鼓音不衰，今日我上也。』」太子曰：「吾救主於車，退敵於下，我右之上也。」郵良曰：「我兩駟將絕，吾能止之，我御之上也。」駕而乘材，兩駟皆絕。

吳洩庸如蔡納聘，而稍納師。師畢入，衆知之，蔡侯告大夫，殺公子驪以說，哭而遷墓。冬，蔡遷於州來。



- II. 1 In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, Ke-sun Sze, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew, and Chung-sun Ho-ke, led a force and invaded Choo. They took the lands east of the K'oh, and those west of the E.
- 2 On Kwei-sze, Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew and Chung-sun Ho-ke made a covenant with the viscount of Choo at Kow-yih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ping-tsze, Yuen, marquis of Wei, died.
- 4 The viscount of T'ang came on a court visit to Loo.
- 5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and placed Kwae-wae, heir-son of Wei, in Ts'eih.
- 6 In autumn, in the eighth month, on K'eah-senb, Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and fought with a force under Han Tah of Ch'ing at T'eh, when the army of Ch'ing was shamefully defeated.
- 7 In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wei.
- 8 In the eleventh month, Ts'ae removed [its capital] to Chow-lae.
- 9 Ts'ae put to death its great officer, the Kung-tsze Sze.

Parr. 1, 2. The K'oh river.—see on IX. xix. 4. The E.—see on the Shoo III. 1. Pa. 1. 29. In IX. xix. 4, it is said that Loo took the lands of Choo from the K'oh water. A further portion of its territory lying east from that stream must now have been secured.

The Chuen says:—In spring, we invaded Choo, and were going to attack K'aoa. The people of Choo, loving the territory thereabouts, bribed us with the lands about the K'oh and the E, and received a covenant. The three great families of Loo would seem by this time to have recovered themselves; and duke Gae was a tool in their hands as much as Ch'ao had been. While their chiefs were united in the invasion of Choo, only two of them covenanted with the viscount. Perhaps K'uei-lang is right in thinking the reason was that Shuh-sun and Chung-sun obtained the lands which were now ceded; and this may have been the reason that the system of depredation was continued next year. Kow-yih was in Choo,—in the pres. dia. of Tsow (297).  
dep. Yen-chow.

Par. 3. The Chuen says, "Before this, [once], when the marquis of Wei was enjoying himself in the suburbs, and Tsau-nan was driving his carriage, he said to him, 'I have [now] no son [declared as my successor]; I will appoint you.' Tsau-nan gave no answer. Another day, the marquis spoke to him to the same effect. When he replied, 'I am not sufficient to preside over the affairs. Let your lordship think of some other arrangement.' There is the marchioness [with you] in the hall, and there are the 3 clauses to whom you bow below it.—[consult with them]. Your [mere] order to me would only lead to disgrace." In summer the marquis died, and the marchioness said, "Appoint his son Ying (Tsue-nan) to be his successor; this was his order." Ying replied, "My views differ from those of his other sons. He died, moreover, in

my hands. If there had been such an order, I should have heard it. Besides, Chieh, the son of the exile (K'wae-wae; see XL. xiv. 11) is here." Accordingly Chieh was appointed marquis.

Par. 4. With this end the notices of other princes coming to the court of Loo. Wang Kih-k'wan says:—Duke Gae had newly succeeded to the State, and therefore duke King of T'ang came to pay him this court visit. It was the first paid by a marquis of T'ang to Loo since the visit of duke Ch'ing in the 6th year of S'ang, though Ch'ing attended the funeral of S'ang, and King that of T'ing. Of all the States which thus visited Loo, during the period of the Ch'ün Tsew, the princes of T'ang, K'uei, Ts'ao, and Choo, did so most frequently. Those of K'uei did so 7 times, the last visit being in the 18th year of Ch'ing. Those of Ts'ao did so 4 times, the last being in the 31st year of S'ang. Those of Little Choo also paid 5 visits, the last being in the 17th year of Ch'ao. Those of Choo 7, the last being in the 15th year of T'ing. Those of T'ang 8, the first in the 11th year of Yin and the last in this year. The princes of T'ang and Loo were equally marquises; and for the former to be thus constantly found at the gate of the latter showed extreme smallness and weakness. This is all very well; but according to 'the rules of propriety,' the interchange of court visits between the princes should have been much more frequent. 'The rules of propriety' gave place to 'the way of the world.' Great States gave up those visits altogether, and small ones observed them by constraint not willingly.

Par. 5. Tseih.—see VI. 1. 2. The Chuen says:—In the 8th month, on Yih-yew, Chaou Yang of Tsin placed the eldest [and heir-son of the late marquis of] Wei in Tseih. [The expedition] lost its way in the night, but Yang Hse said, "Let us keep on the right of the Ho



and proceed southwards, and we must come to the place." [Yang] made the prince wear mourning, and 8 men wear clothes and scarfs of sack-cloth, and pretend that they had gone from the capital to meet him; and in this guise they notified their arrival at the gate, which the prince entered weeping. He then kept possession of the city.

We saw, XI. xiv. II, that Kwan-wae fled from Wei to Sung. His father was now dead, and his own son had been appointed marquis. This seemed to be a good opportunity to Chaou Yang to take revenge on Wei for its hostility to Tsin, and he would appear to have gone for the prince of Wei to Sung, or have called him from that State; and by the stratagem mentioned in the Chuen, he placed him in possession of an important city in Wei, from which he was able by and by to gain all his inheritance. The critics dwell on the terms and phrases, 納世子.

納于戚 instead of 納于衛, as full of pregnant meaning; but it seems to me that Confucius simply tells the story, and leaves his readers to form their own judgment on the conduct of the parties concerned in it.

Par. 6. Kung-yang has 軒 for 罕, and for 鐵 both 栗 and 秩. T'ieh was the name of a small hill, which lay south from T'ieh;—in the present K'ao Chow, dep. Ts-ming.

The repetition of 帥師 in the 2d member of the sentence is peculiar. The Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 8th month, the people of T'ie were sending grain to the Fan-ites, under the convoy of Tze-yau (Han Tsh) and Tze-pai (Sze Hwang) of Ch'ing, who were met by Sze Kieh-shih. Chaou Yang wanted to intercept the convoy, and met it near T'ieh. Yang lion said to him, "Our chariots are few. Let us take the flags of our war-chariots, and display them in the van, in front of the chariots of Han and Sze. Those officers coming up from behind, and arranging in the same way (their order of battle), will be sure to be alarmed when they see our appearance; and by then commencing the fight, we shall give them a great defeat." Yang adopted this counsel, and consulted the tortoise-shell about [the propriety of] fighting; but the shell was [only] scatched, (and gave no further indication). Yoh Ting said, "The ode (Sho, III. I ode III. 3) says,

'There he began with consulting his followers;

There he scatched the tortoise-shell.'

Our counsels are the same (As they were before, when we determined to re-instate the prince of Wei); we may take the lumination which we then received as our answer now.

K'ien-tse (Chaou Yang) then made the following solemn declaration: "Fan-sho and Chung-hang-sho have transgressed the clear will of Heaven, slaughtering our people, and wishing to get into their own hands the State of Tsin, and to extinguish its ruler. Our ruler felt himself safe in his reliance on Ch'ing, but now Ch'ing, contrary to all right, has abandoned one ruler, and is assisting his rebellious subjects. You, gentlemen, are acting in accordance with the clear will of Heaven, and in obedience to your ruler's commands. It is for you, in this

engagement, to vindicate the supremacy of virtue and righteousness, and to take away reproach and shame. Those who distinguish themselves in the victory shall receive—a great officer of the superior grade, a *hsia*, and one of the inferior, a *hsue*; an officer, 10 myriads of money, a common man (*i. e.*, a farmer), a mechanic, or a merchant, the privilege of becoming an officer; servants, such as sweepers and groons, exemption [from their menial toils]. Should I (Chien-foo was a name of Yang) come out free of guilt, let our ruler consider my case. If I be chargeable with guilt, let me die by the cord. Let my body be put into a single coffin of tang wood, [only] 3 inches thick; let the coffin be conveyed in a plain carriage by undressed horses; let it not be put into a grave. Let me [thus] be punished as a minister of the lowest degree."

'On K'ieh-shih, they prepared for the fight. Tze Woo-shih drove K'ien-tse, and the prince of Wei was spearman on the right. Having driven to the top of T'ieh, when they looked at the army of Ch'ing, and saw how numerous it was, the prince was afraid, and threw himself down under the chariot. Tze-hiang (Woo-shih), the Wang Liang of Mencius, III. Pt. II. 4) handed him the strap, and helped him up again, saying, "You are a woman." K'ien-tse went round the ranks, saying, 'Peih Wan (The ancestor of the Wei clan in Tsin. See the Chuen, at the end of IV. 1.) was [originally but] a common man; but he made captures in 7 battles, till he possessed 100 teams, and he died at last [in the proper place] under his window. Do you all do your best. Your death need not come from this enemy."

'Fan Yu was driving Chaou Lo, and Sung Yung was spearman on the right. Lo's courage all departed, so that the others tied him to his seat; and when an officer inquired the reason, the charioteer said, "It was because he was seized with an ague-fit, and fell down." The prince of Wei prayed, saying, "I, Kwan-wae, your distant descendant, venture to announce to you King Wan, my great ancestor, to you K'ang-whuh, my distinguished ancestor, and to you duke Ssang, my accomplished ancestor:—Shing of Ch'ing is siding with the rebellious, whom Woo of Tsin, in the midst of difficulties, is not able to deal with and bring to order. He has now sent Yang to punish them, and I, not daring to indulge in sloth, am here with my spear in my hand. I presume to announce this to you, and pray that my sinews may not be injured, my bones not broken, and my face not wounded, but that I may succeed in this great engagement, and you my ancestors may not be disgraced. I do not presume to ask for the great appointment; I do not grudge the precious stones at my girdle."

'A man of Ch'ing struck K'ien-tse with a spear in the shoulder, so that he fell down in the chariot, and his flag, Pang-ko, was taken. The prince, however, came to his succour with his spear, and the army of Ch'ing was worsted; but it captured Chaou Lo, the commandant of Wên. The prince again attacked it, and it was entirely defeated, and a thousand carriages, containing the grain of T'ie, were taken. Chaou-ming, delighted, said, "This will do;" but Yoh Sow said, "Although we have defeated Ch'ing, the Che clan are still in force, and our troubles are not over."



Before this, the Kung-sun Mang had collected the rents of the lands given by the people of Chow to Fan-sha, when he was taken by some of the Chaoa clan, and presented [to Chaoa K'ou]. The officers asked leave to put him to death, but Chaoa-ming said, "It was for his lord. He has no crime." So he stopped the officers, and gave Mang [back the rents of] the lands. After this battle of T'ieh, Mang, with 500 footmen, attacked the army of Ch'ing at night, and took the flag, Fung-k'ia, from beside the tent of Tse-yaou, which he then presented [to K'ou-tse] saying, "This is in requital of your kindness."

In the pursuit of the army of Ch'ing, Yaou, Pan, and the Kung-sun Lin, guarded the rear, and killed with their arrows many in the front ranks of the pursuers, so that Chaoa-ming said, "The State [of Ch'ing] should not be called small."

When all was over, K'ou-tse said, "When I fell upon the quiver, I brought up blood, but still the sound of the drum did not diminish. My merit is at the top of this day's work." The prince [of Wei] said, "I saved you in the chariot, and made the enemies who were pressing about it retire. I stand at the top of the spearman." Yeh Liang said, "My two breast-leathers were nearly broken, but I managed to prevent [the catastrophe]. I am at the top of the charioteers." They joked the chariot, and drove it over a [small] piece of wood, when the leathers both broke."

Par. 7. It was thus the 7th month after his death before the interment of duke Ling took place. The movements of Kwao-wae had, probably, occasioned the delay.

Par. 8, 9. Chow-lao, — see VIII. vii. 7 and X. xiii. 12. In the latter passage it is said that "Woo extinguished Chow-lao." It would now therefore be a city of Woo. We saw on I. 3, that T'ao had requested that it might be allowed to remain within the limits of Woo. It would appear to have changed its purpose and wished to remain where T'ao had placed it, but Woo was not to be balked, and accomplished the removal in the way which the Chuen narrates. — K'eh Yung of Woo went to T'ao with the offerings of a complimentary visit, and at the same time accompanied by a small force. When his soldiers were all entered, and the people all knew it, the marquis of T'ao communicated with his great officers and put to death the Kung-tse Sze, throwing the blame [of their having hesitated to remove] on him. He then wept at the tomb [of his ancestor], and carried their contents with him on his removal to Chow-lao."

Chow-lao was the 3d capital of T'ao. When king Woo invaded his brother Too with T'ao the capital was 上蔡. In the dia. still so called, dep. Joo-ning. Too rebelled, and was put to death, but king Ch'ing restored T'ao to his son, and by and by the capital was removed to 新蔡 also in dia. of Joo-ning. The third removal was now to Chow-lao, which is often called 下蔡

### Third year.

邾	叔	冬	蔡	秋	陽	季	五	師	三
孫	州	十	人	七	宋	孫	月	圍	年
仇	仲	月	放	月	樂	斯	辛	戚	春
仲	孫	癸	其	丙	髡	叔	卯	夏	齊
孫	何	卯	大	子	帥	州	桓	四	國
忌	忌	秦	夫	季	帥	仇	宮	月	夏
帥	帥	伯	公	孫	帥	帥	僖	甲	衛
圍	圍	卒	孫	斯	伐	城	宮	午	石
			獵	卒	曹	啟	災	地	曼
			于				震	震	姑
			吳						帥



左傳曰：三年春，齊衛圍戚，求援於中山。夏五月辛卯，司鐸火，火踰公宮，桓僖災，救火者皆曰：顧府南宮敬叔至，命周人出御書，俟於宮，曰：叱咄而不在，死。子服景伯至，命宰人出禮書，以待命，命不共，有常刑。校人乘馬，巾車脂轄，百官官備，府庫慎守，官人肅給，濟濡帷幕，饗攸從之，蒙葺公屋，自大廟始。外內以俊，助所不給，有不用命，則有常刑，無赦。公父文伯至，命校人駕乘車，季桓子至，御公立於象魏之外，命救火者，傷人則止，財可爲也。命藏象魏，曰：舊章不可亡也。富父槐至，曰：無備而官辦者，猶拾墜也。於是乎去表之臺，道還公宮。孔子在陳，聞火，曰：其桓僖乎？  
 ⑤劉氏范氏世爲婚姻，莒弘事劉文公，故周與范氏趙鞅以爲討。  
 六月癸卯，周人殺襄弘。  
 秋，季孫有疾，命正當曰：無死，南孺子之子，男也，則以告而立之，女也，則肥也可。季孫卒，康子卽位，既葬，康子在朝，南氏生男，正當載以如朝，告曰：夫子有遺言，命其圉臣曰：南氏生男，則以告於君與大夫而立之，今生矣，男也，敢告。遂奔衛，康子請退，公使共劉視之，則或殺之矣，乃討之，召正當，正當不反。  
 ⑥冬十月，晉趙鞅圍朝歌，師於其南，荀寅伐其郛，使其徒自北門入，已犯師而出。癸丑，奔邯鄲。十一月，趙鞅殺士臯夷，惡范氏也。

- III. 1 In the [duke's] third year, in spring, Kwoh Hëa of Ts'e and Shih Man-koo of Wei led a force, and laid siege to Ts'eih.
- 2 In summer, in the fourth month, on Këah-woo, there was an earthquake.
- 3 In the fifth month, on Sin-maou, the temples of [dukes] Hwan and He were burned.
- 4 Ke-sun Sze and Shuh-sun Chow-k'ëw led a force, and walled K'e-yang.
- 5 Yoh K'wän of Sung led a force, and invaded Ts'aou.
- 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Ping-tsze, Ke-sun Sze died.
- 7 The people of Ts'ae banished their great officer Kung-sun Lëeh to Woo.
- 8 In winter, in the tenth month, on Kwei-maou, the earl of Ts'in died.
- 9 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ëw and Chung-sun Ho-ke led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Choo.



Par. 1. The Chuen says:—*In spring, Ts'e and Wei laid siege to Ts'eh, and sought help from Chung-shan (The people of Sien-yu). Ts'e had its grudge against Ts'eh, because Kwae-wae, who now held that place, had been a principal instrument of the defeat of the troops of Ch'ing, and of the capture of the grain which Ts'e was trying to send to Chao-ko. Wei, however, was principally concerned for the reduction of Ts'eh, because, while his father had a footing in the State, the new marquis Ch'eh could not consider his position secure. Down to the pres. day, critics take different sides on the question of the right to the State of Wei, whether it belonged to Kwae-wae, against the wish of his father, or to Ch'eh, Kwae-wae's son in opposition to him. See a partial decision of Confucius on the point, Ana. VII. xiv.*

Par. 2. See VI. ix. 11; et al.

Par. 3. It is not easy to account for the temples of Hwan and He being still continued. The ancestral temples of the States were restricted to 5 smaller temples, or shrines-houses; and the tablets of Hwan and He ought long ere this to have been removed to the special building appropriated to displaced tablets, and their places occupied by those of more recent marquises. Between Hwan and Gas there had been 9 rulers in Loo, and between He and him 6. Some critics think Loo maintained 7 shrine-houses, as the royal House did; but even this would not account for the temple of Hwan. It is easy to see why the great families should have preserved the temple of Hwan, or rather built another specially for him, as it was to him that they all traced their lineage. However it was, the existence of these temples was irregular; and now they were destroyed by fire, and according to Tso-she and the K'ia Yu (家語), even Confucius saw in the event the judgment of Heaven.

The Chuen says:—*In the 5th month, on Shin-nuou, a fire broke out in the [small palace of] Sze-tek. It then passed over the duke's palace, and burnt the temples of Hwan and He.*

*"The people who tried to put out the fire all cried out, 'Look to the treasury.' When Nan-kung King-shih arrived, he ordered the officer in charge of the Chow [documents] to carry out the books which were read to the marquis, and to wait with them in the palace, saying to them, 'See that you have all in your charge. If you are not there, you shall die.' When Tso-fuh Ming-pih came, he ordered an officer belonging to the Board of the chief minister to bring out the books of ceremony and to wait [for] orders, reminding him that if he did not obey the order, he was liable to the regular punishment. [He also ordered] the superintendent of the horses to have them arranged in teams, and the superintendent of the carriages to have the wheels all greased; the officers of the various departments to be all there; a careful guard to be maintained over the treasury and repositories; the subordinate officers gravely to contribute their service; curtains and tents to be soaked, and placed wherever the smoke was rising; the palace and contiguous houses to be [also] covered with them; beginning at the grand temple, outside and inside, in due order, help to be given where it was needed; and all disobedience to suffer the regular penalties without forgiveness.*

*When Kung-foo Ming-pih arrived, he ordered the superintendent of the horses to order the carriages all yoked; and when He Hwan-tze arrived, he drove the duke to the outside of the towers at the front gate, where the boards with the statutes on them were hung up. He gave orders to those who were trying to put out the fire, that, as soon as any of them were injured, they should stop, and let the things take their chance. He ordered [also] the boards with the statutes to be laid up, saying, 'The old statutes must not be lost.' When Foo-foo Hwan arrived, he said, 'For the officers to try to deal with the fire, without making preparations [against its progress], is like trying to gather up water that has been spilt.' On this they removed all the straw outside the fire, and cleared a way all round the palace.*

*Confucius was then in Ch'in, and when he heard of the fire, he said, 'It destroyed, I apprehend, the temples of Hwan and He.'*

Par. 4. K'o-yang (Kung has 開 for 啟) was 15 li to the north of the pres. dep. city of E-chow. It had been the capital city of the old State of Yu (郕), which was taken in Choo in the 18th year of Ch'uan. Choo was now obliged to yield it to Loo, and as it was near to Pa, it was probably appropriated by K'o-she. The fortifying it would be to provide against attempts to regain it by Choo, which might be expected to be assisted by Ts'u.

Par. 5. Yoh Ta-sin had fled from Sang to Ts'uan (XI. x. 8), and this may have been the ground for the present attack; which was followed by others still more serious.

[The Chuen appends here:—*There had been intermarriages for generations between the families of L'ow [in Chow] and Fan [in Tsin]; and Chang Hwang had been in the service of duke Wan of L'ow. In consequence of this, Chow took the side of the Fan [in the struggles in Tsin]. Chao-yang made this the subject of remonstrance, and in the 6th month, on Kwei-nuou, the people of Chow put Chang Hwang to death.*]

Par. 6. The Chuen says:—*In autumn, K'o-sun was ill, and gave orders to Ching-chang saying, 'You must not die. If Nan Joo-tze's child prove a boy, then inform the duke, and appoint him my successor. If it prove a girl, then you may appoint Fai.' He died and K'ang-tze (Fai) took his place; but after the burial, [once] when K'ang-tze was in the court, Nan-she gave birth to a boy, which Ching-chang carried to the court, where he said, 'My master left a charge with me, his groom, that if Nan-she gave birth to a boy, I should inform his lordship and the great officers of it, and appoint him his successor. Now she has given birth to a boy, and I venture to give the information.' On this, he fled to Wei. K'ang-tze asked leave to retire from his position, and the duke sent Kung L'ow to see the child, but some one had put it to death. He caused the murderer to be punished, and then called Ching-chang [from Wei], but he would not return.'*

Par. 7. This Kung-sun L'ieh would be a partisan of Kung-tze Sze, mentioned in the last par. of last year.

Par. 8. Loo seems to have been bent on the entire subjugation of Choo.



[The Chuen turns here to the siege of Chao-ko.— In winter, in the 10th month, Chao Yang of Tain laid siege to Chao-ko, and lay in force on the south of it. Senn Yin attacked the outer suburbs, and made the troops [which were coming to his aid] enter the city by the north

gate, while he himself burst through the enemy and got away. On Kwei-chow he fled to Hantan. In the 11th month, Chao Yang put to death See Kaou-s, such was his hatred of the Fan clan.]

Fourth year.

四年<sup>一</sup>春<sup>二</sup>王二月<sup>三</sup>庚戌<sup>四</sup>盜殺蔡  
侯申<sup>五</sup>蔡公孫辰<sup>六</sup>出奔吳<sup>七</sup>  
葬秦惠公<sup>八</sup>宋人執小邾子<sup>九</sup>  
夏<sup>十</sup>蔡殺其大夫公孫姓<sup>十一</sup>公孫  
霍<sup>十二</sup>晉人執戎蠻子赤<sup>十三</sup>歸于楚<sup>十四</sup>  
城西郭<sup>十五</sup>六月<sup>十六</sup>辛丑<sup>十七</sup>亳社災<sup>十八</sup>  
秋<sup>十九</sup>八月甲寅<sup>二十</sup>滕子結卒<sup>二十一</sup>  
冬<sup>二十二</sup>十有二月<sup>二十三</sup>葬蔡昭公<sup>二十四</sup>  
葬滕頃公<sup>二十五</sup>

左傳曰四年春蔡昭侯將如吳諸大夫恐其又遷也承公孫翩逐而射之入於家人而卒以兩矢門之衆莫敢進文之錯後至曰如驢而進多而殺二人錯執弓而先翩射之中肘錯遂殺之故逐公孫辰而殺公孫姓公孫肝  
夏楚人既克夷虎乃謀北方左司馬販申公壽餘葉公諸梁致蔡於負函致方城之外於緡關曰吳將派江入郢將奔命焉爲一昔之期襲梁及霍單浮餘圍蠻氏蠻氏潰蠻子赤奔晉陰地司馬起豐析與狄戎以臨上雒左師軍於苑和右師軍於倉野使謂陰地之命大夫士蔑曰晉楚有盟好惡同之若將不廢寡君之願也不然將通於少習以聽命士蔑請諸趙孟趙孟曰晉國未寧安能惡於楚必速與之士蔑乃致九州之戎將裂田以與蠻子而城之且將爲之卜蠻



人鮮虞納荀寅於柏  
時陰人孟壺口會  
晉取邢任壘鄆逆  
之遂墮臨國夏伐  
臨十二月弦施逆  
寅奔鮮虞趙稷奔  
十一月邯鄲降荀  
月趙鞅圍邯鄲冬  
氏庚午圍五鹿九  
弦施衛甯跪救范  
○秋七月齊陳乞  
遺民而盡俘以歸  
邑立宗焉以誘其  
師於三戶司馬致  
其五大夫以界楚  
子聽卜遂執之與

- IV. 1 In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Käng-seuh, a ruffian killed Shin, marquis of Ts'ae.  
 2 Kung-sun Shin of Ts'ae fled from that State to Woo.  
 3 There was the burial of duke Hwuy of Ts'in.  
 4 An officer of Sung seized the viscount of Little Choo.  
 5 In summer, Ts'ae put to death its great officers, Kung-sun Säng and Kung-sun Hoh.  
 6 An officer of Ts'in seized Ch'ih, viscount of the Man Jung, and sent him to Ts'oo.  
 7 We walled our outer suburbs on the west.  
 8 In the sixth month, on Sin-ch'ow, the altar of Poh was burned.  
 9 In autumn, in the eighth month, Këeb, viscount of T'äng, died.  
 10 In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Ch'aou of Ts'ae.  
 11 There was the burial of duke K'ing of T'äng.

Par. 1, 2, 5. In par. 1. Kung-yang has 三月 for 二月. Kung and Kuh-kuang have 弑 for 殺, which is probably the more correct reading.

In VII. xviii. 2, we are told that 'Shin (申), marquis of Ts'ae, died, so that here is one of his descendants called by the same name; which is 'contrary to rule.' Twan Yuh-tseu says that the 'Historical Records' give 甲 instead of 申; but there is no 甲 in the edition of that Work in my possession.

The Chuen says:—'This spring, the marquis of Ts'ae was about to go to Woo, and all the great officers tried to prevent him from going, fearing there would be another removal of the capital. Kung-sun P'een putened, and shot him, so that he entered into a house [on the way] and died. [P'een] then took his station in the door of it, with two arrows on his string, and no one would venture to go forward to it. Wan Che-k'ear, however, came up afterwards, and said, "Let us advance like a wall; at the end, he can kill but two men." He then advanced with his bow in his hand. P'een discharged an

arrow at him, which hit him in the wrist, but immediately after K'ear killed him. In consequence of this event, K'ear expelled Kung-sun Shin, and put to death the two Kung-suns, Säng and Yu (I. q. Hoh in par. 5).'

On 盜, see on IX. 2. 8.

Par. 9. The Chuen does not say anything on this event. Le Lien discerns in it an indication of the ambition of the duke of Sung, who, now that there was no acknowledged leader among the princes, had fallen to imitate the doings of his predecessor Säng. The idea of many critics, that the duke is condemned here by being called 人, is inadmissible; but how that term ought to be translated, by 'officer,' 'body of men,' or 'the people,' could only be determined by our knowing the circumstances in which the seizure took place.

Par. 6. The Man Jung;—see I. xvi. 2. Here, as there, Kung-yang has 曼 for 蠻. The act of Ts'in in this matter is held to have been disgraceful to it. The right of asylum for refugees seems to have been accorded by the States to one another; and one which had played such a part as Ts'in ought to have maintained it with peculiar jealousy.



The Chuen says:—In summer, a body of men from T'oo, having reduced the E-hoo, began to turn its attention to the regions farther north. Pan, the marshal of the Left, Shou-yu, commandant of Shin, and Choo-kuang, commandant of Shieh, collected [the people of] T'ao, [who remained in that quarter], and placed them in Hoo-b'een, and did the same for the people outside the barrier wall in Ts'ang-kwan. [They then] said that Woo was going to come up the K'ang to enter Ying, and that they must hurry away as they had been commanded. On this, on the very day after, they took by surprise L'ang and Hoh, [cities of the Man Jung].

Shen Fow-yu laid siege to [the chief town of] the Man, the people of which dispersed, while Chieh, the viscount, fled to Yin-te in Tsin. The marshal raised the people of Fung and Sui, along with [certain tribes of] the Teih and Jung, and proceeded towards Shaug-ieh. The master of the Left encamped near [the hill of] T'oo-bo, and the master of the Right near T'ang-yay. [The marshal then] sent a message to See M'eh, the great officer [of Tsin] appointed over [the district of] Yin-to, saying, "Tsin and T'oo have a covenant, engaging them to share in their likings and dislikings. If you will not neglect to observe it, that is the desire of my ruler. If you determine otherwise, I will communicate with you by Shou-seih to hear your commands." See M'eh requested instructions from Chao-m'ing, who said, "Tsin is not yet in the enjoyment of tranquillity; we dare not make a rupture with T'oo. You must quickly give up the refugees to it."

On this, See M'eh then called together the Jung of K'ow-chow, and proposed that they should set aside some lands for the viscount of the Man, and settle him there in a city. He also proposed to consult the tortoise-shell about the city; and while the viscount was waiting for the result, M'eh seized him and his five great officers, and delivered them to the army of T'oo

at San-hoo. The marshal [also pretended that he] would assign him a city and set up his ancestral temple, in order that he might delude the remnant of his people; and then he carried them all back as captives with him to T'oo.

Par. 7. This would be in apprehension of an attack on the west from Tsin.

Par. 8. For 亭 Kung-yang has 蒲. By the altar to the Spirit of the land of Poh we are to understand an altar of Yin. That dynasty had its capital in Poh, and on its extinction king Woo ordered the different States to rear altars, called 'altars of Poh,' to serve as a warning to their princes to guard against the calamity of losing their States. These are understood to have been placed outside the gate leading to the ancestral temple, so that the princes should not fail to take notice of them. They were covered, however, and enclosed, and sacrifices were not offered at them. Their preservation in this way simply served the purpose of admonition, but it exposed them to the calamity recorded in the text.

Par. 9. K'ieh had been viscount of T'ang 23 years, and was succeeded by his son Yu-woo (虞毋), duke Yin (隱).

Par. 10, 11. The burial of the marquis of Ts'ao had been delayed;—probably by the troubles in the State. [The Chuen continues here the narrative of events in Tsin:—] In autumn, in the 7th month, Ch'in K'ieh and H'ien She of Ts'ao, and Ning Kwei of Wei, proceeded to the relief of Fan-she; and on K'ang-woo they laid siege to Woo-luh. In the 9th month, Chao Yang laid siege to Han-tan, which surrendered in winter, in the 11th month, when Seun Yin fled to the Seun-yu, and Chao T'uih to Lin. In the 12th month, H'ien She met the latter in that place, and throw down its walls. [At the same time] Kw'eh H'ia invaded Tsin, and took Hing, Jin, Lwan, H'ao, Yin-che, Yin-jin, Yu, and Hoo-kow, was joined by the Seun-yu, and placed Seun Yin in Pih-jin.]

### Fifth year.

五年春城毗。  
夏齊侯伐宋。  
晉趙鞅帥師伐衛。  
秋九月癸酉齊侯杵臼卒。  
冬叔還如齊。  
閏月葬齊景公。



左傳曰五年春晉圍柏人荀寅士吉射奔齊初范氏之臣王生惡張柳朔言諸昭子使爲柏人昭子曰夫非而讐乎對曰私讐不及公好不廢過惡不失善義之經也臣敢違之及范氏出張柳朔謂其子爾從主勉之我將止死王生授我矣吾不可以僭之遂死於柏人夏趙鞅伐衛范氏之故也遂圍中牟齊燕姬生子不成而死諸子鬻姬之子荼嬖諸大夫恐其爲犬子也言於公曰君之適長矣未有犬子若之何公曰二三子間於憂虞則有疾疢亦姑謀樂何憂於無君公疾使國惠子高昭子立荼眞羣公子於萊秋齊景公卒冬十月公子嘉公子駒公子黔奔衛公子鉏公子陽生來奔萊人歌之曰景公死乎不與埋三軍之事乎不與謀師乎師乎何黨之乎

鄭駟秦富而侈嬖大夫也而常陳卿之車服於其庭鄭人惡而殺之子思曰詩曰不解於位民之攸暨不守其位而能久者鮮矣商頌曰不僭不濫不敢怠皇命以多福

- V. 1 In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, we walled P'e.  
 2 In summer, the marquis of Ts'e invaded Sung.  
 3 Chaou Yang of Tsin, at the head of a force, invaded Wei.  
 4 In autumn, in the ninth month, on Kwei-yëw, Ch'oo-k'ëw, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
 5 In winter, Shuh Seuén went to Ts'e.  
 6 In the intercalary month, there was the burial of duke King of Ts'e.

Par. 1. It is not known where P'e exactly was. It would be in the west of Loo, and now be walled, as a preparation against an attack from Tsin. Kung has 比 and 花 instead of 毗.

Par. 2. We saw last year how Sung was now trying to vindicate its claim to a foremost place among the States. We may suppose that this excited the jealousy of Ts'e, and led to the attack here mentioned.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—“This spring, Tsin laid siege to Pih-jin (See the Chuen at the end of last year), on which Seun Yin and See Keth-shih fled to Ts'e. Before this, Wang Sang, an officer of Fan-she, hated another called Chang Lëw-söh; but he spoke of him to Ch'ou-tse (See Keth-shih), and got him appointed commandant of Pih-jin. Ch'ou-tse said, “Is not he your enemy?” Sang replied, “Private enmities should not interfere with public [duty]. In your likings not to overlook faults, and in your hatreds not to disallow what is good, is the course of righteousness. I dare not act contrary to it.” When Fan-she left [Pih-jin],

Chang Lëw-söh said to his son, “Do you follow your lord, and do your utmost for him. I will remain here and die. Wang Sang has laid that upon me. I must not fall in it.” He died accordingly in Pih-jin. In summer, Chaou Yang invaded Wei, because of [the assistance it had afforded to] Fan-she, and laid siege to Chung-now.”

Par. 4. For 杵 Kung-yang has 處. Ch'oo-k'ëw had been marquis of Ts'e for 60 years; but for his character see the Ana. XVI. iii. He had enjoyed the counsels of his distinguished minister Gan-anz, and of Confucius; but though he was a scourge to Tsin, he could not arrest the decay of his own House. Immediately after his death, his son was murdered, and the State thrown into confusion; and in less than ten years the House of Keang was superseded by that of Chin.

The Chuen says:—“Yen Ko [wife of the marquis of Ts'e], had a son, who died before he was grown up. Of his sons [by his concubines] his favourite was Too, whose mother was Yuh



See. The great officers were all afraid lest T'oo should be appointed the duke's successor, and spoke to him on the subject, saying, "Your lordship is old; and how is it that it has not been declared which of your sons is to succeed you?" The duke, however, said, "If you are free at present from anxieties [about the State], you have [the risk] of illness [to think about]. Try to get what pleasure you can in the meantime. Why should you be concerned about having no ruler?"

When the duke was ill, he made Kwoh Heng-tze and Kaou Ch'ou-tze appoint T'oo, and place all his other sons in Lan. In autumn he died; and in winter, in the 10th month, his sons, K'ao, K'ou, and K'uen, fled to Wei, while T'oo and Yang-sang came to Loo. The people of Loo sang about the young princes,

"Duke King is dead!  
Ye stood not by his grave.  
To T'oo's armies  
No counsel e'er you gave.  
The crowd of you!  
What country will you save?"

Par. 5. This visit would be one of condolence, and to attend the funeral of the marquis.

Par. 6. We may assume that this intercalary month was a double 12th, which would give the burial in the 6th month after the death;—according to rule. Two schemes of the calendar of the Ch'un T'zu place the intercalary month of this year, the one after the 10th month, and

the other after the 11th; but I do not see any ground for admitting either of them. The fact of the burial is against them both. At present the intercalary months are left out of calculation in all matters connected with the duties to the dead; but it may not have been so in those times. Kuh-lung thought it was, and therefore finds in the par. a condemnation of the irregularity. Kung-yang took the other view. Each has crowds of followers; and the K'ang-ho editors give the views of both, unable to decide between them.

[The Chuen turns here to an affair in Ch'ing:—] Sze Ts'ui of Ch'ing was rich and extravagant. Though [only] a great officer of the lowest grade, he had always the chariot and robes of a minister displayed in his courtyard, so that the people of Ch'ing disliked him, and put him to death. T'ao-tze (The son of T'ao-ch'ou) said, "The ode (She, III. li. ode V. 4) says,

"They will not be idle in their offices,  
So that the people will have rest in them,

They are few that can continue long who do not observe the conditions of their place. In the Temple-odes of Shang (She, IV. iii. ode V. 2) it is said,

"He erred not in rewarding and punishing,  
And dared not to be idle;  
And so he made his happiness grandly secure."

### Sixth year.

六年春城邾瑕。  
晉趙鞅帥師伐鮮虞。  
吳伐陳。  
夏齊國夏及高張來奔。  
叔還會吳于柤。  
秋七月庚寅楚子軫卒。  
齊陽生入于齊。  
齊陳乞弑其君荼。  
冬仲孫何忌帥師伐邾。  
宋向巢帥師伐曹。



左傳曰六年春晉伐鮮虞治范氏之亂也。

吳伐陳復修舊怨也。楚子曰吾先君與陳有盟不可以不救。乃救陳師於城父。

齊陳乞僞事高國者每朝必驂乘焉。所從必言諸大夫曰彼皆偃蹇將棄子之命皆曰高國得君必偪我盡去諸固將謀子子早圖之圖之莫如盡滅之需事之下也及朝則曰彼虎狼也見我在子之側殺我無日矣請就之位又謂諸大夫曰二子者禍矣恃得君而欲謀二三子曰國之多難貴寵之由盡去之而後君定既成謀矣盡及其未作也先諸作而後悔亦無及也大夫從之夏六月戊辰陳乞鮑牧及諸大夫以甲入於公宮昭子聞之與惠子乘如公戰於莊敗國人追之國夏奔莒遂及高張晏圍弦施來奔。

秋七月楚子在城父將救陳卜戰不吉卜退不吉王曰然則死也再敗楚師不如死棄盟逃讐亦不如死死一也其死讐乎命公子申爲王不可則命公子結亦不可則命公子啟五辭而後許將戰王有疾庚寅昭王攻大冥卒於城父子閭退曰君王舍其子而讓羣臣敢忘君乎從君之命順也立君之子亦順也二順不可失也與子西子期謀潛師閉塗逆越女之子章立之而後還。是歲也有雲如衆赤鳥夾日以飛三日楚子使問諸周犬史周犬史曰其當王身乎若禳之可移於令尹司馬王曰除腹心之疾而實諸股肱何益不穀不有大過天其天諸有罪受罰又焉移之遂弗禳。初昭王有疾卜曰河爲祟王弗祭大夫請祭諸郊王曰三代命祀祭不越望江漢睢漳楚之望也禍福之至不是過也不穀雖不德河非所獲罪也遂弗祭孔子曰楚昭王知大道矣其不失國也宜哉夏書曰惟彼陶唐帥彼天常有此冀方今失其行亂其紀綱乃滅而亡又曰允出茲在茲由己率當可矣。

八月齊邴意茲來奔。

陳僖子使召公子陽生陽生駕而見南郭且子曰嘗獻馬於季孫不入於上乘故又獻此請與子乘之出萊門。



而告之故，闕止知之，先待諸外。公子曰：「事未可知，反與壬也。」處戒之，遂行。逮夜，至於齊。國人知之，僇子使子士之母養之，與饋者皆入。冬十月丁卯，立之將盟。鮑子醉而往，其臣差車鮑黠曰：「此誰之命也？」陳子曰：「受命於鮑子。」遂誣鮑子曰：「子之命也。」鮑子曰：「汝忘君之爲孺子牛而折其齒乎？而背之也。」悼公稽首曰：「吾子奉義而行者也，若我可不必亡。」一大夫若我不可，不必亡。一公子義則進，否則退，敢不唯子是從。廢與無以亂，則所願也。鮑子曰：「誰非君之子？乃受盟使胡姬以安孺子如賴，去鬻奴殺王甲，拘江說，囚王豹於句賈之丘，公使朱毛告於陳子曰：『微子則不及此。』然君異於器，不可以二器。二不置君，二多難，敢布諸大夫。」僇子不對而泣。曰：「君舉不信羣臣乎？以齊國之困，困又有憂，少君不可以訪，是以求長君，庶亦能容羣臣乎？不然，夫孺子何罪？毛復命，公悔之。」毛曰：「君大訪於陳子，而圖其小可也，使毛遷孺子於貽，不至殺諸野幕之下，葬諸父冒淳。」

- VI. 1 In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, we walled Choo-hëa.  
 2 Chaou Yang of Tsin, at the head of a force, invaded Sëen-yu.  
 3 Woo invaded Ch'in.  
 4 In summer, Kwoh Hëa and Kaou Chang of Ts'e came fugitives to Loo.  
 5 Shuh Seuen had a meeting with Woo at Cha.  
 6 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Käng-yin, Chin, viscount of Ts'oo, died.  
 7 Yang-säng of Ts'e entered [the capital of] that State.  
 8 Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e murdered his ruler T'oo.  
 9 In winter, Chung-sun Ho-ke, at the head of a force, invaded Choo.  
 10 Hëang Ch'aou of Sung, at the head of a force, invaded Ts'aou.

Par. 1. For 瑕 Kang-yang has 莒. The city was 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the south of the pass, Tse-ning Chow, dep. Yen-chow. It properly belonged to Choo, but Loo had either taken it before, or now did so, and proceeded to settle the appropriation by walling it. Perhaps we ought to call the place—Hëa of Choo.

Par. 2. We have seen that once and again the people of Sëen-yu had helped the Fan and other insubordinate clans of Tsin. The time 'to punish them for this,' as Tso-chi says, was now come.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—'Woo [now] invaded Ch'in, again reviving the old animosity

(See the Chuen after I. 3). The viscount of Ts'oo said, "My father had a covenant with Ch'in; I must by all means now go to its help." Accordingly he proceeded to the help of Ch'in, and encamped with his army at Shing-foo.

Par. 4. The Chuen says:—'Ch'in K'eih of Ts'e pretended to do service to [the ministers] Kaou and Kwoh; and whenever they went to court, he would go in the same carriage with one of them, and, as they went along, speak about all the great officers, saying, "They are all very arrogant and will cast from them your orders. They all say, 'Kaou and Kwoh have got [the favour] of the [new] ruler, and are sure to be pressing upon us. Why should we



not remove them out of the way? They are sure to be plotting against you. You should take measures against them beforehand, and if you take such measures, the best plan will be to destroy them entirely. Delay is the worst of all methods." When they got to the court, he would say, "They are so many tigers and wolves. When they see me by your side, they will kill me any day. Allow me to go where they are standing." He would then say on the other hand to the great officers, "Those two ministers are [meditating] evil. They trust in having the ruler [in their hands], and wish to plot against you. They say, 'The many troubles of the State arise from the [number of] those who have high rank and favour. Let us do away with all of them, and then the ruler will be settled in his position.' They have decided on their plan. Why not take the initiative with them? If you wait till they move, regrets will be of no use." The great officers were persuaded by him, and in summer, in the 6th month, on Mow-shin, Ch'in K'uei and Pao Muh, with all the great officers, burst into the duke's palace with [a body of] men-at-arms. Ch'ao-tse (Kaou Chang) heard of their movement, and got into a carriage with Hwuy-tze (Kwoh Hsa), to go to the duke. They were defeated in a fight at Chwang, and pursued by the people of the capital. Kwoh Hsa fled to Ku, and [soon after], along with K'ao Chang, Gan Yu (Son of Gan Ping-tse), and Hsien Shu, he came a fugitive to Loo.

Par. 5. Cha,—see IX. x. 1. The Chuen says nothing on the reasons of this proceeding. Maou observes that some say it was in obedience to a requisition from Woo—which is likely, as the viscount or king of Woo was now pushing forward to the leading place among the States.

Par. 6. Continuing the narrative under par. 3, the Chuen says:—In autumn, in the 7th month, the viscount of Ts'oo was in Shing-foo, intending to succour Ch'in. He consulted the tortoise-shell about fighting, and got an unfavourable response. He consulted about retreating, and got the name. He then said, "Well then I will die. It is better to die than to incur a second defeat of the army of Ts'oo. It is also better to die, than to throw away our covenant with Ch'in, and evade the enemy. It is [only] dying in either case, and I will die at the hands of the enemy." He named the Kung-tse Shin (Tse-se) to be king, but he declined. Next he named the Kung-tse Kueh (Tse-ku), but he also declined. Finally he named the Kung-tse K'e (Tse-leu), who declined the dignity five times, but then accepted it.

"When they were about to fight, the king fell ill, but on Kang-shin he attacked Ts'oo. He [then] died in Shing-foo, after which Tse-leu retreated, saying, "Our ruler and king passed over his sin in favour of his subjects. I did not dare to forget [my duty to] the ruler, and to obey his command was proper. But to appoint his son in his place is likewise natural and proper. Both things are proper, and neither of them must be neglected." He then took counsel with Tse-se and Tse-ku, kept [the king's death] concealed from the army, shut up all communication abroad, sent for Chang, [the king's son] by a daughter of Yach, appointed him king, and afterwards returned [with the army to the capital].

"This year, there had been a cloud, like a multitude of red birds, flying round the sun, which continued for 3 days. The viscount of Ts'oo sent to ask the grand-historiographer of Chow about it, who said that it portended evil to the king's person, and that if he offered a deprecatory sacrifice to it, the evil might be removed so as to fall on the chief minister or one of the marshals. The king, however, said, "Of what use would it be to take a disease threatening the heart and lay it upon the limbs. If I had not committed great errors, would Heaven shorten my life? I must receive the penalty of my transgressions; why should I try to move it over to another?" So he did not offer the sacrifice. Before this, king Ch'ao had been ill, and an answer was obtained from the tortoise-shell that his illness was occasioned by the [Spirit of the] Ho. Notwithstanding, he did not sacrifice to it; and when his great officers begged him to sacrifice to it at the border [altar], he said, "According to the sacrifices commanded by the 3 dynasties, a State cannot sacrifice to any but the hills and streams within its borders. The Kiang, the Han, the Ts'ou, and the Chang are the rivers to which Ts'oo ought to sacrifice. Calamity or prosperity is not to be accounted for by error in this respect. Although I am deficient in virtue, I have not offended against the Ho." Accordingly he would not sacrifice to it." Confucius said, "King Ch'ao of Ts'oo knew the great path of duty. It was right that he should not lose his State! In one of the Books of Hsa (Shoo, III. iii. 7) it is said,

"There was the prince of Ts'oo and Tang,  
Who observed the rules of Heaven,  
And possessed this country of K'e.  
Now we have fallen from his ways,  
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws—  
The consequence is extinction and ruin."

It is said in another place (Shoo, II. ii. 10), "Where sincerity proceeds from, therein is the result." When a man observes of himself the regular [statutes of Heaven], [his worth] is to be acknowledged."

[There is here a short notice, relating to Ts'oo:—In the 8th month, Ping E-tse came a fugitive to Loo.]

Par. 7. & For 蔡 Kung-yang has 舍. The Chuen says:—Ch'in He-tse (K'ueh) had sent to call the Kung-tse Yang-sung (See the flight of Yang-sung, and other princes of Ts'oo to Loo in the narrative under par. 4 of last year) to Ts'oo. Yang-sung rode his chariot, and went to see [his brother] Tsen-yu (The Kung-tse Ts'oo) in the south suburbs, when he said, "I presented some horses to Ke-sun, but they were not fit to enter his best team. I therefore wish to present these, and beg you to ride with me, and try them." When they had gone out at the East gate, he told the other all about the call he had received. [Meanwhile, his servant] K'ao Che knew it, and was waiting for him outside. "But," said the prince to him, "how the thing will turn out cannot yet be known. Do you go back, and dwell with [my son] Jih." He then cautioned him, and went his way. He arrived at [the capital of] Ts'oo at night, but the people were aware of it.



'He-tze made [his concubine], the mother of Tze-sze, keep him [for some time], but [by and by] he got him in [to the palace] along with those who were taking the food in. In winter, in the 8th month, on Ting-maou, he raised him to the marquise and was about to impose a covenant [on the great officers]. Pao-tze had gone [to the palace] drunk, but one of his officers, who had charge of his chariot, Pao T'ien, said, "By whose orders is this?" "I received the order from Pao-tze," replied Ch'in-tze, and [turning to that minister], he said falsely to him that it was by his order. "Have you forgotten," said Pao-tze, "how when our [late] ruler was playing ox [to T'oo], the child [fell down and] broke his teeth? And now you are rebelling against him." Duke Taou (Yang-sung) bowed to him with his head to the ground, and said, "You are one who does what is right. If you approve of me, not a single great officer shall go into exile. If you do not approve of me, let not a single son of the late ruler go into exile. Where right is let us advance; where it is not, let us recede. I dare not but follow you, and you only, in everything. Let the displacing or the new appointment be made without disorder; this is what I desire." Pao-tze said, "Which of you is not a son of our [late] ruler?" and with this he took the covenant.

'[After this, duke Taou] sent Hoo Ke [a concubine of duke King] with the child Gan (T'oo) to Lae; sent away Yuh Sze (T'oo's mother); put to death Wang Kieh; put K'ang Yueh under restraint; and imprisoned Wang Pao at the hill of K'un-tow. He then sent Choo Maou to say to Ch'in-tze, "But for you,

I should not have attained to this position. But a ruler is not an article of furniture. There cannot be two rulers. Two articles of furniture are a safeguard against want, but two rulers give rise to many difficulties. I venture to represent this to you." He-tze [at first] gave no reply, but then he wept and said, "Must our rulers all have no trust in their officers? Because the State of Tze was in distress [through famine], and that distress gave rise to other anxieties, and no counsel could be taken with a ruler who was so young, I therefore sought for one who was grown up, hoping that he would exercise forbearance with his officers. If he cannot do so, with what offence is that child chargeable?" Maou returned with this answer, which made the duke repent [that he had sent the message]. Maou, however, said to him, "Your lordship can ask Ch'in-tze about great matters, but small matters you can determine yourself." The duke then sent him to remove the child to Tae; but before they arrived at that place, Maou put him to death in a tent in the country, and buried him at Shoo-maou-tun.'

Kung-yang gives a different account of the way in which Ch'in-tze brought about the elevation of Yang-sung to the marquise, and relates a story about his being suddenly presented from a sack to the great officers, whom Ch'in-tze had called together to a sacrificial feast. This account, being more dramatic, is followed, as we might expect, in the 'History of the Various States,' Ch. lxxxi.

Par. 9. This was a sequel to the wailing of Choo-h'ea mentioned in par. 1.

Par. 16. See on III. v.

Seventh year.

七年春，宋皇瑗帥師侵鄭。  
 晉魏曼多帥師侵衛。  
 夏，公會吳于鄆。  
 秋，公伐邾，八月己酉，入邾，以邾子益來。  
 冬，鄭駟弘帥師救曹。



左傳曰：七年，春，宋師侵鄭，鄭叛晉故也。晉師侵衛，衛不服也。

夏，公會吳于鄆。吳來徵百牢。子服景伯對曰：先王未之有也。吳人曰：宋百牢我，魯不可以後宋，且魯牢晉大夫過十，吳王百牢，不亦可乎？景伯曰：晉范鞅貪而棄禮，以大國懼敵邑，故敵邑十一牢之。君若以禮命於諸侯，則有數矣。若亦棄禮，則有淫者矣。周之王也，制禮上物，不過十二，以爲天之大數也。今棄周禮，而曰必百牢，亦唯執事。吳人弗聽。景伯曰：吳將亡矣。棄天而背本，不與必棄疾於我，乃與之。大宰嚭召季康子。康子使子貢辭，大宰嚭曰：國君道長，而大夫不出門，此何禮也？對曰：豈以爲禮？畏大國也。大國不以禮命於諸侯，苟不以禮，豈可量也？寡君既共命焉，其老豈敢棄其國？大伯端委以治周禮，仲雍詞之，斷髮文身，贏以爲飾，豈禮也哉？有由然也。反自鄆，以吳爲無能爲也。

季康子欲伐邾，乃饗大夫以謀之。子服景伯曰：小所以事大，信也。大所以保小，仁也。魯大國不信，伐小國，不仁。民保於城，城保於德，失二德者，危將焉保？孟孫曰：二三子以爲何如？惡賢而逆之。對曰：禹合諸侯於塗山，執玉帛者萬國，今其存者無數十焉。唯大不字小，小不事大也。知必危，何故不言？魯德如邾，而以衆加之，可乎？不樂而出，秋伐邾，及范門，猶聞鐘聲。大夫諫，不聽。茅成子請告於吳，不許。曰：魯擊柝聞於邾，吳二千里，不三月不至，何及於我？且國內豈不足？成子以茅叛，師遂入邾，躡其公宮，衆師晝掠邾，衆保於繹，師宵掠，以邾子益來，獻於亳社。囚諸負瑕，負瑕故有繹。邾茅夷鴻以束帛乘韋，自請救於吳，曰：魯弱晉而遠吳，憑恃其衆，而背君之盟，辟君之執事，以陵我小國，邾非敢自愛也，懼君威之不立，君威之不立，小國之憂也。若夏盟於鄆，衍秋而背之，成求而不違，四方諸侯，其何以事君？且魯賦八百乘，君之貳也。邾賦六百乘，君之私也。以私奉貳，唯君圖之。吳子從之。



宋人圍曹。鄭桓子思曰：宋人有曹，鄭之患也，不可以不救。冬，鄭師救曹，侵宋。初，曹人或夢衆君子立於社宮而謀亡曹，曹叔振鐸請待公孫彊許之。旦而求之，曹無之。戒其子曰：「我死，爾聞公孫彊爲政，必去之。」及曹伯陽卽位，好田弋，曹鄩人公孫彊好弋，獲白鴈，獻之。且言田弋之說，說之，因爲訪政事，大說之。有寵，使爲司城，以聽政。夢者之，子乃從之。乃晉而奸宋，宋人伐之。晉人不救。築五色於其郊，曰：「黍丘，揖丘，大城，鐘。」

- VII. 1 In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, Hwang Yuen of Sung made an incursion, with a force, into Ch'ing.  
 2 Wei Man-to of Tsin made an incursion, with a force, into Wei.  
 3 In summer, the duke had a meeting with Woo in Ts'ang.  
 4 In autumn, the duke invaded Choo. In the eighth month, on Ke-y'ew, he entered [the capital of] that State, and brought Yih, viscount of Choo, back with him to Loo.  
 5 A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'au.  
 6 In winter, Sze Hwang of Ch'ing led a force to relieve Ts'au.

Par. 1. Tso-she says this attack of Ch'ing was 'because of its revolt from Tsin'; but the K'ang-ho editors retrench so much of the Chuen, thinking the attack was not to be so accounted for. Comparing par. 6, we may conclude that it was because of a confederation between Ch'ing and Ts'au, on the destruction of which latter State Sung was bent.

Par. 2. In the 5th year Tsin invaded Wei, but that State still held out against it; hence this incursion.

Par. 3. For 鄩 K'uh-liang has 繼;—see IX. 1. 3. Both here and in par. 5 of last year, we must understand that the meeting was with the viscount of Woo. The Chuen says, 'In summer, when the duke had a meeting with Woo in Ts'ang, [messengers] came from Woo, demanding from us a hundred sets of animals.' Tze-fan King-pih replied that the ancient kings had never made a rule enjoining such contributions; but they said, 'Sung gave us a hundred, and Loo must not be behind Sung. Moreover, Loo gave more than ten to a great officer of Tsin (see on X. xxi. 2); is it not proper that the king of Woo should receive 100?' King-pih rejoined, 'Pan Yang of Tsin was greedy, and threw aside all rules of propriety. He frightened our poor State with his great on, and therefore we gave him 11 sets. If your ruler will require from the States what is enjoined by these rules, there is a definite number laid down. If he will also throw them aside, the demand is excessive. The kings of

Chow, according to the statutes, require only 12 of this great-class offering, considering that to be the great number [indicated by the division] of the heurana. When [your ruler] sets aside the rules of Chow, and says that he must have 100 sets of animals, it is simply the decision of his officers.' The men of Woo would not listen to this remonstrance, and King-pih said, 'Woo will go to ruin, casting away [the rule of] heaven and going against [the example of] its own ancestral House. If we do not give [these animals], it will vent its enmity on us.' Accordingly they gave them.

Pai, the grand-administrator [of Woo], called Ka K'ang-tse to him, and K'ang-tse sent Tze-kung to excuse his not going. 'The ruler of your State,' said Pai, 'takes a long journey, and his great officer will not cross his door; what sort of propriety is this?' Tze-kung replied, 'Why should this be viewed from the point of propriety? We are afraid of your great State. It is laying its commands upon the States without regard to the rules of propriety, and how can we measure to what that course will go? Our ruler has obeyed your commands; but how can his old minister leave [the care of] the State?' Tze-pih (The first civilizer of Woo. See on Ann. VIII. 1), in his square-made robe and black cap, cultivated the ceremonies of Chow. Chung-yung succeeded to him, and cut off his hair and tattooed his body. Was that ornamenting of the naked body according to the rules of propriety? but there was a cause for it.'



"When [the duke] returned from Tsang, it was considered that Woo could do nothing [great]."

Par. 4. Here is the consummation of Loo's hostility to Choo. The Chuen says:—Ke K'ang-tse wished to attack Choo, and gave an entertainment to the great officers, to take counsel about it. Tse-fuh King-pih said, "It is by good faith that a small State serves a great one, and benevolence is seen in a great State's protecting a small one. If we violate [our covenant with] a great State, it will be a want of good faith; and if we attack a small State, it will be a want of benevolence. The people are protected by the walls of the cities, and the walls of the cities are preserved by virtue, but if we lose those virtues, our walls will totter;—how will it be possible to preserve them?" Mang-sun said, "What do you say, gentlemen, to these things? How can we go against [the words of] a man of such wisdom?" [The great officers] replied, "When Yu assembled the States on mount T'oo, there were 10,000 States whose princes bore their symbols of jade and offerings of silk. Of those there are not many tens which now remain;—through the great States not cherishing the small, and the small States not serving the great. If we know this expedition must be perilous to us, why should we not say so?" [Mang-sun rejoined], "The virtue of Loo is the same as that of Choo; and is it proper that we should fall upon it with our [superior] numbers?" They were [all] displeased, and left the feast.

"In autumn, we invaded Choo; and when we had got as far as its Fan gate, [the viscount] was still listening to the sound of his bells. His great officers remonstrated with him, but he would not hearken to them. Ch'ing-tse of Maou begged leave to carry information of their circumstances to Woo, but he would not grant it, saying, "The noise of the watchmen's rattles in Loo is heard in Choo, whereas Woo is 2,000 *li* off, and cannot come [to our relief] in less than 3 months. Of what avail can it be to us? and have we not sufficient resources in our State?" On this Ch'ing-tse revolted with Maou, and our army then entered [the capital of] Choo, and occupied the viscount's palace. The troops all plundered during the day, and then the people took refuge on [mount] Yih. The troops [also] plundered during the night, and then returned, bringing Yih the viscount with them. He was presented before the altar of Poh, and imprisoned in Foo-hia, in consequence of which there is [in that neighbourhood] a [mount] Yih.

"E-hung (Ch'ing-tse) of Maou went himself to ask assistance from Woo, carrying with him as offerings two ox-hides and a bundle of silks. "Loo," said he, "considering the weakness of Tain and the distance of Woo, is confident in its own numbers, violates its covenant with your lordship, treats with contempt your officers, and so tyrannises over our small State. Choo does not presume [to send to you] out of regard for itself, but it is afraid lest your lordship's majesty should not be maintained. The not maintaining of that is the subject of our small State's anxiety. If [Loo] may in the summer covenant with you in Tsang-yen, and in the autumn violate its engagements; if it accomplish what it seeks,

and no resistance [be offered to it]:—how can the States of the four quarters be expected to serve your lordship? Moreover, the levies of Loo amount to 800 chariots,—the same as your own, while those of Choo are [only] 600, [as if it were] the private possession of your lordship. To give your private possession to a State which is your equal is a matter worth your lordship's consideration." The viscount of Woo was prevailed on by these representations.

The student will observe in this paragraph how the bringing a prisoner to Loo is described by 以來, while in many other paragraphs the carrying a prisoner to another State is described by 以歸.

Par. 5, 6. Com. par. 1. The Chuen says:—A body of men from Sung laid siege to [the capital of] Ts'ao. Huan Tse-ssu of Ch'ing said, "If the people of Sung get Ts'ao into their possession, it will be a bad thing for Ch'ing; we must on all accounts go and help Ts'ao." Accordingly, in winter, an army of Ch'ing, to relieve Ts'ao, made an incursion into Sung.

"Before this, a man of Ts'ao dreamt that a number of gentlemen were standing in the temple [adjoining the] altar of the land, and consulting about the ruin of the State, and that [among them was] Shuh of Ts'ao, Chin-toh [The first earl of Ts'ao; a brother of king Woo], who begged them to wait till Kung-sun K'iang appeared;—and to this they agreed. In the morning, the man sought through the city for a person of this name, but there was no such individual. He warned his son, however, saying, "When I am dead, if you hear of the government's being in the hands of a Kung-sun K'iang, you must then leave the State."

"When Yang became earl of Ts'ao, he was fond of hunting and bird-shooting. In the borders of the State there was a man [called] Kung-sun K'iang, who was [also] fond of bird-shooting, and having caught a white goose, presented it [to the earl], talking also with him all about hunting and bird-shooting. The earl was pleased with him, and went on to ask him about affairs of government. His answers afforded him great pleasure; and the man became a favourite, was made minister of Works, and the conduct of the government committed to him; on which the son of the dreamer took his departure. K'iang spoke to the earl all about his becoming leader of the States, and the earl followed his advice, revolting from Tain, and breaking the peace with Sung. The people of Sung invaded the State, and Tain gave it no help; so they built 5 cities in the borders of the capital,—Shoo-k'w, Yih-k'w, Ts'ang, Chung, and Yu."



## Eighth year.

<sup>一章</sup>八年春王正月宋  
<sup>二章</sup>公入曹以曹伯陽  
<sup>三章</sup>歸。  
<sup>四章</sup>吳伐我。  
<sup>五章</sup>夏齊人取謹及闡。  
<sup>六章</sup>歸邾子益于邾。  
<sup>七章</sup>秋七月。  
<sup>八章</sup>冬十有二月癸亥  
<sup>九章</sup>杞伯過卒。  
<sup>十章</sup>齊人歸謹及闡。

左傳曰八年春宋公伐曹將還緒師子肥腰曹人詬之不行師待之  
 公聞之怒命反之遂滅曹執曹伯及司城彊以歸殺之  
 吳爲邾故將伐魯問於叔孫輒叔孫輒對曰魯有名而無情伐之必  
 得志焉退而告公山不狃公山不狃曰非禮也君子違不適讐國未  
 臣而有伐之奔命焉死之可也所託也則隱且夫人之行也不以所  
 惡廢鄉今子以小惡而欲覆宗國不亦難乎若使子率子必辭王將  
 使我子張病之王問於子洩對曰魯雖無與立必有與斃諸侯將救  
 之未可以得志焉晉與齊楚輔之是四讐也夫魯齊晉之脅脅亡魯  
 寒君所知也不救何爲三月吳伐我子洩率故道險從武城初武城  
 人或於吳竟田焉拘卽人之漚胥者曰何故使吾水漚及吳師  
 至拘者道之以伐武城克之王犯嘗爲之宰澹臺子羽之父好焉國  
 人懼懿子謂景伯若之何對曰吳師來斯與之戰何患焉且召之而  
 至又何求焉吳師克東陽而進舍於五梧明日舍於蠶室公賓庚公  
 甲叔子與戰於夷獲叔子與析朱鉏獻於王王曰此同車必使能國  
 未可望也明日舍於庚宗遂次於泗上徵虎欲宵攻王舍私屬徒七  
 百人三踊於幕庭卒三百人有若與焉及稷門之內或謂季孫曰不  
 足以害吳而多殺國士不如已也乃止之吳子聞之一夕三遷吳人  
 行成將盟景伯曰楚人圍宋易子而食析骸而爨猶無城下之盟我



未及廩而有城下之盟，是棄國也。吳輕而遠，不能久，將歸矣。請少待之。弗從。景伯負載造於萊門，乃請釋子服何於吳。吳人許之，以王子姑曹當之而後止。吳人盟而還。

齊悼公之來也，季康子以其妹妻之，即位而逆之。季魴侯通焉，女言其情，弗敢與也。齊侯怒。夏五月，齊魴牧帥師伐我，取讎及闡。

或譖胡姬於齊侯，曰：「安孺子之黨也。」六月，齊侯殺胡姬。

齊侯使如吳請師，將以伐我，乃歸邾子。邾子又無道，吳子使犬宰子餘討之，因諸樓臺，柝之以棘，使諸大夫奉犬子草以爲政。

秋，及齊平。九月，臧賓如如齊，泚盟。齊聞丘明來泚盟，且逆季姬以歸，嬖。

鮑牧又謂羣公子曰：「使女有馬千乘乎？公子慙之，公謂鮑子，或譖子，子姑居於路以察之。若有之，則分室以行。若無之，則反子之所出，門使以三分之一行，半道使以二乘及濫，麇之以入，遂殺之。」

冬十二月，齊人歸讎及闡。季姬嬖故也。

- VIII. 1 In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Sung entered [the capital of] Ts'aou, and carried Yang, earl of Ts'aou, back with him to Sung.
- 2 Woo invaded us.
- 3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'e took Hwan and Chen.
- 4 We sent back Yih, viscount of Choo, to his State.
- 5 It was autumn, the seventh month.
- 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, Kwo, earl of K'e, died.
- 7 The people of Ts'e returned Hwan and Chen.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—This spring, the duke of Sung attacked [the capital of] Ts'aou, and was withdrawing, while Tzu-fel, superintendent of the market-place, was bringing up the rear. Him the people of Ts'aou reviled so much that he halted. The [rest of the] army was waiting for him, and when the duke heard of the circumstance, he was angry, and ordered the troops to return to the attack. He then extinguished Ts'aou, laid hold of the earl and K'ang, the minister of Works, carried them back with him to Sung, and put them to death.

The Chuen thus says expressly that Sung extinguished Ts'aou, with which the notes in the text would agree well enough, though it does not necessarily follow from what the text says that the House of Ts'aou was now extinguished. And in the time of Mencius we seem to find the State of Ts'aou still existing;—see

VI. Pt. II. B. Perhaps, as some suppose, Sung now constituted it an "attached State" of its own, under the presidency of some other family.

Par. 2. This is a sequel to the narrative under par. 4 of last year. The Chuen says:—Woo, being about to invade Loo in the interest of Choo, asked Shuh-sun Chieh (A refugee from Loo. See on XI. xii. 5, where it is said that Chieh, and Kung-sun Puh-néu fled to Ts'e. They afterwards went to Woo) [about the enterprise]. Chieh replied, "Loo has the name [of being a great State], but not the reality. If you invade it, you are sure to get your will." When he retired [from his interview with the viscount], he told this to Kung-sun Puh-néu; who said, "You [spoke] improperly. When a superior man leaves his own State, he does not go to one that is an enemy with it. If he have not taken office in



that State, and it be invading his native one, he may hurry away to do it service, and die for it. Moreover, a man is supposed not to forego his [attachment to his] village because of his [private] animosities; and is it not a hard case that you, on account of a small animosity, should wish to overturn the State of your ancestors? If they [wish] you to lead the way for them, you must refuse, and the king will then employ me." Tse-chang (Shuh-sun Choh) was distressed about the matter.

"The king then asked Tse-ah (Kung-shan Fuh-siu) in the same way, and he replied, "Although Loo [seems to] have none to labour for its elevation, there are those who will be prepared to die for it. The other States will come to its relief, and you cannot yet get your will with it. Tsin, Tse, and Tse-oo will help it, and you will have 4 enemies to contend with. Loo is as it were the lip of Tse and Tsin. If the lip is destroyed, the teeth get cold,—as your lordship knows. What should they do but come to its help?"

"In the 3d month, Woo invaded us, Tse-ah setting as guide to it and purposely leading [its army] by the most difficult path, past Woo-shing. But before this, some men of that city had been taking the opportunity to hunt on the borders of Woo, and had caught rudely a man of Tsin whom they found sleeping rushes, blaming him for making their water dirty. When the army [of Woo] now arrived [in the neighbourhood], the man who had been caught showed it the way to attack the city, so that it reduced it. Wang Fan (a refugee from Woo) was the commandant of Woo-shing, a friend of Tse-tse Tse-yu's (The Tsin-tse Moeh-ning of Ana. VI. xii.) father, and the people of the State were afraid of him, [thinking he might have delivered the city to Woo].

"E-tse (Mang-sun Ho-ke) said to King-pih, "What is to be done?" and was answered, "When the army of Woo arrives, we must at once fight with it. Why be troubled about that? It is here, moreover, at our own call;—what more would you seek for? The army of Woo [next] reduced Tung-yang, from which advancing it halted at Woo-woo. Its stage next day was to Tse-shih. Kung-pih Kang and Kung-kiah Shuh-tse fought with it at E, when Shuh-tse and Seih Choo-tse were taken. When they were presented to the king, he said, "These were in the same chariot, and must have been employed as being men of ability. I cannot yet expect to gain such a State." Next day the army advanced to Kang-tsung, and halted at See-shang. There We Hoo wanted to attack the encampment at night, and privately collected 700 footmen whom he proved by making them take 3 jumps in the court before his tent, till their number was reduced to 300, among whom was Yeh Joh (One of Confucius' disciples). When they had arrived inside the Tseih gate, some one said to Ke-sun, "They are not now to harm Woo, and we shall lose many officers by the attempt. It had better not be made." The minister accordingly stopped them; but when the viscount of Woo heard of the project, he removed his position thrice in one night.

"Woo [now] offered to make peace, and a covenant was about to be made. King-pih said, "When the army of Tse-oo besieged [the capital of] Sang (In the 5th year of duke Senen), the people exchanged their children and ate them, and gave the bones for fuel; and still they

would not submit to a covenant at the foot of their walls. For us, who have sustained no [great] loss, to do so, is to cast our State away. Woo is all for dispatch and is far from home. Its army cannot remain long, and will soon be returning. Let us wait a little." This advice was not taken, and King-pih carried on his back the tablets [of the covenant] to the Lao gate. [Loo] then asked that Tse-fuh Ho (King-pih) might not be required to go to Woo as its hostage, and, this being agreed to, that the king's son, Koo-tseun, might be [left in Loo] on the other side. [The proposal of hostages] was then abandoned. The people of Woo made the covenant, and withdrew.

Par. 4. Hwan,—see II. iii. 6, 7, et al. For 關.

here and below, Kung-yang 侯. The city was 35  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the north-east of the pre. dia. city of King-yang, dep. Yen-chow. The Chuen says:—When duke Taou (Yang-sung) came [a fugitive to Loo] (In Gae's 5th year), Ke K'ang-tse gave him his younger sister in marriage; and when he succeeded to the State, he sent for her; but [by that time] Ke Yang-how had had an intrigue with her. The lady told the truth, and [K'ang-tse] did not dare to send her [by the messenger], which enraged the marquis of Tse; and in summer, in the 5th month, Paou Muh led a force, and invaded us, taking Hwan and Chen.

[The Chuen appends here some other matters about Tse:—Some one slandered Hoo Ke (See the Chuen on VI. 7, 8), saying that she belonged to the party of the child Gan; and in the 6th month, the marquis of Tse put her to death.]

Par. 5. Loo here restores the viscount of Choo through fear of Woo and Tse;—not to the advantage, as we shall see, of that prince. The Chuen says:—The marquis of Tse sent a message to Woo, begging [the assistance of] an army, as he was intending to invade us. On this we restored the viscount of Choo, who, however, now conducted himself in an improper manner [to Woo]. The viscount of that State, therefore, sent the grand-administrator, Tse-yu, to punish him. He was imprisoned in a room in a high tower, which was fenced round with thorns; and Tse-yu then made all the great officers support the viscount's eldest son Kih in the administration of the State.

Par. 6. [There are two brief narratives introduced here, both more or less relating to Tse.

1st. In autumn, we made peace with Tse, and Tseing Pin-joo went to Tse to make the covenant, while Lei K'ew-ming came to Loo for the same purpose on the part of Tse. At the same time he received Ke Ke (Ke K'ang-tse's sister), and carried her back with him. She became a favourite with the marquis.

2d. Paou Muh went on to say to each of the marquis's brothers, "Shall I make you possessor of a thousand chariots?" They complained of him, and the duke said to him, "Some one has slandered you. Do you go for a time and reside in [the city of] Loo, till I examine into the matter. If the thing be true, you shall forfeit one half your property, and can go to another State; and if it be not true, I will restore you to your place." As he was going out at the gate, the duke made him take only a third of his usual retinue. When he had got



half way, this was reduced to two chariots. When he got to Loo, he was obliged to enter it in confinement, and shortly after the duke put him to death.]

Par. 7. Tso-she says that the return of these places to Loo was a consequence of the favour with which the daughter of K'ang-tse was regarded by the marquis of Ts'a.

*Ninth year.*

九年春王二月葬杞僖公。宋皇瑗帥師取鄭師。于雍丘。夏，楚人伐陳。秋，宋公伐鄭。冬十月。

①左傳曰：九年春，齊侯使公孟綽辭師於吳。吳子曰：昔歲寡人聞命，今又革之，不知所從，將進受命於君。鄭武子曠之嬖，許瑕求邑，無以與之，請外取，許之，故圍宋雍丘。宋皇瑗圍鄭師，每日遷舍，壘合，鄭師哭，子姚救之，大敗。二月甲戌，宋取鄭師于雍丘，使有能者無死，以郟張與鄭羅歸。

②夏，楚人伐陳，陳即吳故也。

③宋公伐鄭。

④秋，吳城邳，溝通江淮。

⑤晉趙鞅卜救鄭，遇水適火，占諸史趙、史墨、史龜、史比，曰：是謂沈陽，可以興兵，利以伐姜，不利子商。伐齊則可，敵宋不吉。史墨曰：盈水名也，子水位也，名位敵，不可干也。炎帝爲火師，姜姓其後也，水勝火，伐姜則可。史趙曰：是謂如川之滿，不可游也。鄭方有罪，不可救也。救鄭則不吉，不知其他。陽虎以周易筮之，遇泰之需，曰：宋方吉，不可與也。微子啟，帝乙之元子也，宋鄭甥舅也，社稷也。若帝乙之元子歸妹而有吉祿，我安得吉焉？乃止。

⑥冬，吳子使來儼師伐齊。

- IX. 1 In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke He of K'e.
- 2 Hwang Yuen of Sung led a force and captured an army of Ch'ing at Yung-k'ew.
- 3 In summer, a body of men from Ts'oo invaded Ch'in.
- 4 In autumn, the duke of Sung invaded Ch'ing.
- 5 It was winter, the tenth month.



Par. 1. The interment of duke He thus took place in the 3d month after his death. There must have been some reason for the haste.

[The Chuan gives here a narrative preparatory to Woo's attack of Tse next year:—“This spring, the marquess of Tse sent Kung-ming Ch'ui to decline the services of the army [of which he had requested the aid] from Woo. The viscount of Woo said, “Last year I received your commands, and now you reverse them. I do not know which to follow. I will advance and receive my orders [direct] from your ruler.””]

Par. 2. Yung-k'ew was in Sung.—in the pre. dia. of K'e (杞), dep. K'ue-fang. The Chuan says:—Hou Hia, a favourite of Woo-tze Ying (Han Tai), asked for a city; and there being none to give him, he asked leave to take one from another State. This was granted, and he laid siege in consequence to Yung-k'ew of Sung. [There.] Hwang Yuan of Sung besieged the army of Ch'ing, every day moving forward his lines, till the intrenchments of the two armies touched. That of Ch'ing wept [in its distress]. Tse-yao (Han-tai), who attempted to relieve it, received a great defeat; and in the 2d month, on Kesh-seuth, Sung took it at Yung-k'ew. Hwang Yuan directed that the men of ability (among the prisoners) should not be put to death, and took Kesh Chang and Ch'ing Lo back with him.”

Maou calls in question this narrative of the Chuan, which certainly does not seem to carry on it the stamp of verisimilitude. He thinks the historical facts may simply have been that Han Tai now made an expedition into Sung in retaliation for that related in VII. 1, and received a severe defeat at Yung-k'ew. The

取 in the text would seem to imply the capture of his army. See Tso's canon about the meaning of 取 in such a case on II. xl. 2:—覆

而敗之曰取某師. Such a defeat is compared in the ‘explanation of Tso's canons,’ to the taking a flock of birds in a net;—as if 覆 were to be read *few*, in the 3d tone.

Par. 3. Tso says the reason of this invasion was because Chin had gone over to Woo. T'ao had certainly done its utmost to relieve Chin, when that State was attacked by Woo in the duke's 6th year; but as the death of King Ch'ao had rendered a retreat necessary, Woo had remained master of the field, and Chin had, no doubt, been obliged to submit to its terms. To punish it for this would seem to be hard treatment.

Par. 4. Not content with the capture of its army, Sung now carries the war into Ch'ing.

[The Chuan introduces here two notices. The 1st is brief, but important, in connexion with the labours of subsequent dynasties to effect a communication by water between the Kiang and the northern regions. It would require a dissertation to discuss it fully. “This autumn, Woo walled Han (The present Yangchow), and thence formed by a channel a communication between the Kiang and the Hwai.”

2d, relating how Tsin gave up the purpose of relieving Ch'ing. “Chao Yang consulted the tortoise-shell about relieving Ch'ing, and got the indication of fire meeting with water. He asked an explanation of it from the historiographers Chao, Mii, and Kwel. Kwel said, “This is called ‘quenching the Yang (Light, or fire).’ [On the strength of this] you may commence hostilities—with advantage against Kiang (Tse), but not against Tze-shang (Sung). You may [on this] attack Tse; but if you oppose Sung, the result will be unlucky.”

Mii said, “Ying (盈) said to be the surname of Chao Yang) is a name of water. Tze (子, the surname of Sung) is in the position of water. To put the name and the position in antagonism is not to be attempted. The emperor Yen (Shin-nung) had his fire-master from whom the House of Kiang is descended. Water overcomes fire. According to this you may attack the Kiang.” Chao said, “We may say of this that we have indicated the full channel of a stream, which cannot be swum through. Ch'ing is now an offender [against Tsin], and ought not to be relieved. If you go to assist Ch'ing, the result will be unlucky. This is all that I know.”

Yang Hoo consulted the books on the principles of the Yih of Chow about the subject, and found the diagram T'ae (泰, ䷊), which then

became the diagram Sea (需, ䷄). “Here,” said he “luck is with Sung. We must not engage [in conflict] with it. K'e, the viscount of Wei (The first duke of Sung), was the eldest son of Te-yih; there have been intermarriages between Sung and Ch'ing. The ‘happiness’ (In the legend of the changed line) denotes dignity. If the eldest son of Te-yih by the marriage of his sister has good fortune and dignity, how can we have good fortune [in an expedition against Sung]? [The purpose of helping Ch'ing] was accordingly abandoned.”

[There is a brief notice here, connected with Woo's determination to attack Tse:—“In winter, the viscount of Woo sent a message, requiring our army to be in readiness to invade Tse.”]

### Tenth year.

夏陽生卒。侯。三。伐齊。公會來奔。邾子益。王二年。春。宋人。戊。月。戊。吳。益。月。春。



伐鄭。晉趙鞅帥師侵齊。五月公至自伐齊。葬齊悼公。衛公子孟彊自齊歸。于衛。薛伯夷卒。秋葬薛惠公。冬楚公子結帥師伐陳。吳救陳。

左傳曰：十年春，邾隱公來奔，齊甥也，故遂奔齊。公會吳子、邾子、鄆子，伐齊南鄙。師於鄆，齊人弑悼公，赴於師。吳子三日哭於軍門之外。徐承帥舟師，將自海入齊，齊人敗之。吳師乃還。夏，趙鞅帥師伐齊，大夫請卜之。趙孟曰：「吾卜於此，起兵，事不再令，卜不襲吉，行也。」於是乎取犂及轅，毀高唐之郭，侵及賴而還。秋，吳子使來復儼師。冬，楚子期伐陳，吳延州來季子救陳，謂子期曰：「二君不務德而力爭，諸侯民何罪焉？我請退，以爲子名，務德而安民。」乃還。

- X. 1 In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Yih, viscount of Choo, came a fugitive to Loo.  
 2 The duke joined Woo in invading Ts'e.  
 3 In the third month, on Mow-seuh, Yang-säng, marquis of Ts'e, died.  
 4 In summer, a body of men from Sung invaded Ch'ing.  
 5 Chaou Yang of Tsin led a force, and made an incursion into Ts'e.  
 6 In the fifth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Ts'e.  
 7 There was the burial of duke Taou of Ts'e.  
 8 Kung mäng K'ow of Wei returned from Ts'e to Wei.  
 9 E, earl of Süh, died.  
 10 In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hwuy of Süh.  
 11 In winter, the Kung-tsze Këeh of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'in, when Woo went to the relief of Ch'in.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—'This spring, duke Yin of Choo came a fugitive, to Loo. Being the son of a daughter of [the House of] Ts'e, he went on to flee to that State.' Yih must have escaped from the tower in which he was confined by order of Woo (See on VIII. 4). His taking refuge in Loo showed, says K'ang K'ang, how

shameless he was. Mao thinks that he did it to excite again the enmity of Woo against Loo; but perhaps it was the only step he could take in order to get to Ts'e.

Par. 2, 3, 6. The Chuen says:—'The duke joined the viscounts of Woo, Choo (This must be the son of Yih. See VIII. 4), and Tan, and



invaded the south border of Ts'e. Their army was encamped at Sshih, when the people of Ts'e murdered duke Tsoo, and sent word to it [of his death], on which the viscount of Woo wept for 3 days outside the gate of the camp. [At the same time] Sen Shing was conducting a fleet along the coast, intending with it to enter Ts'e, but it was defeated by the men of Ts'e, and on this the army of Woo withdrew. There seems no good reason to question the account of the death of the marquis of Ts'e given by Tsoo-she. Tsoo supposes that the report from Ts'e stated that he died from illness; and the text therefore follows that official announcement. This also may have been the case;—comp. IX. vii. 10, and the Chuen upon it. Woo Ch'ing, however, and others deny the account in the Chuen, thinking it very unlikely that a great State like Ts'e would suddenly murder its prince to avert the danger of an invasion with which it was well able to cope. They forget that that invasion was just the thing that the Ch'in family would lay hold of to further their designs against the House of K'ang.

Par. 4. See on par. 4 of last year.

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—'The great officers begged him to consult the tortoise-shell about this expedition, but Chao-ming said, "I did do so, and thereon am putting the troops in motion (See the narr. after par. 4 of last year). Things must not be twice referred to the tortoise-shell; when you get a fortunate answer, the divination must not be repeated." On this they set forth, and he took Le and Yuen, threw down the walls of the suburbs of K'ao-i'ang, made an incursion as far as Lae, and returned.' This account of the Chuen is prefaced by 晉趙鞅帥師伐齊 the words of the text, excepting that

we have 伐 instead of 侵. Upon this many of the critics say that Yang did thus really make an open attack on Ts'e, invading it, but in the text the invasion is reduced to an incursion; and in this misrepresentation of the fact they find the sage's condemnation of Ts'in for taking advantage of the death of the marquis of Ts'e to invade his State! This is surely a strange method of exalting the character of Confucius.

Par. 8. K'ow in the 14th year of duke Ting (XI. xiv. 12) fled to Ch'ing, a partisan of K'wo-wae, and from Ch'ing he had gone on to Ts'e. Perhaps he had deserted the party of K'wo-wae, and was now restored by Ts'e to Wei. We find him, in the 16th year, when K'wo-wae regains the State, flying again to Ts'e.

Par. 9, 10. For 夷 Kung-yang has 寅. [The Chuen appends a brief note here to the effect, that this autumn the viscount of Woo sent another message to Loo to have its army ready for the field]

Par. 11. The Chuen says:—'In winter T'ao-k'e of Ts'oo invaded Ch'in (See on par. 8 of last year). Ke-tze of Yen and Chow-lae (Supposed to be Ke-chah, the youngest son of Shou-mung of Woo who died in the 12th year of S'ang. See the Chuen after IX. xiv. 1, et al. Chah could not now be less than 90 years old) went to relieve Ch'in, and said to T'ao-k'e, "Our two rulers do not endeavour to display virtue, but are striving by force for the supremacy of the States. Of what offences have the people been guilty? Allow me to retire; it will be to the credit of your name, as endeavouring to show a virtuous kindness and seeking the tranquillity of the people." On this [both parties] withdrew [from Ch'in].'

Eleventh year.

十有一年春齊國書師  
夏陳轅頗出奔鄭  
五月公會吳伐齊  
甲戌齊國書師及吳  
戰于艾陵齊師敗績獲  
齊國書  
秋七月辛酉滕子虞母  
卒  
冬十有一月葬滕隱公  
衛世叔齊出奔宋



左傳曰：十一年春，齊爲鄆故，國書高無平，帥師伐我。及清，季孫謂其宰冉求曰：「齊師在清，必魯故也。若之何？」求曰：「一子守，二子從公禦諸竟。」季孫曰：「不能求曰：居封疆之間。」季孫告二子，二子不可求曰：「若不可，則君無出一子帥師，背城而戰，不屬者，非魯人也。」魯之羣室衆於齊之兵車，一室敵車，優矣。子何患焉？二子之不欲戰也，宜政在季氏。當子之身，齊人伐魯而不能戰，子之恥也。大不列於諸侯矣。季孫使從於朝，俟於肅氏之溝。武叔呼而問戰焉。對曰：「君子有遠慮，小人何知？」懿子強問之。對曰：「小人慮材而言，量力而共者也。」武叔曰：「是謂我不成丈夫也。」退而蒐乘。孟孺子洩帥右師，顏羽御，邴洩爲右，冉求帥左師，管周父御，樊遲爲右。季孫曰：「須也弱。」有子曰：「就用命焉。」季氏之甲七千，冉有以武城人三百爲己徒卒，老幼守宮，次於雲門之外。五日，右師從之，公叔務人見保者而泣。曰：「事克，政重，上不能謀，士不能死，何以治民？吾既言之矣，敢不勉乎？」師及齊師戰於郊，齊師自稷曲師不踰溝，樊遲曰：「非不能也，不信子也。」請三刻而踰之。如之。衆從之。師入齊軍，右師奔齊人從之，陳瓘、陳莊涉洩孟之側，後人以爲殿，抽矢策其馬曰：「馬不進也。」林不狝之伍曰：「走乎？不狝之伍曰：「誰不如曰：然則止乎？不狝曰：惡賢，徐步而死。」師獲甲首八十。齊人不能師，宵謀曰：「齊人遁，冉有請從之。」三季孫弗許。孟孺子語人曰：「我不如顏羽，而賢於邴洩。」子羽銳敏，我不欲戰，而能默。洩曰：「擊之。」公爲與其嬖僮汪錡乘，皆死。皆殞。孔子曰：「能執干戈以衛社稷，可無殤也。」冉有用矛於齊師，故能入其軍。孔子曰：「義也。」

夏，陳轅頗出奔鄭。初，轅頗爲司徒，賦封田以嫁公女，有餘，以爲己大器。國人逐之，故出。追渴，其族轅咺進稻醴，梁糗，腹脯焉。喜曰：「何其給也。」對曰：「器成而具。」曰：「何不吾諫？」對曰：「懼先行。」

爲郊戰，故公會吳子伐齊。五月，克博，壬申，至於贏。中軍從王，胥門巢將上軍，王子姑曹將下軍，展如將右軍，齊國書將中軍，高無平將上軍，宗樓將下軍。陳僖子謂其弟書：「爾死，我必得志。」宗子陽與閭丘明相厲也。桑掩胥御國子，公孫夏曰：「二子必死。」將戰，公孫夏命其徒歌處殞。陳子行命其徒具含玉。公孫揮命其徒曰：「人尋約，吳



髮短。東郭書曰：三戰必死於此三矣。使間弦多以琴曰：吾不復見子矣。陳書曰：此行也，吾聞鼓而已，不聞金矣。甲戌，戰于艾陵，展如敗高子。國子敗胥門巢。王卒助之，大敗齊師，獲國書。公孫夏問丘明，陳書、東郭書、革車八百乘，甲首三千，以獻於公。將戰，吳子呼叔孫曰：而事何也？對曰：從司馬王賜之甲，劍鉞曰：奉爾君事，敬無廢命。叔孫未能對，衛賜進曰：州仇奉甲從君而拜，公使大史固歸國子之元，寘之新篋，襲之以玄纁，加組帶焉。寘書於其上曰：天若不識不衷，何以使下國。

⑤吳將伐齊，越子率其衆以朝焉。王及列士皆有饋賂。吳人皆喜，唯子胥懼曰：是綦吳也夫。諫曰：越在我心腹之疾也，壤地同而有欲於我，夫其柔服，求濟其欲也，不如早從事焉。得志於齊，猶獲石田也，無所用之。越不爲沼，吳其泯矣。使醫除疾，而曰：必遺類焉者，未之有也。盤庚之誥曰：其有顛越不共，則劓殄無遺育，無俾易種於茲邑。是商所以興也。今君易之，將以求大，不亦難乎？弗聽。使於齊，屬其子於鮑氏，爲王孫氏。反役，王聞之，使賜之屬鏹以死，將死曰：樹吾墓，櫛可材也。吳其亡乎？三年，其始弱矣，盈必毀，天之道也。

⑥秋季，孫命修守備。曰：小勝大，禍也。齊至無日矣。

冬，衛犬叔疾出奔宋。初，疾娶於宋子朝，其嫡嬖子朝出，孔文子使疾出其妻而妻之。疾使侍人誘其初妻之嫡，寘於犂，而爲之一宮，如二妻。文子怒，欲攻之。仲尼止之，遂奪其妻，或淫於外州。外州人奪之，軒以獻。恥是二者，故出衛人立遺，使室孔媼。疾臣向魋納美珠焉，與之城鋪。宋公求珠，魋不與，由是得罪。及桓氏出，城鉏人攻犬叔疾，衛莊公復之，使處巢死焉。殯於郎，葬於少禘。初，晉悼公子慙亡在衛，使其女僕而田。犬叔懿子止而飲之酒，遂聘之。生悼子，悼子卽位。故夏戊爲大夫，悼子亡，衛人煎夏戊。孔文子之將攻犬叔也，訪於仲尼。仲尼曰：胡簋之事，則嘗學之矣。甲兵之事，未之聞也。退命駕而行。曰：鳥則擇木，木豈能擇鳥？文子遽止之曰：圍豈敢度其私，訪衛國之難也。將止，魯人以幣召之，乃歸。



何訪焉弗聽又  
在若欲苟而行  
而法則周公典  
且子季孫若欲  
以田賦將又不足  
而貪冒無厭則雖  
足矣若不度於禮  
薄如是不則於亦  
事舉其中斂從其  
度於禮施取其厚  
有曰君子而私於  
尼不對而言也再  
何子之不行若仲  
老待子而行若仲  
三發卒曰子爲國  
仲尼曰丘不識也  
使冉有訪於仲尼  
○季孫欲以田賦

- XL 1 In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, Kwoh Shoo of Ts'e led a force, and invaded na.  
2 In summer, Yuen P'o of Ch'in fled from that State to Ch'ing.  
3 In the fifth month, the duke joined Woo in invading Ts'e.  
4 On K'eah-seuh, Kwoh Shoo of Ts'e, at the head of a force, fought with Woo at E-ling, when the army of Ts'e was disgracefully defeated and Kwoh Shoo taken.  
5 In autumn, in the seventh month, on Sin-y'ew, Yu-woo viscount of T'ang, died.  
6 In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke Yin of T'ang.  
7 She-shuh Ts'e of Wei fled from that State to Sung.

Par. 1. The Chuen says:—This spring, in consequence of the campaign of Selt (See on par. 3 of last year), Kwoh Shoo and Kaon Woo-p'ei of Ts'e led a force to invade na. When they had got as far as T'ing, Ke-sun said to his steward, Jen K'ew (A disciple of Confucius; see Ana. VI. x., et al.), "The army of Ts'e's being at T'ing must be with a design on Loo; what is to be done?" K'ew replied, "Let one of you three chiefs remain in charge [of the capital], and the other two follow the duke to meet the enemy on the borders." "We cannot do so," Ke-sun replied. "Avoid the enemy then inside the borders," advised K'ew. Ke-sun reported this proposal to the other two chiefs, but they objected to it, on which K'ew said, "If this cannot be done, then let not our ruler go forth, but let one of you three lead the army, and fight a battle with the city at their backs. Let those who do not join him not be accounted men of Loo. The [great] Houses of Loo are more than the number of the chariots of Ts'e. One House is much more than able to meet one chariot. Why should you be troubled about the matter? The two other chiefs may well not wish to fight, but the government of Loo is in the hands of the Ke family. It is now in your person, and if the people of Ts'e invade the State and you are not able to fight a battle with them, it will be a disgrace to you, and a great proof that Loo cannot take its rank among the States."

"Ke-sun told K'ew to follow him to court, and to wait near the canal of the Chang family. Woo-shuh (Shuh-sun Chow-k'ew) called him thence, and asked him about fighting. He replied, "It is for men of rank to exercise their solicitude about what is distant; what can a small man [like me] know about it?" E-tze (Mang-sun

Ho-ke) insisted upon a reply, but he answered him, "A small man speaks according to his estimate of his ability, and contributes according to the measure of his strength." Woo-shuh observed, "This is saying that we do not approve ourselves great men," and with this he withdrew, and reviewed his chariots. Seeh, the younger Mang, led the army of the right, with Yen Yu as his charioteer, and Ping Seeh as spearman on the right. Jen K'ew led the army of the Left, with Kwan Chow-fu as his charioteer, and Fan Ch'e (Ana. II. v., et al.) as spearman on the right. Ke-sun said, "Seh (Fan Ch'e) is too young," but Yew-tze (Yen K'ew) replied, "He can act according to his orders." Ke-sun's men-at-arms amounted to 7,000, and Yen Yu selected 300 men of Woo-shing to attend himself on foot. The old and the young were left to defend the palace, and [the army of the Left] took post outside the Yu gate, where it was followed in 5 days by the army of the Right.

"Kung-shuh Woo-jin (a son of duke Ch'ao), when he saw the defenders [of the city], wept and said, "The duties are numerous, and the executions are heavy. Our superiors are unable to form plans, and our officers are unable to die. How is it possible [in such circumstances] to regulate the people? I have said it, and must I not do my utmost myself?"

"The armies fought with the army of Ts'e in the suburbs, the latter coming from Tseih-k'eah. The army [of the Left] would not cross a ditch. Fan Ch'e said, "It is not that the men are unable to cross it; but they have not confidence in you. Please [gave notice that] in 3 quarters [of an hour] they must cross it." Yen K'ew did so, and they all followed him, and penetrated the army of Ts'e.



The army of the Right, however, took to flight, and was pursued by the men of T'ei. Ch'in Kwan and Ch'in Ch'eng crossed the Sze [in the parent]. Mang Che-t'ieh was the last to enter [the city], and when it was thought that he was defending the rear, he took an arrow and whipt up his horses, saying, "They would not advance (See Ana. VI. xiii)." The file in which Lin Puh-n'g was proposed to fly, but he said, "For whom are we not a match?" "Then," said the others, "shall we stay?" He answered, "That would not be an act of much worth." They then moved slowly away, and all died.

The army [of the Left] captured 80 of the men-at-arms, and the men of T'ei could not keep their order. A spy brought word at night that their army was retreating, and Jen Y'ew thrice asked leave to pursue it, but Ke-sun would not permit him. The younger Mang said to some one, "I was not equal to Yen Yu, but I was better than Ping Sze-h. Tze-yu was full of spirit and earnestness. I did not want to fight, but I could be silent. Sze-h said, 'Give the reins to the horses, [and flee].'"

Kung-wei (Duke Ch'ao's son), and his favourite youth Wang E, both died, and were both put into coffins. Confucius said [of the youth], "As he could hold spear and shield in the defence of our altars, he may be buried without statement of ceremonies because of his youth."

Jen Y'ew used the spear against the army of T'ei, and so was able to penetrate it. Confucius said, "That was righteous [courage]."

According to the above narrative this must have been a very scrambling fight. Yet a battle there was, and we may be surprised that the text does not say so. The advantage also was upon the whole with Loo, but neither, for some reason, did the sage think it proper to state this. Twenty-one invasions of Loo are recorded in the Classic, but only here and in par. 2 of the 8th year is it simply said that "So-and-so invaded us." In the other passages the border of Loo on which the invasion was made is specified. The reason of the peculiar phraseology may be that in both cases the enemy approached the capital itself, and attacked the very heart of the State.

Par. 2. For 穀 Kung-yang has 袁. The Chuen says:—Before this, Yuen P'o, being minister of Instruction, levied a tax on the lands of the State, to supply the [expenses of] marrying one of the duke's daughters; and there being more than was necessary, he used the residue to make some large articles for himself; in consequence of which the people drove him out of the State. Being thirsty on the way, one of his clan, Yuen Heuen, set before him rice, sweet spirits, parched grain, and slices of dried spiced meat. Delighted, he asked him how he had such a supply, and Heuen replied that he had provided them when the articles were completed. "Why did you not remonstrate with me?" said P'o. "I was afraid that, [if I did], I should have to go first," was the reply.

Par. 3. The Chuen says:—In consequence of the battle of the suburbs, the duke joined the viscount of Woo in invading T'ei. In the 5th month, they reduced Poh; and on Jin-shin,

arrived at Ying. The army of the centre followed the king; Seu-mun Ch'ao (J. a. Ch'ao of the Sze gate) commanded the 1st army; and the king's son, Koo-t'ao, the 2d; while [on the part of Loo], Chen Joo commanded the army of the Right. On the side of T'ei, Kwoh Shoo commanded the army of the centre; K'ao Woo-p'ei, the 1st army; and Tsung Low, the 3d.

Ch'in Ho-tze said to his younger brother Shoo, "You die, and I shall [then] get my will." Tsung Tze-yang (Low) and L'ew-k'ew Ming stimulated each other [to fight to the death]. Sang Yen-sen drove Kwoh-tze (Kwoh Shoo), and the Kung-sun H'ia said to them, "You must both [be prepared to] die." When they were about to engage, Kung-sun H'ia ordered his men to sing the funeral song, and Ch'in Tze-hing ordered his to be provided with the gems for the mouth (Used in burying). Kung-sun H'ui ordered each of his men to carry a string 8 cubits long, because the men of Woo wore their hair short. Tung Kwoh-shoo said, "In 3 battles a man is sure to die. This will be my third." He then sent his lute to H'ien To with a message that he would not see him again. Ch'in Shoo said, "In this engagement I will hear the drum only (The signal for advance); I will not hear the gong (The signal for retreat)."

On Kesh-sueh, the battle was fought at E-ling. Chen Joo defeated K'ao-tze. Kwoh-tze defeated Seu-mun Ch'ao; but the king then went to Ch'ao's help, and the army of T'ei received a great defeat. Kwoh Shoo, Kung-sun H'ia, L'ew-k'ew Ming, Ch'in Shoo, and Tung-kwoh Shoo, were all taken, along with 800 chariots of war, and 8000 men-at-arms; and these were all presented to the duke.

Just as they were about to engage, the viscount of Woo called Woo-shuh to him, and asked him what duty he had to do. He replied, "Whatever the marshal orders." The viscount then gave him a buff-coat, a sword, and a long spear, saying, "Discharge your duty to your ruler. Be reverent, and do not neglect his commands." Shuh-sun was not able to reply; but Tze-wei (Tze-hing) advanced to him, and said, "Chow-k'ew, take up the buff-coat, follow the viscount, and make your acknowledgments to him."

The duke made the grand-historiographer Koo send back the head of Kwoh-tze [to T'ei]. It was placed in a new casket, laid upon some folds of dark silk, with strings upon it. On the casket was written, "If Heaven had not known that he was not sincere, how should he have been sent to our inferior State?"

[The Chuen appends here a narrative to show the danger that was threatening Woo amidst its apparent success:—When Woo was about to attack T'ei, the viscount of Yueh came with a large retinue to its court, and the king and all the officers about the court received gifts and bribes. The people of Woo were all delighted, but Tze-sen was afraid, and said to himself that this was feeding Woo [for the shambles]. He then remonstrated, saying, "While Yueh exists, we have a disease in our vitals. Its land and ours are of the same character, and it has designs against us. By its mildness and submission it is trying to further those designs. Our best plan is first to take measures against it. You may get your will with



Ts'e, but that is like getting a stony field, which can be of no use. If [the capital of] Yueh be not reduced to a lake, Woo will perish. There never was such a thing as employing a doctor to cure a disease, and telling him to leave some of it. In the Announcement of Pwan-kaug it is said (Shoo, IV. vii. Pt. II. 16). 'If there be those who are precipitously or carelessly disobedient to my orders, I will cut off their noses or exterminate them, and leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this city.' It was in this way that Shang rose to prosperity. You are now pursuing a different method; but will you not find it difficult to gain the greatness thereby for which you seek?"

'The viscount would not listen to him, and sent him on a mission to Ts'e. There he entrusted his son to the care of the Head of the Poon family, and changed his surname to Wang-sun. When the king heard of this, on his return from his expedition [against Ts'e], he caused the sword Chuh-lea to be given him to kill himself with. When he was about to die, he said, "Plant *lee* trees by my grave. The *lee* furnishes wood [for coffins]. Woo is likely [soon] to perish. In 3 years it will begin to be weak. When anything has reached its fulness, it is sure to go on to be overthrown. This is the way of Heaven."'

Par. 3. [The Chuen introduces a brief notice here:—] This autumn, Ke-sun gave orders to put all the defences of the State in good repair, saying, "When a small State conquers a great one, it is a calamity. Ts'e will be here any day."

Par. 7. The Chuen says:—In winter Tse-shuh Taih (She-shuh Ts'e) of Wei fled from that State to Sung. Before this, Taih had married a daughter of Tse-chao of Sung, but one of her maids (who had followed her to the harem) was his favourite. But when Tse-chao left the State (Probably in Gao's 3d year), K'ung Wan-tze made Taih put away his wife, and marry a daughter of his own. Taih, however, made one of his attendants induce the cousin of Taih's former wife to come to him, and placed her in Lo, where he built a palace for her, so that he had, as it were, two wives. Wan-tze was angry, and wanted to attack him; but Confucius stopped him from doing this. However, he took his wife away. Taih having an intrigue with some lady in Wao-chow, the people of that place took away from him his carriage by force, and presented it [to the marquis]. Disgraced by these two things he left the State. In Wei, they appointed [his brother] E in his place, and made him take K'ung K'aih (Wan-tze's daughter) as his wife.

Taih became [in Sung] an officer of Hseng Tui, and presented him with a beautiful pearl,

on which the [city of] Shing-t'oo was given to him. The duke of Sung asked for the pearl, and Tui, refusing to give it to him, was held to be an offender; and when he was obliged to leave the State, the people of Shing-t'oo attacked Tse-shuh Taih. [After this], however, duke Chwang recalled him to Wei, and assigned him a residence in Ch'ao, where he died. He was coffined at Yun, and buried at Shao-le.

'At an earlier period, when Yin, son of duke Taou of Ts'in, became a refugee in Wei, he made his daughter drive his chariot when he went to hunt. Tse-shuh E-tze detained them to drink with him, and asked the lady in marriage. The fruit of their union was Taou-tze (Taih). When he succeeded to his father (Administrator), Hia Mow (Probably a son of Yin) was made a great officer; and when he fled from the State, the people of Wei deprived Mow of his city.

'When K'ung Wan-tze was intending to attack Tse-shuh, he consulted Chung-ne, who said to him, "I have learned all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not heard about buff-coats and weapons (Comp. Ann. XV. 1).;" and on retiring, he ordered his carriage to be yoked, and prepared for his departure from the State, saying, "The bird chooses its tree; the tree does not choose the bird." Wan-tze hurriedly endeavoured to detain him, saying, "How should I dare to be considering my private concerns? I was consulting you with reference to the troubles of the State." He was about to stay, when messengers from Lo arrived with offerings to invite him there, and he returned [to his native State].'

[There is here appended a note about a project of Ke-sun's for a re-arrangement of the taxation of Lo:—] Ke-sun wanted to lay a tax upon the lands, and sent Jen Yow to ask Chung-ne about the subject, who replied that he did not know about it. This was his answer three given to inquiries pressed upon him. At last [Ke-sun sent] to say, "You are an old officer of the State. I am now waiting for your opinion to act;—how is it that you will not give expression to it?" Chung-ne gave no reply, but he said privately to Jen Yow, "The conduct of a superior man is governed by the rules of propriety. In his benefactions, he prefers to be liberal; in affairs [of government], he seeks to observe the right Mean; in his taxation, he tries to be light. According to this, the contribution required by the *P'ao* ordinance (See on VIII. 1. 4) is sufficient. If [Ke-sun] be not governed by the rules of propriety, but by a covetous daring and insatiableness, though he enact this taxation of the lands, it will still not be enough. If you and Ke-sun wish to act according to the laws, there are the statutes of the duke of Chow still existing. If you wish to act in an irregular manner, why do you consult me?" His advice was not listened to.]



Twelfth year.

十有二年春用

田賦

夏五月甲辰孟

子卒

公會吳于橐臯

秋公會衛侯宋

皇瑗于郕

宋向巢帥師伐

鄭

冬十有二月螽

左傳曰十二年春王正月用田賦

夏五月昭夫人孟子卒昭公娶於吳故不書姓死不赴故不稱夫人不反哭故不言葬小君孔子與甲適季氏季氏不統放經而拜

公會吳于橐臯吳子使大宰嚭請尋盟公不欲使子貢對曰盟所以周信也故心以制之玉帛以奉之言以結之明神以要之寡君以爲苟有盟焉弗可改也已若猶可改日盟何益今吾子曰必尋盟若可尋也可寒也乃不尋盟

吳徵會於衛初衛人殺吳行人且姚而懼謀於行人子羽子羽曰吳方無道無乃辱吾君不如止也子木曰吳方無道國無道必棄疾於人吳雖無道猶足以患衛往也長木之斃無不標也國狗之瘕無不噬也而況大國乎秋衛侯會吳于郕公及衛侯宋皇瑗盟而卒辭吳盟吳人藩衛侯之舍子服景伯謂子貢曰夫諸侯之會事既畢矣侯伯致禮地主歸餼以相辭也今吳不行禮於衛而藩其君舍以難之子盍見大宰乃請束錦以行語及衛故大宰嚭曰寡君願事衛君衛君之來也緩寡君懼故將止之子貢曰衛君之來必謀於其衆其衆或欲或否是以緩來其欲來者子之黨也其不欲來者子之讐也若執衛君是墮黨而崇讐也夫墮子者得其志矣且合諸侯而執衛君誰敢不懼墮黨崇讐而懼諸侯或者難以霸乎大宰嚭說乃舍衛侯衛侯歸效夷言子之尚幼曰君必不免其死於夷乎執焉



而又說其言從之  
 宋鄭之閒有隙地  
 焉曰彌作頃丘玉  
 暢畝戈錫子產與  
 宋人爲成曰勿有  
 是及宋平元之族  
 自蕭奔鄭鄭人爲  
 之城畝戈錫九月  
 宋向巢伐鄭取錫  
 殺元公之孫遂圍  
 曲十二月鄭罕達  
 救曲丙申圍宋師  
 冬十二月螽季孫  
 間諸仲尼仲尼曰  
 丘聞之火伏而後  
 螽者畢今火猶西  
 流司歷過也

- XII. 1 In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, he imposed a tax upon the lands.  
 2 In summer, in the fifth month, on Kēah-shin, Māng Tszé died.  
 3 The duke had a meeting with Woo in T'oh-kaou.  
 4 In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Wei and Hwang Yuen of Sung in Yun.  
 5 Hēang Ch'au of Sung led a force, and invaded Ch'ing.  
 6 In winter, in the twelfth month, there were locusts.

PAR. 1. It were to be wished that Tso-she had given us the particulars of this enactment; and the paragraph has been and is a *locus occurrat* to the critics. K'uh-liang seems to think it was the exaction of a second tithe of the produce of the lands; but we have seen that that was required by duke Seuen in his 15th year (See on VII. xv. 8); and from the Ana. XII. ix., we learn that at this time the regular revenue of the government consisted of two tenths of the produce, of which Gae complained as being insufficient. Tso thinks the new law was an alteration of the K'ew and buff-coat ordinance of duke Ch'ing (See on VIII. i. 4), and he is probably correct; but whether it required 2 horses and 6 oxen instead of 1 horse and 3 oxen, as he thinks, we cannot tell. Indeed our information about Ch'ing's ordinance is far from being certain and exact. The distinction however, between 稅 and 賦 should here be pressed, the former denoting the general contribution of the produce of the land, and the latter the contribution for military purposes. The land was now burdened in some way with some contribution to the military series of the State. The student may consult the 國語, Pt. II. II. Art. 18, where there is another version of the narrative at the end of last year; but it does not throw light on the nature of the ordinance in the text.

PAR. 2. This Māng Tszé had been the wife of duke Ch'au; and should be mentioned as Māng Kē, and not Māng Tszé as if she had belonged to the House of Sung. From the Ana. VII. xix., it appears that Ch'au had himself called her 'Māng Tszé,' to conceal the offence which he had committed against the

rules of propriety in marrying a lady of the same surname as himself. The historiographers and Confucius conceal the offence in the same way in the text. There is no record of her burial, because then it would have been necessary to give the surname, and the lie would have been more conspicuous than it is here; or it may be, as Tso-she seems to intimate, that Kē K'ang-tszé carried out his father's hostility to duke Ch'au, and prevented the regular ceremonies from being observed at Māng Kē's burial.

The Chuen says:—'In the 5th month, Māng Tszé, wife of duke Ch'au, died. He had married a daughter of Woo, and therefore her [proper] surname is not given. Notice of her death was not sent to the various States, and therefore she is not called his "wife." The ceremony of weeping on returning from her burial was not observed, and therefore the burial of her as the duchess is not recorded. Confucius was present at the ceremony of condolence, and [then] went to Kē-shē'a. Kē-shē did not wear a mourning cap, on which Confucius put off his head-band, and so they bowed to each other.'

PAR. 3. T'oh-kaou was a city of Woo,—50 li northwest from the pre. dis. city of Ch'au (集) dep. Lou-chow (廬州) Gau-hwy. The Chuen says:—'At this meeting, the eloquent of Woo sent his grand-administrator P'ei to request that the covenant (Between Woo and Lo;—see on VIII. 2) might be renewed. The duke did not wish this, and sent Tszé-kung to reply, saying, "A covenant is for the confirmation of faith. Therefore its conditions are first determined according to the mind of the parties;



gems and offerings of silk are presented with it [to the Spirits]; it is summarily expressed in words, and an appeal is made to the Spirits to bind it. Our ruler considers that, if a covenant be once made, it cannot be changed. If it can be changed, of what advantage would a covenant every day be? You now say that the covenant must be made hot again, but if it can be made hot, it may also be made cold." Accordingly the covenant was not renewed.

[Throughout the Chuen, the renewal of a covenant is commonly expressed by 尋盟.

This usage of 尋 is explained by 溫, "to warm." The above narrative illustrates the significance of the term.]

Par. 4. Yü was in Woo,—in the east of the pres. dis. of Joo-kaou, Tung Chow (通州), K'ang-soo.

The Chuen says:—"Woo summoned Wei to attend a meeting; but before this the people of Wei had put to death Tsou Yoon, a messenger of Woo, and they were now afraid. Consulting about the matter with Tze-yü, a messenger of their own, he said, "Woo is now pursuing an unprincipled course, and is sure to disgrace our ruler. The best plan will be for him not to go." Tze-yü, however, said, "Woo indeed is now pursuing an unprincipled course, but a State which does so is sure to vent its hatred on others. Although Woo have no principle, it is still able to distress Wei. Let [our ruler] go. When a tall tree falls, it strikes all within its range; when there is a mad dog in the city, he bites every body [whom he meets]; how much more will a great State, [like Woo, do violent things]!"

In autumn, the marquis of Wei had a meeting with Yü in Yün. The duke made a covenant [privately] with the marquis of Wei and Hwang Yuen; and in the end, they declined a covenant with Woo. The men of Woo having enclosed the encampment of the marquis of Wei, Tze-fu K'ing-p'ü said to Tze-kung, "The princes have met and their business is completed. The presiding prince has discharged his ceremonies, and the lord of the ground has contributed his animals;—they have performed their compliances to one another. But now Woo is not behaving with ceremony to Wei, and has enclosed the encampment of its ruler, putting him in difficulties. Why should you not go and see the grand-administrator about it?" [Tze-kung] accordingly asked for a packet of embroidered silks, and went to see the grand-administrator P'ei, making the conversation turn to the affair of Wei. P'ei said, "My ruler wished to do service to the ruler of Wei, but the latter came to the meeting late. My ruler is afraid, and therefore intends to detain him." Tze-kung said, "The ruler of Wei must have taken counsel about coming to the meeting with all his [officers]. Some of them would wish him to come, and others would object; and in this way his arrival was late. Those who wished him to come would be your partisans, and those who wished him not to come would be your enemies. If you seize the ruler of Wei, you will be overthrowing your partisans and exalting your enemies; and [thus] those who would overthrow you will get their will. Moreover, if, having assembled the States, you seize

the ruler of Wei, what prince is there but will be frightened? Let me suggest that Woo will find it difficult to get the presidency of the States by overthrowing its partisans, exalting its enemies, and frightening the princes." The grand-administrator was pleased, and the marquis of Wei was in consequence let go. When he returned to Wei, he imitated the speech of the rude people of the east (I. s. of Woo). Tze-chu (The Kung-sun Me-mow, or Wen-tze; 公孫彌牟 文子), who was still quite young, said, "The ruler will not escape [an evil fate]. He is likely to die among those eastern people. Though they seized him, he is pleased with their speech;—he must be firmly bent on following them."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—"Between Sung and Ch'ing there was a tract of neutral ground [containing 6 hamlets], called Me-tsoh, K'ing-k'ew, Tuh-ch'ang, Yen, Ko, and Yang, concerning which Tze-ch'uan and the people of Sung had made an agreement, that neither of them should have it. When the families descended from [dukes] P'ing and Yuen of Sung fled from Seao to Ch'ing (in the 15th year of Ting), the people of Ch'ing waited for them Yen, Ko, and Yang. [Now], in the 9th month, H'ang Ch'ao of Sung attacked Ch'ing, took Yang, where he killed the grandson of duke Yuen, and then laid siege to Yen. In the 12th month, Han Tah of Ch'ing proceeded to relieve Yen, and on Ping-shin, he had the army of Sung surrounded in a State of siege."

Maou is very doubtful of the accuracy of this narrative.

Par. 6. 魯, see II. vi. 3. The Chuen says:—"Ke-sun asked Chang-ne about this phenomenon, who replied, "I have heard that when the Ho star no more appears, those insects are not to be found. But now the Ho star still appears descending to the west. The officers of the calendar must have made a mistake."

Starting from this saying of Confucius, Too Yü makes it out that there had been an omission to insert an intercalary month this year, which would carry the 12th month back to the 9 month of H'ia, when the Ho star ceased to appear; but there really could be no intercalation this year. Both the sage and Too themselves fell into error. The K'ang-he editors say, "Too-sho gives here the words of Confucius, and Too-sho considers that an intercalation was omitted. But at this time, within the space of two years, Loo thrice sent notice to the other States of locusts, so that the plague of them must have been very great. In consequence of this many scholars have called in question Too's opinion, and we have preserved both their views and his."



## Thirteenth year.

一十有三年春，鄭罕達帥師，取  
二宋師于嵎。夏，許男成卒。  
三公會晉侯及吳子于黃池。  
四楚公子申帥師伐陳。  
五於越入吳。秋，公至自會。  
六晉魏曼多帥師侵衛。  
七葬許元公。九月，螽。  
八冬十有一月，有星孛于東方。  
九盜殺陳夏區夫。  
十十有二月，螽。

左傳曰：十三年春，宋向魋救其師，鄭子貽使徇曰：得桓魋者有賞。魋也逃歸，遂取宋師于嵎，獲成讎，郕延以六邑爲虛。  
 夏，公會單平公、晉定公、吳夫差于黃池。  
 六月，丙子，越子伐吳，爲二隧，嚮無餘，謳陽自南方先及郊。吳大子友、王子地、王孫彌庸壽於姚，自泓上觀之。彌庸見姑蔑之旗，曰：吾父之旗也，不可以見讐而弗殺也。大子曰：戰而不克，將亡國，請待之。彌庸不可，屬徒五千。王子地助之。乙酉，戰，彌庸獲嚮無餘，地獲謳陽。越子至，王子地守。丙戌，復戰，大敗吳師，獲大子友、王孫彌庸，壽於姚。丁亥，入吳，吳人告敗於王。王惡其聞也，自到七人於幕下。  
 ⑤秋，七月，辛丑，盟吳、晉，爭先。吳人曰：於周室，我爲長。晉人曰：於姬姓，我爲伯。趙鞅呼司馬寅曰：日吁矣，大事未成，二臣之罪也。建鼓整列，二臣死之，長幼必可知也。對曰：請姑視之。反曰：肉食者無墨，今吳王有墨，國勝乎？大子死乎？且夷德輕，不忍久，請少待之。乃先晉人。吳人將以公見晉侯，子服景伯



對使者曰。王合諸侯。則伯帥侯牧以見於王。伯合諸侯。則侯帥子男以見於伯。自王以下。朝聘玉帛不同。故敝邑之職。貢於吳。有豐於晉。無不及焉。以爲伯也。今諸侯會而君將以寡君見晉君。則晉成爲伯矣。敝邑將改職貢。魯賦於吳八百乘。若爲子男。則將半邾。以屬於吳。而如邾以事晉。且執事以伯召諸侯。而以侯終之。何利之有焉。吳人乃止。既而悔之。將囚景伯。曰。何也。立後於魯矣。將以二乘與六人從。遲速唯命。遂囚以還。及戶牖。謂大宰曰。魯將以十月上辛。有事於上帝先王。季辛而畢。何世有職焉。自襄以來。未之改也。若不會。視宗將曰。吳實然。且謂魯不共。而執其賤者七人。何損焉。大宰嚭言於王曰。無損於魯。而祇爲名。不如歸之。乃歸景伯。吳申叔儀乞糧於公孫有山氏。曰。佩玉綦兮。余無所繫之。旨酒一盛兮。余與褐之父。晚之對曰。梁則無矣。麇則有之。若登首山以呼曰。庚癸乎。則諸王欲伐宋。殺其丈夫。而囚其婦人。大宰嚭曰。可勝也。而弗能居也。乃歸。冬。吳及越平。

- XIII. 1 In the [duke's] thirteenth year, Han Tah of Ch'ing, at the head of a force, captured the army of Sung at Yen.
- 2 In summer, Ch'ing, baron of Heu, died.
- 3 The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Tsin and the viscount of Woo at Hwang-ch'e.
- 4 The Kung-tze Shin of Ts'oo led a force and invaded Ch'in.
- 5 Yu-yueh entered [the capital of] Woo.
- 6 In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting at Hwang-ch'e.
- 7 Wei Man-to of Tsin, at the head of a force, made an incursion into Wei.
- 8 There was the burial of duke Yuen of Heu.
- 9 In the ninth month, there were locusts.
- 10 In winter, in the eleventh month, a comet was seen in the east.
- 11 A ruffian killed Hsü Gow-foo of Ch'in.
- 12 In the twelfth month, there were locusts.

Par. 1. The Chuen continues here the narrative under par. 5 of last year, from which it appears that Han Tah had 'led his force' in the previous autumn. It may be therefore that the 帥 in many paragraphs should be translated 'had led,' and not simply 'led' a force.

—This spring, Hsü Tui of Sung endeavoured to relieve the army [which was held in

siege before Yen], but Tze-ying (Han Tah) of Ch'ing issued a proclamation, offering a reward to him who should take Hsü Tui; and Tui upon this withdrew and returned to Sung. [Han Tah] then captured the army of Sung at Yen, and took [its two leaders] Ch'ing Hwan and Kuei Yen. [It was agreed] that the six hamlets should be neutral ground. It would appear that Hsü Ch'ao must have left the



force, after laying siege to Yen the preceding autumn. If he had been now with it, his capture would have been specially mentioned.

Par. 2, 8. See on XI. vi. 1. This baron Ch'ing or duke Yuen must have been re-instated by Ts'oo. Kung-yang has 戊 for 成.

Par. 3. We might translate 于黄池 by 'near the pool of Hwang.' The place was in Wei,—in the southwest of the present dia. of Yang-k'ow (封丘) dep. Kiao-fung. The Chuen says:—'In summer, the duke had a meeting with duke Ping of Shen, duke Ting of Tsin, and Foo-ch'ao of Woo, at Hwang-ch'ao. There was thus a royal commissioner present at the meeting, and this may be the reason why we have Foo-ch'ao mentioned as 'the viscount of Woo.' Too says, 'Foo-ch'ao wished to take the leadership of the States of the kingdom, and honour the son of Heaven; he therefore laid aside his usurped title (of king), and called himself "viscount" in sending his notices and orders to the various States; and it was thus that the historiographers received and wrote the title.' See further on the narrative appended to par. 5.

Par. 4. Under the last par. of the 10th year, it seemed to be agreed upon by Ts'oo and Woo that Ch'ao should be left alone. Ts'oo, however, now takes advantage of Woo's being engaged in the north to attack Ch'ao.

Par. 5. Here Yueh repays, and more than repays, Woo for its defeat at Foo-t'ao-shan;—see the narrative after the 2d par. of the 1st year. The Chuen says:—'In the 6th month, on Ping-tze, the viscount of Yueh invaded Woo by two ways. Ch'ow Woo-yu and Gow Yang, coming [on land] from the south, arrived at the suburbs of the capital first, and were observed by Yew, the heir-son of Woo, the king's son Te, the Wang-sun Me-yung, and Shou Yu-yau from [a height near] the Hung. Me-yung, seeing the flag of [the men of] Koo-mieh, said, "There's my father's flag. I must not see those enemies [who slew him], and not slay them." The heir-son said, "If we fight and do not gain the victory, we shall cause the ruin of the State. Please let us wait." Me-yung, however, would not do so, and collected his followers, amounting to 5,000 men. The king's son Te assisted him; and on Yih-yew they fought a battle, when Me-yung captured Ch'ow Woo-yu, and Te captured Gow Yang. The viscount of Yueh, however, arrived soon after. Te then remained in the city to defend it, but another battle was fought on Ping-tze, when the viscount inflicted a great defeat on the army of Woo, and captured the heir-son Yew, the Wang-sun Me-yung, and Shou Yu-yau. On Ting-liao, he entered the capital. The people of Woo sent information of their defeat to the king, who as disliked the intelligence, that he himself cut the throats of 7 men about his tent (To prevent their spreading the news).

[The Chuen now gives the sequel of par. 3.—'In autumn, in the 11th month, on Shin-ch'ow, a covenant was made, when Woo and Tsin disputed about the precedence. They said on the side of Woo, "In relation to the House of Chow, we are the oldest branch (As being descended from T'ao-pih, see Ann. VIII. 1.)" On the side of Tsin they said, "We have the

presidency of all the Ruo." Chao Yang called the marshal Yin to him, and said, "The day is declining, and this great matter is not yet settled; it is the fault of us two. Set up the drums, and put the ranks in order. We will die in the struggle, and the right and the wrong (lit. the old and the young) shall be clearly known." The marshal begged Yang to let him go in the meantime and see the viscount. When he returned, he said, "Those who eat flesh should have no black [under their eyes]. But now the king of Woo has such blackness. Has his capital been conquered? Or has his eldest son died? Moreover, the nature of those eastern tribes is light; they cannot hold out long. Let us wait a little for their decision." Accordingly [Woo] gave precedence to Tsin.

'The people of Woo wanted to go with the duke and present him to the marquis of Tsin, but T'ao-fuh King-pih replied to their messenger, "When the king assembles the States, the leading prince conducts the other princes and pastors to present them to him. When a leading prince assembles the States then the [pastor-] marquis leads the viscounts and barons and presents them to him. From the king down, the symbols of jade and offerings of silk at the court and complimentary visits to other States are different. Hence the contributions of our poor States to Woo are larger [now] than to Tsin, embracing everything, because we consider [the lord of Woo] to be the leading prince. The States are now assembled, and your ruler wishes to present ours to the ruler of Tsin, whose position as the ruling prince will thus be settled. Our State must change its contributions. The levies with which Loo follows Woo are 800 chariots. If our ruler be reduced to the rank of a viscount or baron, then he will follow Woo with half the levies of Choo, and do service to Tsin with [an amount equal to] the whole levies of Choo. Moreover, your officers called the States to this meeting by the authority of the leading prince; if you end it by taking the position of a marquisate, what advantage have you?" The people of Woo on this desisted from their purpose; but afterwards they repented that they had done so, and were going to imprison King-pih, who said, "I have appointed my successor in Loo. I will follow you with two chariots and six men. Let it be sooner or later according to you command." They were then returning with him as a prisoner, but when they got to Hoo-yew, he said to the grand-administrator, "Loo has a sacrifice on the first Sui-day of the 10th month to God and the ancient kings, which is finished on the last Sui-day, and at which I have duties to perform, hereditary in my family. There has been no change in them since the time of [duke] Shang. If I am not present, the priests and temple-keeper will say [to the Spirits] that Woo is the cause of my absence. Suppose, moreover, that Loo has behaved disrespectfully, what loss does it sustain in your holding seven individuals who are of small rank in it?" The grand-administrator represented to the king that their prisoners were no loss to Loo, and only gave themselves a [bad] name, so that they had better send them back; and they accordingly sent King-pih back.'

'Shin Shuh-w (Of Woo) begged some food from Kung-sun Yew-shan (Of Loo), saying,



"Stones for my girdle I have, all complete,  
But no girdle to which I can tie them;  
And a vessel of spirits clear and sweet,  
But with this hair-clad man I but eye them."

Yü-shan replied, "I have no [good] millet, but I have some coarse. If you get up mount Shou, and cry out, *Kōng, Kōng!* then I will do what you ask."

The king wanted to attack Sung, and to put its males to death, and take its women prisoners. The grand-administrator, P'ei, said, "You may vanquish [Sung], but you cannot occupy it. Accordingly they returned to Woo."

The Chuen says that at this meeting and covenant the precedence was given to Tsin, and so the text would seem to say, 公會晉侯及吳子. Kung-yang, however, says that Woo presided over the meeting (主會), and

in the chapter about Woo, in the 國語, or 'Narratives of the States' (Bk. VII. art. 7), it is expressly said that 'the duke of Woo took the precedence at the covenant (吳公先歆晉侯亞之): to which Tsin was obliged to consent by a demonstration of an intention to proceed to hostilities on the part of Woo, Tsin glossing over its humiliation by getting the viscount to give up for the time his assumed title of king.

The K'ang-ho editors say on the subject, 'Former scholars have taken different sides on this question, some agreeing with T'ao-shie, and others with the Narratives of Woo. If we consider the case of the covenant of Sung, how, when Tsin was still in the possession of its strength, it yet conceded the precedence to T'ao, it appears reasonable to say that Ting of Tsin could not now take precedence of Woo. But again when we consider how, while Woo was at this meeting, news was brought to the king of the danger the State was in from Yueh, and how in his alarm he cut the throats of 7 men who brought the news, it also appears reasonable to say that, with such a reason for apprehension, he would not dare to contest the precedence any longer. There is a connexion in the narrative of the Chuen Ts'ao, and it appears to be matter of fact. The view of Chuen K'wang, that Woo and Tsin met on equal terms, just as when host

and guest now drink to each other, so that the historians of Tsin represented that Tsin had the precedence, while those of Woo assigned it to Woo, each side supporting its own ruler, seems also to be reasonable; and we therefore give it a place. I do not think that there are sufficient grounds for a positive decision in the matter. The meeting was, no doubt, called by Woo, as assuming to take the lead in the States; but the intelligence of the invasion by Yueh may have emboldened Tsin to claim the precedence at the covenant, and obliged Woo to yield it.

As to the question about the title, 'viscount of Woo,' in the text, no doubt that was the title used on this occasion by the chief of that State, as he had got the royal sanction for calling the princes together. Still, we find the 'viscount of Woo' in previous paragraphs;—see XI. iv. 14, *et al.*

Par. 7. Kung-yang leaves out the 曼 in the name. 'Tsin,' says Heu Han, 'could now do nothing more than "make incursions." Its prestige was gone. The three great families in it were eager only for their own advantage, and careless of the common weal or glory of the State.'

Par. 9, 12. See on the last par. of last year. Wang Ts'ao proposes to transfer to the 12th par. of this year the Chuen which appears there. 'There was,' he says, 'an intercalary month this year, so that the 12th month of Chow was the 9th month of Hsia, and the Ho star had not disappeared from the heavens. Bring that narrative to its proper place, and all doubts are resolved. Confucius might correctly say that the Ho star was still in the west, for there it was. The officers of the calendar might make a mistake; but he did not do so.'

Par. 10. 星孛—see VI. xiv. 5; X. xvii. 5. In those two passages we have the constellation or space of the heavens where the comet appeared specified. There being no such specification here, but only that it was in the eastern quarter, is taken as a proof that it was visible in the morning. Many scholars tell us that its appearance in the east portended the approaching downfall of Woo, the great eastern Power.

Par. 11. Kung-yang has 區 for 區. None of the Chuen give any particulars of this event. It is the 4th instance which we have in the text of a death perpetrated by the hands of ruffians, either really nameless, or purposely left so.

*Fourteenth year.*

麟。獲狩西春年，四有十

取也。之仲賜不麟，組之叔於春，十左  
之。然曰，尼虞祥，以商車孫大西四傳  
後麟觀人，以爲獲子氏野，狩年，曰。

XIV. 1 In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, [some] hunters in the west captured a *lin*.



The Chuen says:—This spring, they were hunting westwards in Ta-yay, and T'ao-shang, one of Shuh-sun's waggons, captured a *lin*. Thinking the thing was inauspicious, he gave [the creature] to the forester. Chung-ne went to see it and said, "It is a *lin*;" on which they took it, [and carried it away to the capital].

The Chuen enables us to determine the 西 in the text as meaning the west of Loo. Ta-yay was the name of a marsh,—in the pres. dis. of Kien-yay (鉅野) dep. T'ao-chow. 狩 is the name of the winter hunt, used here appropriately, because the greater portion of the spring of Chow was really in the natural winter, or that of Hén. The winter hunt was such a regular thing, that we can suppose it to be mentioned here only because of the unusual circumstance of the finding the *lin*.

The finding of this *lin* has so important a place in the accounts of the composition of the Ch'ün Ts'ew, that it may be well to give here the account of it, which we find in the 'Family Sayings,' or as we may turn the work, 'The apocryphal Annals;' the more especially as it agrees a good deal with what we find in Kung-yang.—A waggoner of Shuh-sun's, T'ao-t'ao-shang, was gathering firewood in Ta-yay, when he found a *lin*. Having broken its fore left leg, he carried it home with him in a carriage. Shuh-sun thinking it inauspicious, threw it away outside the suburbs, and sent a messenger to tell Confucius of it, saying, "What is it? It is an antelope and horned." Confucius went to see it, and said, "It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?" He took the back of his sleeve and wiped his face, while his tears wet the lapel of his coat. When Shuh-sun heard what it was, he sent and had it brought [to the city]. T'ao-kung asked the master why he wept, and Confucius said, "The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected." See the

家語 at the end of the 16th chapter. (叔孫氏之車士曰子鉏商探薪於大野獲麟焉折其前左足載以歸叔孫以爲不祥棄之於郭外使人告孔子曰有麇而角者何也孔子往觀之曰麟也胡爲來哉胡爲來哉反袂拭面涕泣沾衿叔孫聞之然後取之子貢問曰夫子何泣爾

孔子曰麟之至爲明王也出非其時而見害吾是以傷焉

What was the *lin*? The earliest mention of it is in the Sien, I. I. ode XI., where the sons of king Wan are compared to its feet, its forehead, and its horn; but neither there, nor anywhere else in the classics, is there a description of it, by which we might be able to identify it. The Urb-ya describes it as having the body of an antelope, the tail of an ox, and one horn. The Shwuh-wan, the earliest dictionary, published A.D. 100, says, 'The k'o-lin (麒麟; k' is the name of the male, and lin that of the female) is a benevolent animal, having a horse's body, an ox's tail, and a horn of flesh.' As early as the beginning of the Christian era, the *lin* had thus become the name of a fabulous animal. Later accounts, as we might expect, improve on the Urb-ya and Shwuh-wan. See Medhurst on the character 麟. Williams says, 'Lin,—the female of the unicorn. The idea of the Chinese unicorn may have been derived from a one-horned Tibetan equine animal.'

All this does not help us to a satisfactory answer to the question of what the *lin* was. We may be sure there never was such an animal as the lexicographers and scholars of China describe and delight to dwell upon. If Confucius saw any animal at all, we can only suppose it was some sort of antelope, uncommon in Loo. For my part, I doubt whether this paragraph be from him at all.

The importance attaching to it arises from the circumstance that with it the Ch'ün Ts'ew, so far as it is the work of Confucius, is all but universally believed to terminate. The editions by Kung-yang and K'ü-liang, indeed, end with this; but Tso-she continued his labours on to the 4th year of duke Taou, who followed Gao; and up to the day Ke-chow of the 4th month of Gao's 16th year, the regular form of all the preceding annals is preserved, the disciples having digested, it is said, the records of Loo, as their master had done, down to the day of his death, and Tso-she continuing his labours on them, and on subsequent years in his own fashion. Having determined to translate all of Tso-she's collections in this work, I proceed to do so. The difference between the disciples' supplement and the previous text will be marked by the small type of the original and the translation.

A few remarks are still necessary on the connexion which has been and is maintained between the appearance of the *lin*, and the composition of the text. Confucius, say Tso and a host of followers, was so impressed by



seeing the *lin*, that he immediately formed the purpose to compile the *Ch'un Ts'ü*. Ho H'ew, the glossarist of K'ung-yang, followed also by many others, says that he had finished the work to the end of Gae's 13th year, and abandoned his *style*, when he saw the *lin*. Both sides have nothing but their own conjectures to go upon. The K'ang-ho editors intimate their dissent from the former view, and quote with approbation the opinion of Chao He:—'I do

not dare to pronounce any decision whether it was the completion of the book which moved the *lin* to come, or whether it was the appearance of the *lin* which moved Confucius to compose the book. It may, indeed, be presumed, that the appearance of the creature at a time not proper for it, and its then being killed, was altogether an inauspicious thing; and if the sage then laid his *style* aside, we may be assured he meant thereby to intimate something!



## 附錄經傳

小邾射以句繹來奔。  
 夏四月，齊陳恒執其君。  
 寅于舒州。  
 庚戌，叔還卒。  
 五月，庚申朔，日有食之。  
 陳宗豎出奔楚。  
 宋向魋入于曹以叛。  
 莒子狂卒。  
 六月，宋向魋自曹出奔。  
 衛宋向巢來奔。  
 齊人弑其君壬于舒州。  
 秋，晉趙鞅帥師伐衛。  
 八月辛丑，仲孫何忌卒。  
 冬，陳宗豎自楚復入于。  
 陳，陳人殺之。  
 陳轅買出奔楚。  
 有星孛，饑。

小邾射以句繹來奔，曰：「使季路要我，吾無盟矣。」便子路，子路辭。季康子使冉有謂之曰：「千乘之國，不信其盟，而信子之言，子何辱焉？」對曰：「魯有事於小邾，不敢問故，死其城下，可也。彼不臣而濟其言，是義之也，由弗能。」

齊簡公之在魯也，闕止有寵焉。及即位，使爲政。陳成子憚之，驟顛諸朝。諸御執言於公曰：「陳闕不可止也，君其擇焉。」弗聽。子我夕，陳逆殺人，逢之，遂執以入。陳氏方睦，便疾而遭之，潘沐，備酒肉焉。饗守囚者，醉而殺之，而逃。子我盟諸陳於陳宗初，陳豹欲爲子我臣，使公孫言己已有喪而止。既而言之曰：「有陳豹者，長而上僂，望視，事君子必得志，欲爲子我臣，吾憚其爲人也，故緩以告。」子我曰：「何害？是其在我也，使爲臣，他日與之言政，說遂有寵。」謂之曰：「我盡逐陳氏，而立汝，若何？」對曰：「我遠於陳氏矣，且其違者，不過數人，何盡逐焉？」遂告陳氏。子行曰：「彼得君，弗先，必禍。」子行舍於公宮。夏五月壬申，成子兄弟四乘如公，子我在幄，出逆之，遂入，閉門，侍人禦之。子行殺侍人，公與婦人飲酒於檀臺。成子遷諸寢，公執戈將擊之。犬史子餘曰：「非不利也，將除害也。」成子出舍於庫，聞公猶怒，將出，曰：「何所無君？」子行抽劍曰：「需事之賊也，誰非陳宗所不殺子者？有如陳宗，乃止。」子我歸，屬徒攻闕與大門，皆不勝，乃出。陳氏追之，失道於弇中，適豐丘。豐丘人執之以告，殺諸郭闕。成子將殺大陸子方，陳逆請而免之，以公命取車於道，及郕，衆知而東之，出雍門。陳豹與之車，弗受，曰：「逆爲余請豹與余車，余有私焉。」事子我，而有私於其讐，何以見魯衛之士？東郭賈奔衛，庚辰，陳恆執公于舒州。公曰：「吾早從鞅之言，不及此。」



宋桓魋之寵害於公，使夫人驪請享焉，而將討之。未及，魋先謀公，請以較易薄。公曰：「不可，薄宗邑也。」乃益較七邑，而請享公焉。以日中爲期，家備盡往。公知之，告皇野曰：「余長魋也，今將禍余，請卽敕。」司馬子仲曰：「有臣不順神之所惡也，而況人乎？敢不承命，不得左師，不可。」請以君命召之。左師每食，擊鐘聞鐘聲。公曰：「夫子將食，既食，又奏。」公曰：「可矣。」以乘車往。曰：「迹人來告。」曰：「逢澤有介麋焉。」公曰：「雖魋未來，得左師，吾與之田。」若何？君憚告子野曰：「嘗私焉，君欲速，故以乘車逆子，與之乘。」至，公告之。故拜不能起。司馬曰：「君與之言。」公曰：「所難子者，上有天下有先君，對曰：「魋之不共，宋之禍也，敢不唯命是聽。」司馬請瑞焉，以命其徒攻桓氏。其父兄故臣曰：「不可。」其新臣曰：「從吾君之命，遂攻之。」子頑騁而告桓司馬。司馬欲入，子車止之，曰：「不能事君，而又伐國民，不與也，祇取死焉。」向魋遂入于曹以叛。

六月，使左師巢伐之，欲質大夫以入焉，不能，亦入于曹。取質，魋曰：「不可。」既不能事君，又得罪於民，將若之何？乃舍之。民遂叛之。向魋奔衛，向巢來奔。宋公使止之，曰：「寡人與子有言矣，不可以絕向氏之祀。」辭曰：「臣之罪大，盡滅桓氏，可也。若以先臣之故，而使有後，君之惠也。若臣則不可以入矣。」司馬牛致其邑與珪焉，而適齊。向魋出於衛地，公文氏攻之，求夏后氏之璜焉，與之他玉而奔齊。陳成子使爲次卿。司馬牛又致其邑焉，而適吳。吳人惡之，而反。趙簡子召之，陳成子亦召之，卒於魯郭門之外。阮氏葬諸丘輿。

甲午，齊陳恆弑其君壬于舒州。孔丘三日齊，而請伐齊。三，公曰：「魯爲齊弱久矣，子之伐之，將若之何？」對曰：「陳恆弑其君，民之不與者半，以魯之衆，加齊之半，可克也。」公曰：「子告季孫。」孔子辭退，而告人曰：「吾以從大夫之後也，故不敢不言。」

初，孟孺子洩將圍馬於成，成宰公孫宿不受，曰：「孟孫爲成之病，不圍馬焉。」孺子怒，襲成，從者不得入，乃反。成有司使孺子轡之。秋八月辛丑，孟懿子卒，成人奔喪，弗內。袒免哭於衢，聽共弗許，懼不歸。



## SUPPLEMENT OF TSO-SHE.

- XIV. 2 Yih of Little Choo came a fugitive to Loo, transferring to it [the city of] Kow-yih.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, Ch'in Hsiang seized his ruler, and placed him in Shoo-chow.
- 4 On K'ang-sun, Shih Seum died.
- 5 In the fifth month, on K'ang-shin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.
- 6 Tsung Shoo of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 7 Hsiang Tui of Sung entered Ts'ao, and held it in revolt.
- 8 K'ing, viscount of Kan, died.
- 9 In the sixth month, Hsiang Tui of Sung fled from Ts'ao to Wei; and Hsiang Ch'ao of Sung came a fugitive to Loo.
- 10 The people of Ts'ao murdered their ruler Jin in Shoo-chow.
- 11 In autumn, Chao Yang of Tsai led a force, and invaded Wei.
- 12 In the eighth month, on Sin-ch'ow, Chung sun Ho-ke died.
- 13 In winter, Tsung Shoo of Ch'in entered Ch'in again from Ts'oo, and the people of Ch'in put him to death.
- 14 Yuan Mao of Ch'in fled from that State to Ts'oo.
- 15 There was a comet.
- 16 There was famine.

Par. 2. Kow-yih, —see on XII. 1. Too gives it there as belonging to Choo, while here we have Yih of Little Choo betraying or surrendering it to Loo. We can easily suppose that, during the troubles through which Choo had passed since the 21 year of Gao, Little Choo had managed to appropriate this place.

The Chuen says:—When Yih came a refugee, offering to surrender Kow-yih, he said, "Send Tsao-loo to make an agreement with me; I will have no covenant." It was proposed to Tsao-loo that he should go, but he refused. He K'ang-tse then sent Jen Yeh to say to him, "Why should you think the thing a disgrace to you, since he will put confidence in your words, while he will not do so in a covenant with our State of 1000 chariots?" Tsao-loo replied, "If Loo have hostilities with Little Choo, I will die before its capital, without presuming to ask any questions about the cause of the quarrel. But Yih is acting a traitor's part, and to give effect to his words would be to treat him as if he were righteous. I cannot do it."

Par. 3. 舒州 appears in the 'Historical Records' as 徐州. It was a city of Ts'ao, in the south-east of the pres. dia. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow.

The Chuen says:—When duke Kien of Ts'ao was in Loo (He was, then, simply Jin, the son of Yang-sing; see on XI. 9, et al.), K'an Che became a favourite with him; and when he succeeded to the State, he employed Che as his chief minister. Ch'in Ching-tse (Ch'in Hsiang) was afraid of him, and was constantly turning his head round to look at him in the court. Yang, [chief of] the charioteers, said to the duke, "Ch'in and K'an cannot continue together.

You must choose between them." The duke, however, did not listen to him.

\* When Tsao-go (K'an Che) was going his rounds at night, he met Ch'in Yih (The Tsao-hsiang of the battle of I-ling, XI. 2) who had killed a man, seized him, and carried him into [the court]. At the time the Ch'in-clan was all harmonious, so that [the chief] made Yih say that he was ill, and sent rice water to wash his head with, and at the same time spirits and meat. With the latter he feasted his keeper, made him drunk, killed him, and effected his escape; and upon this Tsao-go imposed a covenant with the Ch'in in the house of one of their principal elders.

\* Before this, Ch'in Pao had wished to get an office under Tsao-go, and had employed one of the Kung-suns to speak for him. A death taking place in his family, the thing was stopped for a time, but afterwards the Kung-sun said to Tsao-go, "There is Ch'in Pao, tall but humpbacked, with a look to the sky. If he serve you, you are sure to be pleased with him. He wishes to be an officer with you, but I have been afraid of the man, and delayed informing you of his wish." "What harm can he do?" said Tsao-go; "he will be at my disposal." Accordingly he employed him as one of his officers. Before long, he talked with Pao about [the affairs of] the government, and being pleased with him, made him a favourite. [One day] he asked him what he thought of his driving out Ch'in-she and his adherents, and getting him appointed in his place. Pao replied, "My connexion with Ch'in-she is remote, and they who are opposed to you are only a few individuals; why should you drive them all out?" He then informed Ch'in-she [of what



Tze-go was intending], when Tze-hang (Ch'in Yih) said, "He has got the ruler. If you do not take the initiative, he will bring calamity on you." Tze-hang then took up his quarters [privately] in the duke's palace.

"In summer, in the 6th month, on Jin-shin, Ch'ing-tze and his brothers went in 4 chariots to the duke's. Tze-go was in his tent (his office), and came out to meet them, but they entered the palace, and shut the door [against him]. [One of] the attendants attempted to withstand them, but he was killed by Tze-hang. The duke and his wife were drinking in the Tan tower, but Ch'ing-tze removed him to the [state-] chamber. The duke laid hold of a spear, intending to strike him with it, but Tze-yu, the grand-historiographer said, "There is nothing intended injurious to you. He means to remove all harm from you." Ch'ing-tze then quitted the palace, and took up his quarters in the treasury. Hearing there that the duke was still enraged, he proposed leaving the State, saying, "Where shall I not find a ruler?" but Tze-hang drew his sword, and said, "Delay is the thief of business. Who is there that is not to be regarded as belonging to the Ch'in clan? By the ancestors of the Ch'in I will kill you, [if you go]." On this Ch'ing-tze stopped.

"Tze-go returned home, and collected his followers, with whom he attacked the great gate and a small gate of the palace. Unsuccessful in both attempts, he left the city and was pursued by Ch'in-sha, when he lost his way in a narrow pass, and went to Fung-k'ew, the people of which seized him, and informed [Ch'in-sha of the capture] and he was then put to death at the Kwoh barrier-gate. Ch'ing-tze was about to put to death Tze-fang of Tai-luh, but Ch'in Yih interceded for him, and his life was spared. He then, as if by the duke's orders, took a carriage which was on the road, and drove off; but when he had got to Urh the people all knew the truth, on which he turned to the east, and left the city by the Yang gate. Ch'in Pao offered him a carriage, but he would not receive it, saying, "Yih interceded for my life, and if I Pao would now give me a carriage—as if I had a private understanding with them. Having served Tze-go, if I should have a private understanding with his enemy, how should I be able to use the officers of Loo and Wei?" Tung-k'wa K'ia (Tze-fang) then fled to Wei.

"On K'ang-shin, Ch'in Hing confined the duke in Shoo-chow, when the duke said, "If I had followed early the advice of Yang, I should not have come to this."

Para. 7, 8. Sung had extinguished the State of Ts'ao in the spring of Gae's 8th year, so that its capital was now only a city of Sung. Hing Tui, it has been observed before, was the same as the Hwan Tui of the Ana VII. xxi., a younger brother of Hwang Ch'ao, whose name has occurred recently several times. The Hwangs of Sung were all Hwangs, as being descended from duke Hwan, whose death is mentioned in V. ix. 1. One of his sons was called Hwang-foo Hui (向父睢), and from him came the Hwang clan, one of his grandsons, Hwang Sou, playing, as we saw, a very considerable part in public affairs in the time of duke Seung.

The Chuen here says:—The favour which was shown to Hwan Tui of Sung proved injurious to the duke, who purposed to take Tui off, and with that object made the duchess [-dowager] frequently invite him. Before he could execute his purpose, however, Tui took the initiative by plotting against the duke, and asked that [his city of] Gan might be exchanged for Poh. This the duke refused, on the ground that he had an ancestral temple at Poh, but he added to Gan seven [other adjacent] towns, on which Tui invited the duke to an entertainment there. The time was to be at mid-day, and Tui brought to the place all the men-at-arms of his family. The duke got knowledge of this, and informed Hwang Yai of it, saying, "I have cherished Tui, and now he is going to do evil. Let me ask your immediate help." The marshal Tze-chung (Yai) replied, "An insubordinate subject is hated by spiritual Beings; how much more must he be so by men! How should I presume not to obey your command? But it is necessary that we should get the aid of the master of the Left (Ch'ao, Tui's elder brother). Let me call him here by an order from you." Now, whenever the master of the Left was going to take a meal, he had a bell struck; and [just then] they heard the sound of it. "He is going to his meal," said the duke. After the meal, they heard the music strike up [again], and the duke said, "Now you can go." Yai then drove to the master, and said, "The troopers have come with word that there are [some] large deer at the Fung marsh, and the duke said to me, "Although Tui has not come yet, what would you say to getting the master of the Left, and hunting them with him?" He shrunk, however, from sending you word, and I resolved to try and get you to go myself. The duke is in haste, and I came for you in my carriage." The master got into the carriage with him; and when they arrived [at the palace], the duke told him the whole affair, on which he prostrated himself, and was unable to rise up. "Speak to him," said the marshal; and the duke swore by Heaven above, and by [the Spirits of] the dukes, his predecessors, that he would not injure him. The master then replied, "The insubordination of Tui is a calamity to Sung. I will not presume not to be entirely obedient to your orders." The marshal then asked from him his symbol of office, and proceeded with it to order his followers to attack Hwan-sha. The elders of the clan and old officers objected, but the new officers said that they would obey the orders of their ruler. Accordingly they attacked the mansion. Tze-k'ue dashed off in a chariot to inform Tui, who wished to enter the city. Tze-k'ue, however, stopped him, saying, "You have been unable to serve the ruler, and would now attack the capital;—the people will not be with you, and you would only invite your death." He then entered Ts'ao, and held it in revolt.

"In the 9th month, Ch'ao, master of the Left, was sent to attack Ts'ao; and [being unsuccessful], he wished to get some of the great officers as hostages [for his safety] before he would [re-]enter [the capital]. Not being able to do this, he also entered Ts'ao, and seized some people there to hold as hostages. Tui said to him "You should not do that. We have not been able to serve our ruler; and if we



also trespass against the people, what shall we do?" On this he let them go, and then the people revolted from them, on which Tzu died to Wei, and Ch'ao to us in Loo. The duke of Sung sent to stop the latter, saying, "I made an engagement with you. I will not extinguish the sacrifices of the Hwang family." Ch'ao however, declined to return, and said, "My offence is great, and would justify you in extinguishing the family of Hwang. If from regard to my fathers, you suffer the family to be perpetuated, it will be an act of your kindness; but as for me, I cannot enter Sung." Sze-ma Niu (A brother of Tzu and Ch'ao, and a disciple of Confucius; see Ana. XII. iii. iv., v.) surrendered his city and badge of authority, and went to T'ze. As Tzu was quitting the territory of Wei, the chief of the Kung-wan family attacked him, and asked from him the *kuang-gem* of the sovereign of Hwa. Tzu gave him a different gem, and fled to T'ze, where Ch'in Ch'ing-tze appointed him a minister of inferior rank, on which Niu gave back the city [which he had received in T'ze], and went to Woo. The people of Woo hating him, he came back from that State, and received invitations from Ch'ao K'ao-tzu and Ch'in Ch'ing-tze; but he died outside the gate of the suburbs of the capital of Loo, and was buried by K'ang-sha at K'ue-yu.

Par. 10. Continuing the narrative under par. 3, the Chuen here says:—On K'eh-woo, Ch'in H'ang of T'ze murdered his ruler Jin in Shoo-chow. K'ung K'ew fasted 3 days, and then begged (the duke) that he would invade T'ze. Thrice he made the request, and the duke said, "Loo has long been kept in a state of weakness by T'ze. If we should invade T'ze, as you [propose], what could we do?" K'ung K'ew replied, "There are one half of the people of T'ze who do not agree with Ch'in H'ang in his murder of his ruler. If with all the force of Loo we attack one half of that of T'ze, we shall conquer it." The duke asked him to lay the matter before Ke-shih, but Confucius declined to do that, retired, and said to some one,

"Having followed in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to speak of such a matter."

See in the Ana. XIV. xxi., an account of the conduct of Confucius on this occasion, somewhat different from that which the Chuen gives here.

The House of T'zeu (田) is represented by many historians as from this year the ruling House of T'ze. The Chuen on III. xxi. 3, mentions how the Kung-tze Hwan (完) of Ch'in, styled King-chung, (敬仲) took refuge in T'ze, and the Historical Records say that he adopted the clan-name of T'zeu (田氏); though in Tso-also his descendants always appear as Ch'ins (陳). A brother of duke K'ee nominally succeeded to him as marquis of T'ze, and the House of K'ang was represented till B.C. 390, when Ho, (和), a great-grandson of Ch'in or T'zeu H'ang put an end to the farce, and was acknowledged by king Gan, in B.C. 385, as ruler of T'ze.

Par. 12. The Chuen says:—Before this, [Ho-ke's] son Mang S'eh was going to keep his horses in Ch'ing, but the Kung-ann Suh, commandant of Ch'ing, refused to admit him, saying, "Mang-ann does nothing but distress Ch'ing. We will not keep his horses for him." The young man in a rage surprised the place; but his followers not being able to enter it, he returned. An officer was sent from Ch'ing (to explain the circumstances), but the young chief had him scourged. In autumn, in the 8th month, on Sin-sh'ow, when Mang E-tze died, officers of Ch'ing hurried to be present at the death-rites, but they were not admitted; and they wept in the street, with sackcloth on their heads and the upper part of their bodies bare, wanting to be allowed to take part in the services, which was not accorded to them. They were afraid in consequence to return to Ch'ing.

### Fifteenth year.

十有五年春，王正月，成叛。夏五月，齊高無平出奔北燕。鄭伯伐宋。秋八月，大。晉趙鞅帥師伐衛。冬，晉侯伐鄭。及齊平。衛公孟強出奔齊。

左傳曰：十五年春，成叛於齊。武伯伐成，不克，遂城輪。夏，楚子西子期伐吳，及桐汭，陳侯使公孫貞子弔焉。及良而卒，將以尸入。吳子使大宰嚭勞，且辭曰：以水潦之不時，無乃隕然隕大夫之尸，以重寡君之憂。寡君敢辭。上介辛尹盍對曰：寡君聞楚為不道，薦伐吳國，滅厥民人，寡君使蓋備使弔君之下吏，無祿，使人逢天之感，大命隕隊，絕世於夏，廢日共積，一日遷。



次，今君命逆使人曰：無以尸造於門，是我寡君之命，委於草莽也。且臣聞之曰：事死如生，禮也。於是乎有朝聘而終，以尸將事之禮。又有朝聘而遭喪之禮，若不以尸將命，是遭喪而還也。無乃不可乎？以禮防民，猶或踰之。今大夫曰：死而棄之，是棄禮也。其何以爲諸侯主？先民有言曰：無穢虐士，備使奉尸將命。苟我寡君之命達於君所，雖隕於深淵，則天命也，非君與涉人之過也。吳人內之。

⑤秋，齊陳璫如楚，過衛，仲由見之，曰：天或者以陳氏爲斧斤，旣斲喪公室，而他人有之，不可知也。其使終饗之，亦不可知也。若善魯以待時，不亦可乎？何必惡焉？子玉曰：然，吾受命矣。子使告我弟。

冬，及齊平。子服景伯如齊，子贛爲介，見公孫成曰：人皆臣人，而有魯人之心，況齊人雖爲子役，其有不貳乎？子周公之孫也，多饗大利，猶思不義，利不可得，而饗宗國，將焉用之？成曰：善哉！吾不早聞命。陳成子館客，曰：寡君使恆告曰：寡人願事君，如事衛君。景伯揖子贛而進之，對曰：寡君之願也。昔晉人伐衛，齊爲衛故伐晉，冠氏喪車五百，因與衛地，自濟以西，祿、嫫、杏以南，書社五百。吳人加敝邑以亂，齊因其病，取謹與闡，寡君是以寒心，若得視衛君之事，君也，則固所願也。成子病之，乃歸成。公孫宿以其兵甲入於闚。

⑥衛孔圉取犬子蒯聵之姊，生慍，孔氏之豎渾良夫長而美，孔文子卒，通於內。犬子在戚，孔姬使之焉。犬子與之言曰：苟使我入獲國，服冕乘軒，三死無與，與之盟，爲請於伯姬。閏月，良夫與犬子入，舍於孔氏之外，則昏，二人蒙衣而乘，寺人羅御，如孔氏。孔氏之老嫗率問之，稱姻妾以告，遂入，適伯姬氏。既食，孔伯姬杖戈而先，犬子與五人介，輿輶從之。迫孔慍於闚，強盟之，遂劫以登臺。樂寧將飲酒，炙未熟，聞亂，使告季子，召獲駕乘車，行爵食炙，奉衛侯輶來奔。季子將入，遇子羔將出，曰：門已閉矣。季子曰：吾姑至焉。子羔曰：弗及，不踐其難。季子曰：食焉，不辟其難。子羔遂出，子路入，及門，公孫敢門焉，曰：無入爲也。季子曰：是公孫也，求利焉而逃其難，由不然，利其祿，必救其患，有使者出，乃入，曰：犬子焉用孔慍？雖殺之，必或繼之。且曰：犬子無勇，若燔臺半，必舍孔叔。犬子



聞之、懼、下石乞、  
孟、斂、敵、子、路、以、  
戈、擊、之、斷、纓、子、  
路、曰、君、子、死、冠、  
不、免、結、纓、而、死、  
孔、子、聞、衛、亂、曰、  
榮、也、其、來、由、也、  
死、矣、孔、懼、立、莊、  
公、莊、公、害、故、政、  
欲、盡、去、之、先、謂、  
司、徒、瞞、成、曰、寡、  
人、雖、病、於、外、久、  
矣、子、請、亦、嘗、之、  
歸、告、楮、師、比、欲、  
與、之、伐、公、不、果、

- XV. 1 In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ch'ing revolted.  
2 In summer, in the fifth month, Kao Wu-p'ei of Ts'e fled from that State to North Yen.  
3 The earl of Ch'ing invaded Sung.  
4 In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.  
5 Chao Yang of Ts'in led a force and invaded Wei.  
6 In winter, the marquis of Ts'in invaded Ch'ing.  
7 We made peace with Ts'e.  
8 Kung-ming K'ow of Wei fled from that State to Ts'e.

Par. 1. This revolt of Ch'ing was a consequence of the events related under par. 12. of last year. The Chuen says:—This spring, Ch'ing revolted to Ts'e. Woo-pih (The son of Ho-ku, and now the Head of the Mang-san clan.

His name was Che—) attacked it, but without success; on which he fortified Shoo.

Par. 2-4. (Tso-she introduces here two narratives:—

1st. In summer, Tze-se and Tze-k'e of T'oo invaded Woo, as far as the bend of the Yang. The marquis of Ch'in sent condolences on the occasion to Woo by the Kung-sun Ching-tze, who died on the way at Léang. [The assistant-commissioner] proposed to proceed with his body to the court of Woo, but the viscount sent the grand-administrator Pui to present to him the customary offerings and messages on the tolls of his journey, and to decline [his further progress], saying, "Considering the unseemable rise of the waters, it is to be feared they will toss about and overwhelm the body of the commissioner, and thereby increase the sorrow of my ruler. He therefore ventures to decline the further progress of your excellency." The Woo-director, K'uei (Being the assistant-commissioner), replied, "My ruler having heard of the unreasonable conduct of T'oo in repeating its invasions of Woo, and destroying your people, appointed me assistant in this mission, to condole with the officers of your ruler. Unfortunately, the [chief-] commissioner encountered the anger of Heaven, so that our great business fell [for a time] to the ground, and he took his leave of the world at Léang. Some days have been lost in collecting what was necessary for his remains; but a day hence I should have advanced to another station. But now your ruler's orders have met me, telling me not to approach with the body to his gate;—my ruler's commission must thus be thrown away among the grass. I have heard, however, that it is a rule of propriety to serve when dead as we serve when living. Hence there is the rule, that if [a commissioner] die when engaged on a court or a complimentary visit, the business

should be discharged with his corpse, and also there is the rule about the course to be pursued when the death occurs of him to whom the visit is being made. If now I do not accomplish the mission with the body, I shall return as if the death [of your ruler] had taken place;—which surely would be improper. The use of the rule serves to prevent people's indifference, though they may still sometimes transgress it; but now your Excellency says, 'He is dead, and you may neglect it';—this is to put the rule away. How can your ruler thus become lord of the States? The ancients had the saying, 'Inflict no stain on a deceased officer.' I, the assistant-commissioner, propose to carry my chief's body to discharge his commission. If the commission of our ruler can only reach your ruler's place, although [the body] should fall into the deep gulf, it will be the doing of Heaven, and through no fault of your ruler or of the ferry-men." Upon this the people of Woo received K'uei, [as he proposed].

2d. In autumn, Ch'in Kwan of Ts'e passed by [the capital of] Wei on his way to T'oo, when Chung Yeh (Tze-loo) went to see him, and said, "Heaven perhaps is using Ch'in-she as its axe. He has cut down the dual House of Ts'e, but we cannot know whether some other man may not possess it. Nor can we know whether he shall not in the end enjoy it himself. Would it not be well to treat Loo well, and wait for the time [to come]? Why should you show hatred to it?" Tze-yah (Ch'in Kwan) said, "Yes. I have received your orders. Do you send some one to lay the thing before my brother (Ch'in Hang, or Ch'ing-tze)."

Par. 5. The Chuen says:—In winter, we made peace with Ts'e, and Tze-fuh King-pih went to that State, with Tze-kung as assistant-commissioner. The latter went to see the Kung-sun Ch'ing (Who had been commandant of Ch'ing), and said to him, "All men who are in the service of others [should be faithful], but they [often] show a false heart; how much more may the people of Ts'e, though they are [for the present] doing service to you, be expected to



play double! You are a descendant of the duke of Chow, and enjoyed great advantages [in Loo], but still your thoughts have been on unrighteousness. Why have you adopted such a course as is likely to ruin the State of your ancestors, when you could not get an advantage [which you desired]?” Ch’ing replied, “Good! Alas that I did not earlier hear your instructions!”

Ch’in Ch’ing-tzu assigned their lodging to the guests, and said to them, “My ruler has sent me to say to you that he wishes to do service to your ruler as he has done to the ruler of Wei.” King-pih made a sign to Tse-kung to advance and reply, which he did, saying, “This is the desire of our ruler. Formerly, when the people of Tsin invaded Wei (in the 8th year of Ting), Tse on account of Wei attacked [the city] Kwan-sha of Tsin, and lost 600 chariots. Notwithstanding, it made a grant of territory to Wei, and assigned it in writing 12,500 families on the west of the Tse, and the south of Chih, Ma, and Hang. When the people of Woo attacked our poor State (in Gae’s 8th year), Tse took advantage of our distress to take Hwan and Shen; in consequence of which our ruler became cold to it. If indeed you will deal with him as you have dealt with the ruler of Wei, this is what we desire.” Ch’ing-tzu was pinched by this address, and restored Ch’ing, on which Kung-sun Suh (*i. e.* Kung-sun Ch’ing) entered Ying with his military stores.

[Tse-sha here relates a revolution in Wei, and the death of Tse-loo.—K’ung Yu of Wei (See XI. iv. 12) married an elder sister of Kwao-wae (See II. 5, *et seq.*), the eldest son of the marquis, by whom he had a son, Kwai. His attendant, Hwan Leang-foo, was tall and handsome, and after the death of Wan-tze (Yu) had an intrigue with his mistress. When her brother was in Tseih (II. 5), she sent this Leang-foo to him, and the prince then said to him, “If you can bring it about that I enter the capital and get the State, you shall have the cap and the carriage of a great officer, and 3 capital offences shall be forgiven you.” They covenanted together, and the attendant made request for the other to Pih-ke (The lady).

In the intercalary month, Leang-foo and the prince entered the capital, and stopped in an outer orchard of the K’ung family. At night, disguised as women, they were driven by a eunuch to the house. The steward Lwan Ning asked who they were, and admitted them on being told that they were ladies related to the family. They then went to the apartments of Pih-ke; and, when they had eaten, that lady went before, carrying a spear, and followed by

the prince and 5 men-at-arms, and [two men carrying] a pig. They found K’ung Kwai in the privy, and there forced him to make a covenant with the prince, after which they violently carried him up into a tower. Lwan Ning was making ready to drink; but before the meat was fully roasted, he heard of the revolution which was being made, and sent information of it to Ke-tze (Tze-loo). [At the same time], Shao Hwob had the horses put to a carriage, sent the cup round, partook of roast meat, and then carried off Chih, the marquis of Wei, with him to Loo for refuge. Ke-tze was going to enter the city, when he met Tse-kaon (Also a disciple of Confucius; see Ana., XI. xxiv.) about to leave it, who said to him, “The gate is shut.” “But I wish to try to go there,” replied Ke-tze. “It was not your doing,” said Tse-kaon; “you need not share in the chief’s misfortune.” “I have asked his pay,” rejoined the other, “and I will not try to escape from his difficulties.” Tse-kaon then quitted the city, and Tse-loo entered it. When he got to the gate of the K’ung family, Kung-sun K’an was keeping it, and told him that he could not enter. Ke-tze said, “You are a grandson of a former duke. You seek what gain you can get, and shrink from encountering the difficulties of the State. I am not such an one. Having got the benefit of the pay of the State, I will try to save it in its difficulties.” Just then a messenger came out at the gate, and Tse-loo entered. “Of what good,” said he, “is it for the prince to deal thus with K’ung Kwai? Though you put him to death, there will be some one to continue [his duty to the State].” He also said, “The prince has no courage. If we burn half the tower, he is sure to let K’ung Shuh go.” When the prince heard this, he was afraid, and sent down Shih K’uei and Yu Yau to resist Tse-loo, whom they struck with their spears, cutting also the strings of his cap. “The superior man,” said he, “does not let his cap fall to the ground when he dies;” and with this he led the strings again and died.

When Confucius heard of the disorder in Wei, he said, “Ch’ao will come [here safe]; but Yew will die.” (Comp. Ana., XI. xii.) K’ung Kwai then raised duke Ch’ao (Kwao-wae) to the marquinate. He did what harm he could to the old ministers, and wanted to remove them all. He began by saying to Mwan Ch’ing, the minister of Instruction, “I have had long experience of distress abroad. Do you now make a trial of it.” Ch’ing retired, and communicated this to Po, superintendent of the market, and wished with him to attack the duke. But the scheme did not take effect.]

### Sixteenth year.

十有六年春，王正月，丁卯朔，日有食之。公及三卿皆入。自城入，侯于衛，于侯來。二月，子退奔宋。夏，四月，己丑，孔丘卒。



左傳曰十六年春，肅成，褚師比出奔宋。衛侯使鄢武子告於周，曰：「刺聵得罪於君父君母，適竄於晉，晉以王室之故，不棄兄弟，實諸河上，天誘其衷，獲嗣守封焉。」使下臣肸敢告執事。王使單平公對曰：「肸以嘉命來告，余一人往，謂叔父，余嘉乃成世，復爾祿次，敬之哉！方天之休，弗敬弗休，悔其可追。」

夏四月己丑，孔丘卒。公誄之曰：「旻天不弔，不憚遺一老，俾寡余一人以在位，煢煢余在疚，嗚呼哀哉！尼父，無自律。子貢曰：「君其不沒於魯乎？」夫子之言曰：「禮失則昏，名失則愆，失志爲昏，失所爲愆，生不能用，死而誄之，非禮也。」稱一人，非名也。君兩失之。」

六月，衛侯飲孔悝酒於平陽，重酬之。大夫皆有納焉，醉而送之。夜半而遺之，載伯姬於平陽而行。及西門，使甯車反，宿於西園。子伯季子初爲孔氏臣，新登於公，請追之，遇載祏者，殺而乘其車。許公爲反祏，遇之曰：「與不仁人爭，明無不勝，必使先射。」射三發，皆遠許爲，許爲射之，殪。或以其車從，得祏於橐中。孔悝出奔宋。

楚太子建之遇讒也，自城父奔宋，又辟華氏之亂於鄭。鄭人甚善之，又適晉，與晉人謀襲鄭，乃求復焉。鄭人復之如初。晉人使謀於子木，請行而期焉。子木暴虐於其私邑，邑人訴之。鄭人省之，得晉謀焉，遂殺子木。其子曰勝，在吳。子西欲召之，葉公曰：「吾聞勝也詐而亂，無乃害乎？」子西曰：「吾聞勝也信而勇，不爲不利，舍諸邊竟，使衛藩焉。」葉公曰：「居仁之謂信，率義之謂勇，吾聞勝也，好復言而求死士，殆有私乎？」復言，非信也。期死，非勇也。子必悔之，弗從。召之，使處吳竟，爲白公，請伐鄭。子西曰：「楚未節也，不然，吾不忘也。」他日又請許之，未起師。晉人伐鄭，楚救之，與之盟。勝怒曰：「鄭人在此，警不遠矣。」勝白厲劍于期之子平見之，曰：「王孫何自厲也？」曰：「勝以直聞，不告汝庸爲直乎？」將以殺爾父，平以告子西。曰：「勝如卵，余翼而長之。」楚國第我死，令尹司馬非勝而誰？勝聞之，曰：「令尹之狂也，得死，乃非我。」子西不悅，勝謂石乞曰：「王與二卿士皆五百人當之，則可矣。」乞曰：「不可得也。」曰：「市南有熊宜僚者，若得之，可以當五百人矣。」乃從白公而見之，與之言說，告之故，辭承之以劍，不動。勝曰：「不爲利，詔不



爲威惕，不洩人言以求媚者，去之。吳人伐慎，白公敗之，請以戰備獻，許之，遂作亂。秋七月，殺子西。子期於朝，而劫惠王。子西以袂掩面而死。子期曰：「昔者吾以力事君，不可以弗終。」抉豫章以殺人而後死。石乞曰：「焚庫弑王，不然不濟。」白公曰：「不可。」弑王不祥，焚庫無聚，將何以守矣？乞曰：「有楚國而治其民，以敬事神，可以得祥，且有聚矣。」何患弗從？葉公在蔡，方城之外，皆曰：「可以入矣。」子高曰：「吾聞之以險徼幸者，其求無饜，偏重必離。」聞其殺齊，營修也，而後入。白公欲以子閭爲王，子閭不可，遂劫以兵。子閭曰：「王孫若安靖楚國，匡正王室，而後庇焉。」敢之願也，敢不聽從。若將專利，以傾王室，不顧楚國，有死不能，遂殺之。而以王如高府。石乞尹門，圍公陽穴宮，負王以如昭夫人之宮。葉公亦至，及北門，或遇之曰：「君胡不胄？」國人望君，如望慈父母焉。盜賊之矢若傷君，是絕民望也。若之何不胄？乃胄而進。又遇一人曰：「君胡不胄？」國人望君，如望歲焉。日月以幾，若見君面，是得艾也。民知不死，其亦夫有奮心，猶將旌君以徇於國，而又掩面以絕民望，不亦甚乎？乃免胄而進。遇箴尹固帥其屬將與白公，子高曰：「微二子者，楚不國矣。」棄德從賊，其可保乎？乃從葉公，使與國人以攻白公。白公奔山而縊，其徒微之，生拘石乞，而問白公之死焉。對曰：「余知其死所，而長者使余勿言。」曰：「不言將烹。」乞曰：「此事也，克則爲卿，不克則烹，固其所也。」何害？乃烹石乞。王孫燕奔，顓黃氏沈諸梁兼二事。國寧，乃使寧爲令尹，使寬爲司馬，而老於葉。

衛侯占夢，嬖人求酒於犬叔，僖子不得，與卜人比，而告公曰：「君有大臣在西南隅，弗去，懼害。」乃逐犬叔。邲，奔晉。

衛侯謂渾良夫曰：「吾繼先君，而不得其器，若之何？」良夫代執火者而言曰：「疾與亡君，皆君之子也，召之而擇材焉，可也。若不材，器可得也。」暨告犬子。犬子使五人輿輶從己，劫公而強盟之。且請殺良夫。公曰：「其盟免三死。」曰：「請三之後，有罪殺之。」公曰：「諾哉。」



- XVI. 1 In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Ke-mao, K'wae-wae, heir-son of Wei, entered the capital from Ts'ieh, and Cheh, marquis of Wei, came to Loo a fugitive.
- 2 In the second month, Tze-muen Ch'ing of Wei fled from that State to Sung.
- 3 In summer, in the fourth month, on Ko-ch'ow, K'ung K'ew died.

PAR. 1, 2. The Chuen says:—In the 16th year, in spring, Mwan Ch'ing (The Tze-suen Ch'ing of the text) and Pe, superintendent of the market-place (See the narrative at the end of last year), fled from Wei to Sung. The marquis of Wei sent Yen Woo-tze to announce [his restoration] at [the court of] Chou, saying, "K'wae-wae, having offended against the marquis his father and the marchioness his mother, was obliged to flee for refuge to Tsin. That State from regard to [his connexion with] the royal House, and mindful of him as thereby connected with itself, placed him near the Ho. By the secret influence of Heaven upon his mind, he has [now] obtained the inheritance of his State, and has sent his humble servant Heih, to inform the king's ministers thereof." The king caused duke Ping of Shen to return this reply, "Heih has come with his admirable message, and laid it before me, the One man; Let him go, and say to my uncle, 'I rejoice in your success, and restore to you and your descendants your emoluments and rank. Be reverent! Heaven is now blessing you; but if you are not reverent, it will not bestow its blessing; and repentance then will be of no avail.'"

PAR. 3. With this par. ends the continuation of Confucius' Work by his disciples. Henceforth there is no more text of the Ch'un T'zu, real or supplementary. "The sage having been born," says Tso Yu, "in the 23d year of duke Ssang (But see the note at the end of IX. xii.), was now 70 years old. In the 4th month of this year, the 18th day was Yih-ch'ow (乙丑). There was no Ka-ch'ow in it. Ka-ch'ow was the 12th day of the 5th month; so that there is an error in the text either of the month or of the day." Tso is wrong here. Ka-ch'ow was the 11th day of the 4th month of this year.

The Chuen says:—The duke pronounced his eulogy, saying, "Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged man, to support me, the One man, on my seat. Dispirited I am, and full of distress. Woe is me! Alas! O Ne-foo! There is none [now] to be a rule to me!" Tze-kung said, "The ruler is not likely to die in Loo. The master said, 'Error in a point of ceremony shows darkness of mind; error in the use of a name is a fault.' Failure of the mind is darkness; a fault is failure in one's position. The duke could not use the master when alive; in eulogizing him when dead, he has transgressed the rules of ceremony. In calling himself 'the One man,' he has assumed a name which does not belong to him. In both things the ruler has erred."

Though the supplementary text of the Ch'un T'zu stops with the above paragraph, Tso-she continues his narratives for several years, and we shall continue to follow the stream of Chinese history as far as we have his guidance.

1. "In the 6th month of this year, the marquis of Wei entertained K'ung Kwei to drink with him at Ping-yang, when he bestowed large gifts upon him, while all the great officers also received presents. He escorted him away when he had well drunk, and at midnight sent him [an order to go] away from the State. [Kwei] took [his mother] Pih-ko in the carriage with him from Ping-yang, and took his way. When he had got to the west gate, he sent an attendant carriage back to Se-poo to bring away the stone Spirit-tablets of his temple. Tze-pih Ke-tze, who had formerly been an officer in the K'ung household, but had lately been promoted to the service of the marquis, begged leave to pursue him; and, meeting with the carriage and the tablets, he killed the individual in charge of it, and mounted the carriage. Heu Kung-wai had come back to see about the tablets, and now met with Ke-tze. "In a struggle," said he to himself, "with so bad a man, I am sure to conquer. I will make him shoot first." [Ke-tze] discharged 3 arrows, which all went wide of the mark. Heu Wei then shot the other dead, and one of his attendants found the spirit-tablets in a bag. K'ung Kwei then fled to Sung."

2. "When K'een, the eldest son of the viscount of Ts'oo, was slandered (See the 2d narrative at the beginning of X. xix., that after par. 3; and the 2d at the beginning of X. xx.) he fled from Shing-foo to Sung. Afterwards, he went from Sung to Ch'ing to avoid the disorders caused by members of the Hwa family. The people of Ch'ing were very fond of him; but he went on to Tsin. There he took counsel with some officers of Tsin who wished to surprise [the capital of] Ch'ing, and [to aid them] asked that he might be recalled to that State, which was done; and he was treated as he had been at first. [By and by], the people of Tsin sent a spy to him (He was styled Tze-muh), to ask him to fix the time for their enterprise. He had been harsh and tyrannical in the city assigned to himself, so that the people accused him; and in the course of an investigation, this spy was detected, and Tze-muh was put to death. His son, called Shing, was [now] in Woo, from which Tze-se wished to recall him to Ts'oo. The duke of Shieh said, "I have heard that Shing is deceitful and insubordinate;—will not such a step turn out ill?" Tze-se, however, said, "I have heard that Shing is a man of good faith and bold; to recall him will only be advantageous. We can place him on the borders, and employ him as a bulwark to the State." He of Shieh observed, "I call it good faith when a man cultivates the friendship of the virtuous, and I call it boldness when a man follows a



course of righteousness. I have heard that Shing wishes always to make his words good, and seeks to get around him braves who are not afraid of death. It is to be feared he has private aims of his own. To make good one's words is not good faith, and to be speculating about death is not boldness. You will repent of this measure."

Tze-se did not follow this counsel, but called Shing [back to Te'oo], and stationed him near the borders of Woo, where he became duke of Pih. [Ere long], he asked leave to invade Ching; but Tze-se said, "The brilliancy of Te'oo are not yet fully arranged. But for this, [the thing should be done]. I will not forget the matter. By and by he made the same request, and leave was given to him; but before he had raised his forces, the people of Tsin invaded Ching, and Te'oo relieved it, and made a covenant with it. Shing was angry, and said, "Here is a man of Ching. My enemy is not far off," and he then proceeded to sharpen his sword. Ping, the son of Tze-k'e, seeing him so engaged, said to him, "King's grandson, what are you doing that for?" Shing replied, "I have the reputation of being straightforward. If I do not tell you, how can I be called so? It is to kill your father." Ping reported this to Tze-se, who said, "Shing is like an egg which I have hatched. I have brought him up under my wings. According to the order of the State of Te'oo, when I die, no other but he will be chief minister or marshal." When Shing heard this, he said, "The chief minister is mad. If he die a natural death, it will be my condemnation." Still Tze-se did not repent of what he had done. Shing said to Shih K'ieh, "If we meet the king and the two high ministers with 500 men in all, the thing may be done." K'ieh replied, "The men cannot be got," and he added, "At the south of the market place there is one Heng E-léou. If you can get him, he will be equal to 500 men." They then went together to the place, and saw the man. The duke of Pih talked, and was pleased, with him; but when he told him his object, E-léou refused [to engage in it]. Shing then threatened him with his sword, but he made no movement. "The offer of gain," said Shing, "could not flatter him; threatening could not terrify him. He is not one who will seek to get favour by letting out my words;" and with this he left him.

A body of men from Woo having attacked Shih, the duke of Pih defeated them, and begged leave to present [in the court] the spoils of the battle. This was granted him, and he took the opportunity to make an insurrection. In autumn, in the 7th month, he killed Tze-se and Tze-k'e in the court, and made king Hwei a prisoner. Tze-se covered his face with his sleeve, as he was dying; but Tze-k'e said, "Heretofore I have used my strength in the service of our ruler; I must now end in the same way." With this he tore up a large log of a camphor wood tree, killed a man with it, and died. Shih K'ieh advised Shing to burn the treasury and murder the king; for if he did not do so, his enterprise would not succeed. The duke, however, said, "No. To murder the king would be impious. And if I burned the treasury, I should have no stores. Where-with should I maintain myself?" K'ieh replied, "Holding the State of Te'oo, and ruling its people, and at the same

time reverently serving the Spirits, you will not be without good auspices and sufficient stores. You need not be anxious lest the people should not follow you."

[At this time], the duke of Shieh was in Te'oo, and all the people outside the barrier wall advised him to advance upon the capital. He replied, however, "I have heard that when a man puts his fortune to the risk by hazardous ways, he is insatiable in his desires, and falls from his place [like a vessel] made too heavy on one side." When he heard that Shing had put to death Kwan Sze [who was sprung] from Te'oo, then he advanced.

The duke of Pih wished to make Tze-jen king, but that prince refused, on which the duke carried him off by force of arms. Tze-jen said, "If you, a king's grandson, will secure the peace of the State of Te'oo, and will correct and regulate the royal House, and afterwards extend your shelter over it, this is what I desire. Shall I presume not to obey and follow you? If animated by a desire for your own exclusive advantage, you proceed to overthrow the royal House, and do not regard the State of Te'oo, though I die, I cannot follow you." The duke on this put him to death, and proceeded with the king to the High treasury, the gate of which was kept by Shih K'ieh. Kung-yang, an eunuch, however, dug through the wall, and carried the king on his back to the place of [his mother], the queen Ch'ao. At the same time, the duke of Shieh drew near. When he arrived at the north gate, some one met him and said, "Why are you without your helmet? The people are looking for you as for an indulgent parent. If the arrows of the rebels wound you, it will destroy the hope of the people;—how is it that you are not helmeted?" The duke on this assumed his helmet and advanced. Shortly he met another man, who said to him, "Why are you wearing your helmet? The people are looking for you as they look for a good year. Daily are they expecting your arrival. If they [once] see your face, they will feel at rest. When they [thus] know that they will not die, their souls will all be on fire; and they will, as it were, point you out as a mark throughout the whole city. Is it not too bad in you to cover your face, and destroy the hope of the people?" At this speech, the duke took off his helmet and advanced without it.

[As he went on], he met Kuo, the director of Remonstrances, who was leading his followers to join the duke of Pih. Tze-kaou (The duke of Shieh was so styled) said to him, "If it had not been for the two ministers [who have been put to death], Te'oo would have ceased to be a State. Is it to be preserved by abandoning the virtuous and following the rebellious? The director on this followed the duke of Shieh, who sent him, with the people of the city, to attack the duke of Pih. That leader fled to a hill, and strangled himself; and his followers concealed his body. Shih K'ieh was taken alive, and questioned about the duke's death. "I know," replied he, "the place where he died, but he told me not to tell it." "If you do not tell it," he was told, "we will tell you." He said, "If our enterprise had succeeded, I should have been minister. That I should be boiled on its failure is the natural consequence. What harm can it do me?" Accordingly he was



boiled. Shing's brother Yen fled to K'wao-hwang. Shin Choo-liang (The duke of Shoh) took the offices of both the murdered ministers; but when the State was composed, he made Ning (Son of Tse-se) chief minister, and K'wan (Son of Tse-k'e) minister of War; and remained himself to old age in Shoh.

[This Tse-kan or Shin Choo-liang is the duke of Shoh of the Analects, VII. xviii; XIII. xvi.]

3. A favourite of the marquis of Wei, who interpreted dreams, having asked for some spirits from Tse-shuh He-tan, and being refused them, he joined with the diviner, and said to the marquis, "Your lordship has a great minister in the south-west corner who, we are afraid, will injure you, if you do not send him away." On this [the marquis] drove out Tse-shuh E (He-tan), who fled to Tsin.

4. The marquis of Wei said to Hwan Liang-foo, "I have now succeeded to my father, but I am not in possession of his [valuable] articles (Which duke Cheh had carried away with him);—what is to be done? Liang-foo took the place of the torch-bearer, and said, "Tsin and the exiled marquis are both your sons. Call the latter back, and then choose the abler of the two [to succeed you]. If he be not the abler, the articles (which he carried away) can thus be got. An attendant told this to Tsin, who made five men follow him with a pig, seized the marquis, and forced him to make a covenant with him, requesting him also to put Liang-foo to death. "I covenanted with him," said the marquis, "to forgive him three capital offences." "But," urged Tsin, "I ask that you will put him to death, for the next offences after those three." To this the marquis agreed.

### Seventeenth year.

左傳曰十七年春衛侯爲虎輻於蒺藜成求令名者而與之始食焉犬子請使良夫良夫乘東甸兩牡紫衣狐裘至袒裘不釋劍而食犬子使牽以退數之以三罪而殺之

三月越子伐吳吳子禦之笠澤夾水而陳越子爲左右句卒使夜或左或右鼓譟而進吳師分以禦之越子以三軍潛涉當吳中軍而鼓之吳師大亂遂敗之

晉趙鞅使告於衛曰君之在晉也志父爲主請君若犬子來以免志父不然寡君其曰志父之爲也衛侯辭以難犬子又使稼之夏六月趙鞅圍衛齊國觀陳瓊救衛得晉人之致師者子玉使服而見之曰國子實執齊柄而命瓊曰無辟晉師豈敢廢命子又何辱簡子曰我卜伐衛未卜與齊戰乃還

楚白公之亂陳人恃其聚而侵楚楚既寧將取陳麥楚子問帥於大師子穀與葉公諸梁子穀曰右領差車與左史老皆相令尹司馬以伐陳其可使也子高曰率賤民慢之懼不用命焉子穀曰觀丁父郡俘也武王以爲軍率是以克州蓼服隨唐大啟羣蠻彭仲爽申俘也文王以爲令尹實縣申息朝陳蔡封畛於汝唯其任也何賤之有子高曰天命不謬令尹有憾於陳天若亡之其必令尹之子是與君盍舍焉臣懼右領與左史有二俘之賤而無其令德也王卜之武城尹吉使帥師取陳麥陳人御之敗遂圍



陳秋七月己卯，楚公孫朝帥師滅陳。王與葉公枚卜子良，以爲令尹。沈尹朱曰：「吉，過於其志。」葉公曰：「王子而相國，過將何爲？」他日改卜子國，而使爲令尹。

衛侯夢於北宮，見人登昆吾之櫬，被髮北面而譟曰：「登此昆吾之虛，綿綿生之瓜，余爲渾良夫。」叫天無辜，公親越之，胥彌敝占之曰：「不害，與之邑，寘之。」而逃奔宋。衛侯貞卜，其繇曰：「如魚鼈尾，衡流而方羊，裔焉大國，滅之將亡。」闔門塞竇，乃自後踰冬。十月，晉復伐衛，入其郛，將入城。簡子曰：「止，叔向有言曰：『怙亂滅國者無後。』」衛人出莊公而與晉平。晉立襄公之孫般師而還。十一月，衛侯自鄆入，般師出。初，公登城以望，見戎州，問之以告。公曰：「我姬姓也，何戎之有焉？」蒍之。公使匠人攻之，未及而難作。辛巳，石圃因匠氏攻公。公閉門而請弗許，踰於北方，而隊折股。戎州人攻之，犬子疾。公子青踰從公，戎州人殺之。公入於戎州，己氏初，公自城上見己氏之妻，髮美，使髡之，以爲呂姜鬻。既入焉，而示之璧，曰：「活我，吾與汝璧。」己氏曰：「殺汝，璧其焉往？」遂殺之，而取其璧。衛人復公孫般師而立之。十二月，齊人伐衛，衛人請平立公子起，執般師以歸，舍諸濫。

公會齊侯盟於蒙，孟武伯相。齊侯稽首，公拜。齊人怒。武伯曰：「非天子，寡君無所稽首。」武伯問於高棠曰：「諸侯盟，誰執牛耳？」季羔曰：「卽衍之役，吳公子姑曹發陽之役，衛石魋。」武伯曰：「然則蒍也。」

宋皇瑗之子麋有友曰田丙，而奪其兄劉般邑，以與之。劉般愠而行，告桓司馬之臣子儀。克子儀克適宋，告夫人曰：「麋將納桓氏。」公問諸子仲，初，子仲將以杞姬之子非我爲子。麋曰：「必立伯也。」是良材。子仲怒，弗從。故對曰：「右師則老矣，不識樂也。」公執之。皇瑗奔晉，召之。

XVII. 1. 'In the [duke's] 17th year, the marquis of Wei made a tent adorned with paintings of tigers in his own peculiar garden; and when it was finished, he sought for men of the best reputation, to feast with them in it at its opening. The heir-son [Taih] begged him to get Liang-foo to be present. That officer came in the carriage of a minister of the 2d degree, with 2 horses; and in a purple robe, with a jacket of fox-fur over it. On his arrival, he threw open the fox-fur, but did not take off his sword. The heir-son ordered him to be dragged away, set forth to him his 3 offences, and put him to death.'

2. 'In the 3d month, the viscount of Yush invaded Wou, and was met by the viscount of Wou at the marsh of Leih. Their forces were drawn up over against each other on either side of the water. The viscount of Yush formed two bodies in files of five on his left and right, and made them during the night, with a noise of drums, advance now on the right and now on the left. The army of Wou divided to meet them, on which the viscount of Yush stole through the water, right against the centre of that of Wou, which was thrown into great confusion, and defeated.'



3. "Chao Yang of Tsin sent a message to the marquis of Wei, saying, 'When your lordship was in Tsin, I (志父 was a name of Yang) was your host. I beg you or your eldest son now to come [to Tsin], that I may escape being incriminated. If you do not do so, my ruler will say that your not coming is my doing.' The marquis of Wei declined to go to Tsin on the ground of the difficulties in which he was, and his eldest son made representations injurious to him. In summer, in the 5th month, Chao Yang laid siege to the capital of Wei, to the relief of which came Kwoh Kwan and Chin Kwan of Ts'ao. An officer of Tsin, who had come with a challenge to battle, having been made prisoner, Tze-yuh (Chin Kwan) caused him to be clothed in his proper dress, and then went to see him. "Kwoh-tze," said he to the prisoner, "has the govt. of Tse in his hands, and he ordered me not to avoid the army of Tsin. How should I presume to disobey his command? and why should your leader take the trouble to send a challenge?" Kwoh-tze said, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Wei, and not about fighting with Tse;" and on this he withdrew."

4. "During the troubles of Ts'ao caused by the duke of Tsin, the people of Chin, relying on their accumulated stores, made an incursion into it. When the State was tranquillized, it was resolved to carry off the wheat crop of Chin, and the vicounts consulted the grand-tutor Tze-kun, and Choo-ling duke of Shieh, about a leader for the expedition. Tze-kun said, "Chao-ken, commander of the Right, and Lanu, historiographer of the Left, both attacked the chief minister and the marshal in a former attack of Chin; they may be employed now." Tze-kun said, "When the leaders are of low rank, the people despise them. I am afraid the orders of those officers will not be obeyed." Tze-kun replied, "Kwan Tze-tse was a captive of Jeh; but our king Woo employed him as the general of the army, and thence came the conquest of Chow and Loo, the subjugation of Sui and Tang, and a great opening up of all the Man tribes. Ping Chung-sheng was a captive of Shih; but our king Wan employed him as his chief minister, and he made Shih and Sui districts of our State. The bringing Chin and Tse to our court, and the enlargement of our boundaries to the Joo, were his achievements. What loss of rank to do in this matter?" Tze-kun rejoined, "The decree of Heaven does not waver. The [late] chief minister had ground of indignation with Chin. If Heaven be [now] minded to destroy it, the work will be assigned to the chief minister's son. Why should the ruler not pass over these officers? I am afraid that the commander of the Right and the historiographer of the Left have the lowness of rank of the two captives [you have mentioned], without their excellent virtues." The king consulted the tortoise-shell, which indicated that the choice of the commandant of Woo-shing would be fortunate (He was the son of Tze-ao, the late chief-minister). He was sent therefore with a force to carry off the wheat crop of Chin. The people of that State withstood him, and were defeated, on which he laid siege to its capital city. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Ke-mou, he,—the

Kung-sun Chao of Ts'ao,—at the head of his force, extinguished Chin (See the Chuen on X. 14, 2).

"The king and the duke of Shieh consulted the tortoise-shell about Tze-ling, whether he should be appointed chief minister. Choo, commandant of Shih, said, "The indication is that the appointment will be fortunate, but that he will go beyond your expectations." "A son of our [former] king and prime-minister, if he go beyond our expectations, what will he proceed to?" said the duke. Shortly after, they consulted the shell about Tze-kwoh, and appointed him chief-minister."

5. "The marquis of Wei (Kwan) in the north palace, that he saw a man mounting the tower of Kuen-woo. His hair was dishevelled; and with his face to the north, he cried out, saying,

"I mount here in the old site of Kuan-woo;  
The gourd is only commencing their growth.

I am Hwa Liang-foo;

I appeal to Heaven in assertion of my innocence."

The marquis himself consulted the reeds about the dream, and Sen Mu-shay interpreted the result to the effect that there was no harm in it, on which a city was given to him, which he left, making his escape to Sung. The marquis again consulted the tortoise-shell, the interpretation of the indications of which was,

"He is like a fish with a red tail,  
Tossed cross-wise, and driven to the side.  
Far from the great State,  
He will be extinguished and flee.  
His gate and all his openings shut,  
He will get over behind."

"In winter, in the 10th month, Tsin again invaded Wei, and entered its outer suburbs. When the army was about to enter the capital, Kuen-tse said, "Let us stop. Shieh-hang said that he who took advantage of its disorder to extinguish a State would have no posterity." The people of Wei then drove out duke Chwang, and made peace with Tsin, which raised Pan-ao, a grandson of duke Sheng, to be marquis, and thus withdrew its army. In the 11th month, the [expelled] marquis again entered the capital from Kuen, and Pan-ao fled."

"Before this, duke [Chwang] had been (on one occasion) taking a view from the city wall, and observed [the place called] Jung-chow. Having inquired about it, and been told [its name], he said "Our surname is Ke. What have any Jung to do here?" and he proceeded to plunder the place."

"He had employed the workmen for a long time, and wished to expel Shih Poo; but before he could do so, an insurrection broke out, and on Sin-ao, Shih Poo, supported by the workmen, attacked him. He shut his gate, and begged for terms, which were refused him; and in getting over the wall on the north, he fell and broke his thigh, when the men of Jung-chow attacked him. His sons Tai and Ts'ing got over it after him, and were killed by them. He then entered the house of Ke of Jung-chow."

"Before this, he had seen, from the wall of the city, the wife of this Ke, how beautiful her hair was, and had caused it to be cut off, to make a



wig for [his wife] Lou-k'ang. When he now entered Ke's house, he showed him a *poih*, saying, "If you save my life, I will give you this *poih*." Ke said, "If I kill you, where will the *poih* go to?" On which he killed him, and took the *poih*. The people of Wei recalled Kung-sun Pan-ze and made him marquis.

In the 12th month, a body of men from Ts'e invaded Wei, the people of which begged for peace. The invaders raised the Kung-tze K'e to the marquessate, carried Pan-ze back with them, and placed him in Loo.

6. "The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ts'e, and made a covenant in Mung. Mang Woo-pih was with the duke as director of the ceremony. The marquis bowed with his head to the ground, but the duke only bowed, on which the people of Ts'e were angry; but Woo-pih said, "Only to the son of Heaven does our ruler bow with his head to the ground." Woo-pih asked Kaou Ch'ao who held the bull's ear when princes were covenanting, and was answered, "At the affair of Ts'ang-yen, the

Kung-tze Koo-ts'au of Woo held it (See VII. 5); at the affair of Fah-yang (XII. 4). Shih Tui of Wei did it." Woo-pih said, "Then, I may do it now."

7. "Keun, the son of Hwang Yuen of Sung, had a friend called T'ien Ping, to whom he gave the city of his elder brother Tsan-pai, taking it away from the latter. Tsan-pai went away in indignation, and told Tze-e K'ih, an officer of the marshal Hwan of it. On this K'ih went to Sung, and told the duchess that Keun was going to restore Hwan-aho. The duke asked Tze-chung about the matter.

Now Tze-chung had wished, before this, to appoint Fei-go, his son by K'e-sze, his successor, but Keun had said that he must appoint Fei-go's older brother, as being a man of good ability. Tze-chung was angry, and did not follow the advice; and now he replied to the duke, "The master of the Right is too old for such a thing; but I do not know about Keun." The duke on this seized Keun, and Hwang Yuen fled to Tsin from which the duke recalled him.

### *Eighteenth year.*

左傳曰十八年春宋殺皇  
瑗公聞其情復皇氏之族  
使皇瑗爲右師  
巴人伐楚圍鄧初右司馬  
子國之卜也觀瞻曰如志  
故命之及巴師至將卜帥  
王曰寧如志何卜焉使帥  
師而行請承王曰寢尹工  
尹勤先君者也三月楚公  
孫寧吳由于薳固敗巴師  
於鄧故封子國於析君子  
曰惠王知志夏書曰官占  
唯能蔽志昆命於元龜其  
是之謂乎志曰聖人不煩  
卜筮惠王其有焉  
夏衛侯自齊復歸逐石  
齊衛侯自齊復歸逐石  
圖而復石魋與犬叔遺

XVIII. 1. "In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, Sung put to death Hwang Yuen. When the duke heard all the circumstances [of the case], he recalled the various members of the Hwang clan, and made Hwang Hwan master of the Right."

2. "A body of men from Pa invaded Ts'oo, and laid siege to Yew. Formerly, when the tortoise-shell was consulted about Tze-kwoh's being made marshal of the Right, Kwan Chen said, 'He will answer to your wishes;' and he was appointed. Accordingly, when the army of Pa now entered the country, it was proposed to consult the tortoise-shell about a leader to oppose it, but the king said, 'It was intimated that Ning would succeed according to our wishes. Why should we divine any further?' He was therefore sent with a force against the invaders. He requested assistant-commanders; and the king said, 'The officer of the bed-

chamber and the officer of Works did good service to my predecessor (See on XI. iv. 15).'" Accordingly, in the 3d month, the Kung-sun Ning, Woo Yew-yu, and Wei Koo defeated the army of Pa at Yew, in consequence of which Tze-kwoh was invested with Seih. The superior man will say that king Hwuy knew his mind. In him was an illustration of what is said in one of the Books of Hsia (Shoo, II. ii. 18), "The officer of divination, when the mind is made up on a subject, then refers it to the great tortoise." In the History it is said, "A man does not trouble the tortoise-shell and needs." So it was with king Hwuy."

3. "In summer, Shih Foo of Wei drove out his ruler K'e, who fled to Ts'e. The marquis Chieh then returned to Wei from Ts'e, drove out Shih Foo, and restored Shih Tui and Tze-shuh E."



## Nineteenth year.

左傳曰：十九年春，越人侵楚，以吳公子慶公孫寬，追越師至冥，不及乃還。秋，楚沈諸梁伐東夷，三夷男女及楚師盟於敖。冬，叔青如京師，敬王崩故也。

XIX. 1. 'In the [duke's] 19th year, in spring, a body of men from Yueh made an incursion into Ts'oo, in order to delude Woo.'

2. 'In summer, the Kung-tze K'ing of Ts'oo and the Kung-sun K'wan pursued the army of Yueh as far as Ming, could not come up with it, and returned.'

3. 'In autumn, Shin Choo-leng of Ts'oo invaded the rich tribes of the east (To punish Yueh). The men and women of 2 tribes covenanted with the army of Ts'oo at Qaou.'

4. 'In winter Shuh Ts'ing (The son of Shuh Seuen) went to the capital, on occasion of the death of king King.'

[This date of the death of king King is very much contested.]

## Twentieth year

左傳曰：二十年春，齊人來徵會。夏，會於顯丘，爲鄭故，謀伐晉。鄭人辭諸侯，秋，師還。吳公子慶忌驛諫吳子曰：不改，必亡。弗聽，出居於艾，遂適楚。聞越將伐吳，冬，請歸平越，遂歸。欲除不忠者，以說於越。吳人殺之。

十一月，越圍吳。趙孟降於喪，食。楚隆曰：三年之喪，親暱之極也。主又降之，無乃有故乎？趙孟曰：黃池之役，先主與吳王有質，曰：好惡同之。今越圍吳，嗣子不廢舊業，而敵之，非晉之所能及也。吾是以爲降。楚隆曰：若使吳王知之，若何？趙孟曰：可乎？隆曰：請嘗之。乃往。先遣於越軍曰：吳犯閒，上國多矣。聞君親討焉，諸夏之人莫不欣喜。唯恐君志之不從，請入視之。許之。告於吳王曰：寡君之老無恤，使陪臣隆敢展謝，其不共黃池之役。君之先臣志父得承齊盟，曰：好惡同之。今君在難，無恤不敢憚勞，非晉國之所能及也。使陪臣敢展布之。王拜稽首曰：寡人不佞，不能事越，以爲大夫憂，拜命之辱。與之一簞珠，使問趙孟曰：句踐將生憂寡人，寡人死之不得矣。王曰：寡人必笑。吾將有問也。史黯何以得爲君子？對曰：黯也，進不見惡，退無謗言。王曰：宜哉！

XX. 1. In the [duke's] 20th year, in spring, an officer of Ts'oo came to call the duke to a meeting, which was held in summer at Lin-k'ew. It was on account of Ch'ing, to lay plans for the invasion of Ts'ui. The people of Ch'ing, however, declined the action of the States, and in autumn our army returned.'

2. 'The Kung-tze K'ing-ko of Woo, remonstrated frequently with the viscount, telling

him that, if he did not change his course, ruin must be the result.' The viscount would not listen to him, on which he left and resided in E, going afterwards to Ts'oo. When he heard that Yueh was going to invade Woo, he begged leave to return and try to bring about a peace with Yueh. He then returned, and wished to take off the unfathful [officers] in order to



satisfy Yuch. The people of Woo, however, put him to death.

3. "In the 11th month, Yuch laid siege to [the capital of] Woo. Chaou-ming (Chaou Woo-sueh, or Shang-tsun, son of Chuan Yang of Tsin, for whom he was now in mourning) diminished the quantity and quality of his mourning diet [in consequence]. T'ao Lung said to him, "The three years' mourning is the greatest expression [of grief for the loss] of relatives; and yet you are now going beyond it;—have you not a reason for this?" Chaou-ming replied, "At the meeting of Hwang-ch'e (XIII. 3), my father made a covenant with the king of Woo, that [Tsin and Woo] should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Now Yuch is besieging the capital of Woo. If I, as my father's heir, do not make void his engagement, I ought to oppose Yuch, but this is what Tsin is not able to do; and I therefore have diminished my diet." Lung said, "Suppose you should send and make the king of Woo acquainted with the circumstances." Can it be done?" asked the minister. "Allow me to try it," said the other; and he took his way to the scene of strife. First he went to the army of Yuch, and said [to the viscount of that State], "Many have been the attacks and injuries committed by Woo on your superior State, and the people of our [northern] States have all been glad to hear that your lordship is now punishing it in person. I am only afraid

that your desire may not get its satisfaction, and beg your leave to enter the city that I may see." Permission was granted to him; and he then said to the king of Woo, "Woo-sueh, the minister of my ruler, has sent me, his servant Lung, to venture to explain and apologize for his not coming to your assistance. His father Che-foo, the former minister of our ruler, undertook the engagement of the covenant at Hwang-ch'e, that Tsin and Woo should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Your lordship is now in difficulties. Woo-sueh would not dare to shrink from the toil; but Tsin is not able to make the effort, and he has sent me to venture to represent to you his case." The king bowed with his head to the earth, and said, "Through my incapacity I have not been able to serve Yuch, and have thus caused sorrow to your minister. I acknowledge the condensation of his message." He then gave Lung a small basket of pearls which he sent to Chaou-ming, saying, "Kow-tsun will cause me grief while I live; I would die, but death will not come. I would now ask you a question as with the laugh of a drowning man:—how was it that your historiographer Gan (The Milk of the Chuen on X. xxxii. 2), got his reputation of wisdom?" "Gan," said Lung, "when he advanced, incurred no hatred, and when he retired, was followed by no reviling." "His character was deserved," rejoined the king.

### *Twenty-first year.*

左傳曰二十一年夏五月越人始來秋八月公及齊侯邾子盟於顧齊人責稽首因歌之曰魯人之皇微年不覺使我高蹈唯其儒書以爲二國憂是行也公先至於陽穀齊閭丘息曰君辱舉玉趾以在寡君之軍羣臣將傳遽以告寡君比其復也君無乃勤爲僕人之末次請除館於舟道辭曰敢勤僕人

XXI. 1. "In the [duke's] twenty-first year, an officer from Yuch first came to our court."

2. "In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Tse, and the viscount of Cheo in Koo. The people of Tse, to express their condemnation [of the duke] for not bowing with his head to the ground (XVII. 6), made the following song about it,

"How slow are they of Loo!  
They wake not, though years go,  
And make us travel so,  
Tis their scholars with their books,  
That thus trouble our two States."

At this time the duke arrived before either of the others at Yang-kuh. Lau-k'ew Seih of Tse said to him, "You have condescended to direct your steps here, and are now in the army of my ruler. We will send word with the most rapid despatch to him. But will it not be a trial of your patience till the messenger returns? As our workmen have not yet prepared the station [for the meeting], allow us to prepare a lodging-house for you in Chow-tsun." The duke declined the offer, saying that he would not presume to trouble their workmen.



## Twenty-second year.

左傳曰二十二年夏四月，公自齊奔越，曰：吳爲無道，執父立子，越人歸之，大子革奔越。冬十一月，丁卯，越滅吳。吳請使吳王居甬東，辭曰：「孤老矣，焉能事君？」乃縊。越人以歸。

XXII. 1. In the [duke's] 22d year, in summer, in the 4th month, duke Yin of Choo fled from Te'e to Yueh (Yih, the viscount of Choo, of VIII. 4, and X. 1; see the Chuen on which), and said, "Woo, in its unprincipled course, made me, the father, a prisoner, and appointed my son in my stead." The people of Yueh restored him to Choo, and his eldest son Kih fled to Yueh.

2. "In winter, in the 11th month, on Ting-mann, Yueh extinguished Woo, and proposed to the king of it to reside in Yung-tung. He declined, saying, "I am old; how can I serve your lordship?" And with this he strangled himself. They carried his body back to Yueh."

## Twenty-third year.

左傳曰二十三年春，宋景公卒，季康子使冉有弔，且送葬。曰：「敝邑有社稷之事，使肥與有戰，競焉。是以不得助執紼，使求從與。」人曰：「肥之得備彌甥也，有不腆先人之產，馬使求薦諸夫人之宰，其可以稱旌繁乎？」夏六月，晉荀瑤伐齊，高無平帥師御之。知伯視齊師，馬駭，遂驅之。曰：「齊人知余旗，其謂余畏而反也。」及壘而還，將戰，長武子請卜。知伯曰：「君告於天子，而卜之以守龜於宗祧，吉矣。吾又何卜焉？」且齊人取我英丘君命瑤，非敢耀武也。治英丘也，以辭伐罪，足矣。何必卜？壬辰，戰於犁丘。齊師敗績。知伯親禽顏庚。秋八月，叔青如越，始使越也。越諸駟來聘，報叔青也。

XXIII. 1. In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, King Ts'au of Sung died (This King Ts'au was the wife of duke Yuen of Sung, and mother of the wife of Ke Ping-tze, mentioned in the Chuen on X. xxv. 1. She was consequently great-grand-mother to K'ang-tze who was now head of the Ke-sun family.) Ke K'ang-tze sent Jen Yeh to Sung on a visit of condolence, and to attend her funeral, with this message, "Our poor State is occupied with affairs of importance, which keep me, Fei, and the other ministers in a state of excitement, so that I am unable to attend and help in drawing the bier; and I have sent K'ue to follow the others [who perform that office]." There was also this other message [to Duke King], "Since I am in the position of the son of your slain son, I have sent K'ue to present some poor horses which were bred by my father to the steward of your [deceased] mother. Perhaps they may be allowed to bear the plumes and girths [at her funeral]."

2. "In summer, in the 6th month, Seun Yau of Tsai invaded Te'e, and was met by Koon Woo-pai at the head of a force. Che Pih (Seun Yau) had gone to observe the army of Te'e,

when his horses got frightened, and he galloped them forwards saying, "The men of Te'e know my flag. They will say that I return because I am afraid of them." Accordingly he went on to the entrenchments [of Te'e], and then withdrew.

When the two armies were about to fight, Ch'ang Woo-tze begged leave to consult the tortoise-shell, but Che Pih said, "Our ruler gave notice [of the expedition] to the son of Heaven, and consulted the tortoise-shell of the State about it in the ancestral temple. The result was fortunate, and why should I divine any further? Moreover, the people of Te'e took Ying-k'ue. The ruler's commission to me was not for the display of our military prowess, but to deal with that matter of Ying-k'ue. It is enough that I was charged to punish a crime;—why should I [now] divine?" A battle was fought on Jin-shan at Lo-k'ue, when the army of Te'e was entirely defeated. Che Pih himself captured Yen K'ang.

3. "In autumn, in the 8th month, Shuh Ts'ing went to Yueh;—the first complimentary mission to that State. Choo Yang of Yueh, came to Loo on a similar mission, in return for that of Shuh Ts'ing."



*Twenty-fourth year.*

左傳曰二十四年夏四月晉侯將伐齊使來乞師曰昔臧文仲以楚師伐齊取穀宣叔以晉師伐齊取汶陽寡君欲微福於周公乞靈於臧氏臧石帥師會之取廩丘軍吏令繒將進萊章曰君卑政暴往歲克敵今又勝都天奉多矣又焉能進是德言也役將班矣晉師乃還饋臧石牛大史謝之曰以寡君之在行牢禮不度敢展謝之

邾子又無道越人執之以歸而立公子何何亦無道

公子荆之母嬖將以爲夫人使宗人費夏獻其禮對曰無之公怒曰安爲宗司立夫人國之大禮也何故無之對曰周公及武公娶於薛孝惠娶於商自桓以下娶於齊此禮也則有若以妾爲夫人則固無其禮也公卒立之而以荆爲太子國人始惡之

閏月公如越得太子適郢將妻公而多與之地公孫有山使告於季孫季孫懼使因大宰嚭而納賂焉乃止

XXIV. 1. 'In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in summer, in the 4th month, the marquis of Tsai, intending to invade T'ao, sent an officer to ask the aid of an army from us, saying, "Formerly Tsang Wan-chung, with an army of T'ao, invaded T'ao, and took K'uh (See V. xvi. 5, 7); Suen-shih with an army of Tsai, invaded T'ao, and took Wan-yang (VIII. ii. 4, 7). My ruler [now] wishes to seek the blessing of the duke of Chow, and desires to beg the help of the power of the Tsang family." Tsang Shih [was sent to] join him with a force, when they took Lin-k'uei. The officers of the army gave orders to make everything ready for advancing; but Lao Chang said, "The ruler is reduced low, and the ministers are oppressive. Last year Tsai vanquished its opponents, and now it has taken a great city. It has received much favour from Heaven; how should it be able to advance further? That is a mistake. The expedition will now withdraw." The army of Tsai did accordingly withdraw. Some oxen were given alive to Tsang Shih, and the grand historiographer [of Tsai] apologized to him, saying, "Because our ruler is on march, this gift of oxen is not according to the rule. I venture to set forth our apologies to you."

2. 'The viscount of Choo again pursued an unreasonable course, on which an officer of Yuch wired him, and carried him to that State, appointing his son Ho in his stead. Ho also acted in the same unreasonable way.'

3. 'The mother of the duke's son King was his favourite, and he proposed to raise her to the position of his wife. Having told the director of ceremonies Hsin Hsi to present those appropriate for such a proceeding, that officer replied that there were none such. The duke said to him in a rage, "You are an officer of the ancestral temple, and the appointment of the ruler's wife is a great ceremony of the State. Why do you say that there are no rules for it?" "The duke of Chow," was the reply, "and duke Woo married daughters of Szech. Hsiao and Hsue, daughters of Sung; from Hwan downwards, our rulers have married daughters of T'ao. For such marriages there are the appropriate ceremonies; but for the constituting a concubine the wife there are none." The duke, however, was that the duke carried out his purpose, and declared that King should be his successor. From this time the people began to hate the duke.'

4. 'In the intercalary month, the duke went to Yuch, and won the friendship of Seih-ying, the heir-apparent, who proposed giving a wife to him, and much territory. Kung-sun Yeh-shan sent word of this to Ke-anu, who was frightened by the prospect, and sent bribes which he got presented through the grand-administrator Pei. The plan was then dropped.'



*Twenty-fifth year.*

左傳曰：二十五年夏五月庚辰，衛侯出奔宋。衛侯爲靈臺於藉圃，與諸大夫飲酒焉。褚師聲子饒而登席，公怒，辭曰：「臣有疾異於人，若見之，君將設之，是以不敢。」公愈怒。大夫辭之不可，褚師出，公執其手曰：「必斷而足。」聞之，褚師與司寇亥乘曰：「今日幸而後亡，公之入也，奪南氏邑，而奪司寇亥政。」公使侍人納公文懿子之車於池，初，衛人茹夏丁氏以其帑賜彭封彌子，彌子飲公酒，納夏戊之女，嬖以爲夫人，其弟期，大叔疾之從孫甥也，少畜於公，以爲司徒。夫人寵衰，期得罪，公使三匠久，公使優校盟季彌，而甚近信之，故褚師比，公孫彌牟，公文要，司寇亥，司徒期，因三匠與季彌以作亂，皆執利兵，無者執斤，使季彌入於公宮，而自犬子疾之宮譏以攻公。鄆子士請禦之，彌援其手曰：「子則勇矣，將若君何？不見先君乎？君何所不逞欲？且君嘗在外矣，豈必不反？當今不可，衆怒難犯，休而易聞也。」乃出，將適蒲，彌曰：「晉無信，不可。」將適鄆，彌曰：「齊晉爭我，不可。」將適洽，彌曰：「魯不足與，請適城鉏，以鈞越。」越有君，乃適城鉏，彌曰：「衛盜不可知也，請速自我始。」乃載寶以歸，公爲支離之卒，因祝史揮以侵衛，衛人病之。懿子知之，見子之，請逐揮，文子曰：「無罪。」懿子曰：「彼好專利而妄，夫見君之入也，將先道焉，若逐之，必出於南門，而適君所，夫越新得諸侯，將必請師焉，揮在朝，使吏遺諸其室，揮出，信弗內。」五日，乃館諸外里，遂有寵，使如越請師。

六月，公至自越。季康子孟武伯逆於五梧，郭重僕見二子曰：「惡言多矣。」君請盡之，公宴於五梧，武伯爲祝，惡郭重曰：「何肥也？」季孫曰：「請飲。」說也，以魯國之密邇仇讐，臣是以不獲從君，克免於大行，又謂重也肥，公曰：「是食言多矣，能無肥乎？」飲酒不樂，公與大夫始有惡。

XXV. 1. 'In the [duke's] 25th year, in summer, in the 5th month, on K'ang-shin, Ch'eh, marquis of Wei, fled from that State to Sung. The marquis had made a marvellous tower in his own peculiar garden, and was drinking in it with all his great officers. Among them was Shing-tse, superintendent of the markets, who ascended and took his place on his mat, with his stockings on. The duke being angry, he

excused himself on the ground that he had a peculiar disease [in his feet], which would make the duke vomit, if he saw it. The duke was still more angry, and could not be appeased by the apologies of the [other] great officers. The superintendent then left the tower, the duke threatening him with his fist as with a javelin, and saying that he would cut off his feet. This was heard by Shing-tse, who got into a carriage.



with Hsiao the minister of Crime, and said, "To-day I am fortunate that my death is deferred till another day."

When the duke [re-] entered the State, he took away his city from Nan-sha, and his powers from Hsiao, the minister of Crime. He [also] caused one of his attendants to push the carriage of Kung-wan E-tze into a pond.

Before this, when the people of Wei deprived the officer Hsiao Ting of his possessions (See the narrative on XI. 7; **T** here should, probably,

be 戊), his household and property were given to P'ang-fung Me-tze, who entertained the duke in consequence, and presented to him the daughter of Hsiao Mow. She became his favourite, and was put in the position of his wife. Her brother K'e was grandson of the sister of T'ao-shuh T'ieh, and, when young, had been brought up in the palace. He was afterwards made minister of Instruction; but when the favour of the lady declined, he was made guilty of some offence. The duke kept employing the workmen of the 3 departments for a great length of time. He also made K'ienou, a player, covenant with K'uen Me, kept him near to himself, and very much trusted him.

In consequence of all these things, Pe superintendent of the markets, Kung-sun Me-mow, Kung-wan Yaon, Hsiao minister of Crime, and K'e minister of Instruction, took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of the] workmen and of K'uen Me, to raise an insurrection. Armed with sharp weapons, and those of them who were not so provided with axes, they sent K'uen Me into the duke's palace; and beginning to make a great noise at the palace of the [late] old son, T'ieh, they attacked the duke. K'uen Tze-ze asked leave to oppose them; but Me held his hand, and said, "You are bold indeed; but what good can you do to the duke? Do you not see the case of the late ruler? Let the marquis go wherever he pleases. He has, moreover, already been abroad; why should he not return? At present resistance is of no use]. The anger of the multitude is not to be encountered. Let it pass away, and it will be easy to find an opportunity." The duke accordingly left the city. [At first] he proposed going to P'oo; but Me said, "T'ain is not to be trusted; don't go there." He then proposed going to K'uen, but Me said, "No. T'ze and T'ain will

be quarrelling about us." Next he proposed going to Ling; but Me said, "Loo is not sufficient to have any dealings with. Let us go to Shing-t'oo, to draw the notice of Yueh, which now has a ruler." Accordingly, the duke went on the way to Shing-t'oo. Me said, "The robbers of Wei must not get to know [where we are]; let us make haste. I will go first," and he thus carried the valuables which they had with them in his chariot and returned.

The duke [by and by] formed his men into separate bands, and, by means of a correspondence with the prayer-maker Hsiang, made incursions into Wei, to the distress of the people. E-tze knew of the circumstances, went to see T'ao-shu, (The Kung-sun Me-mow) and begged that he would drive out Hsiang. Wan-tze said, "He has committed no offence." E-tze replied, "He loves to monopolize all profit, and is lawless. You would see, if the duke returned to the capital, that he would be the first to lead the way. If you drive him out, he will escape by the south gate, and go where the duke is. Yueh has recently got the control of the States; they will be sure to go there, and ask the assistance of an army." When Hsiang was in the court, an officer was sent to send away all the members of his household. He went out (after them), stopped outside 2 nights without being recalled; and on the 5th day lodged in Wao-lo. He then became a favourite [with the duke], and advised him to go to Yueh to ask the help of a force.

2. In the 6th month, the duke arrived from Yueh. Ke K'ang-tze and Mang Woo-pih met him at Woo-woo. Kwch Ch'ung drove the duke's carriage; and when he saw the two ministers, he said, "They speak much evil. Let your lordship pay particular attention to them."

The duke took refreshment at Woo-woo, and Woo-pih presented him with the cup of congratulation. Disliking Kwch Ch'ung, he said, "How stout he is!" Ke-sun then asked that Woo-pih should be made to drink (a cup of spirits), adding, "In consequence of Loo's being so near its enemies, we were not able to follow your lordship, and so escaped so great a journey; but why should he say that Ch'ung has got fat?" "Can one who eats much of his words," said the duke, "escape getting fat?" They drank [in this way] without any pleasure, and enmity now commenced between the duke and his great officers.

### Twenty-sixth year.

左傳曰二十六年夏五月叔孫舒帥師會越皇如后庸樂伐納衛侯文子欲納之懿子曰君愾而虐少待之必毒於民乃睦於子矣師侵外州大獲出禦之師大敗掘師定子之墓焚之於平莊之上文子使孫齊私於皇如曰將大滅衛乎抑納君而已乎皇如曰寡君之命無他納衛君而己文子致衆而問焉日君以蠻夷伐國焉幾亡矣請納之衆曰勿納日彌牟亡而有



益請自北門出。衆曰：勿出。重賂越人，申開守陣，而納公。公不敢入。師還，立悼公。南氏相之，以城鉏與越人。公曰：期則爲此。令苟有怨於夫人者，報之。司徒期聘於越，公攻而奪之幣，期告王。王命取之，期以衆取之。公怒，殺期之甥，爲犬子者，遂卒於越。

宋景公無子，取公孫周之子，得與啟，畜諸公宮，未有立焉。於是皇綏爲右師，皇非我爲大司馬，皇懷爲司徒，靈不綏爲左師，樂茂爲司城，樂朱鉏爲大司寇。六卿三族降聽政，因大尹以達。大尹常不告，而以其欲稱君命以令國人，惡之。司城欲去大尹，左師曰：縱之使盈其罪，重而無基，能無敝乎？冬十月，公游於空澤。辛巳，卒於連中。大尹與空澤之士千甲，奉公自空桐入，如沃宮，使召六子，曰：聞下有師，君請六子，盡六子至，以甲劫之，曰：君有疾病，請三子盟，乃盟於少寢之庭，曰：無爲公室不利。大尹立啟，奉喪殯於犬宮。三日而後，國人知之。司城茂使宣言於國曰：大尹惑蠱其君，而專其利，今君無疾而死，死又匿之，是無他矣。大尹之罪也，得夢啟北首而寢於廬門之外，已爲烏而集於其上，殊加於南門，尾加於桐門，曰：余夢美，必立。大尹謀曰：我不在盟，無乃逐我，復盟之乎？使祝爲載書，六子在唐孟，將盟之，祝襄以載書告皇非我。皇非我因子澀，門尹得左師，謀曰：民與我逐之乎？皆歸授甲，使徇於國曰：大尹惑蠱其君，以陵虐公室，與我者救君者也。衆曰：與之。大尹徇曰：戴氏、皇氏將不利公室，與我者無憂不富。衆曰：無別。戴氏、皇氏欲伐公，樂得曰：不可。彼以陵公有罪，我伐公，則甚焉，使國人施於大尹。大尹奉啟以奔楚，乃立得。司城爲上卿，盟曰：三族共政，無相害也。

衛出公自城鉏，使以弓問子輅，且曰：吾其入乎？子輅稽首受弓，對曰：臣不識也。私於使者曰：昔成公孫於陳，甯武子、孫莊子爲宛濮之盟，而君入，獻公孫於齊。子鮮、子展爲夷儀之盟，而君入，今君再在孫矣，內不聞獻之親，外不聞成之卿，則賜不識所由入也。詩曰：無競惟人，四方其順之。若得其人，四方以爲主，而國於何有？



XXVI. 1. "In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in summer, in the 5th month, Shieh-sun Shou, at the head of a force, joined Kao Joo and How Yang of Yueh, and Yoh Fei of Sung, in an expedition to restore the marquis of Wei. Wan-tze wished to receive him; but E-tze said to him, "The ruler is obstinate and oppressive. Wait a little. He is sure to vent his poison on the people, who will consequently be of one mind with you." [In a little], the [invading] army made an incursion on Wan-chow, [on behalf of the marquis of] Wei, and obtained great spoil; and the troops which went forth to resist them were greatly defeated. [On this, the marquis] dug up the grave of Ting-tze, superintendent of the markets, and burned his body on the top of Ping-chwang. Wan-tze sent Wang-sun Te'e privately to ask Kao Joo whether he meant utterly to extinguish Wei, or simply to restore the marquis. Kao Joo said that his ruler's orders to him were simply that he should restore the ruler; and on this Wan-tze assembled the people, and put the thing to them, saying, "The ruler has now attacked the city with those wild people of the south and east, till it is nearly destroyed. Let us receive him back." They said, "Don't receive him." He went on, "It will be a benefit to you if I go away. Allow me to go out at the north gate." "You shall not go out," all urged. They then sent great tribes to the officers of Yueh, threw open the gates, manned the parapets, and [offered] to receive the duke. He, however, did not venture to enter the city; and, the armies withdrawing, the people of Wei raised duke Tsou to the marquiseate. Nan-she (I. q. Wan-tze) acted as minister to him, and made over Shing-tsoo to Yueh. The [expelled] duke said, "This is K'e's doing;" and he told all [the ladies] who had any quarrel with his wife (K'e's sister) to vent their spite on her. K'e having been sent on a complimentary mission to Yueh, the duke attacked him, and carried off his offerings. K'e laid the matter before the king, who ordered him to retake the things, which, with the assistance of a large body of men, he did. The duke was angry, put to death the son of K'e's sister whom he had declared his successor, and afterwards died in Yueh.

2. "Duke King of Sung had no son, but took Tih and K'e, the sons of Kung-sun Chow, and brought them up in his palace, without appointing either of them, however, to be his successor. At this time Hwang Hwan was master of the Right; Hwang Fei-go, grand marshal; Hwang Hwan, minister of Instruction; Ling Poh-kwan, master of the Left; Yoh Fei, minister of Works; and Yoh Choo-tsoo, grand-minister of Crime. These 6 ministers belonging to three clans conducted the government with harmony. They should have communicated with the duke through Ta-yin, but that minister constantly kept back their representations, and gave them commands according to his pleasure, pretending that they were from the duke. The people hated him, and the minister of Works wanted to take him off; but the master of the Left said, "Let him alone, till he fill up the measure of his iniquity. When he is like a heavy vessel without any foundation, is it possible he should not be overthrown?"

"In winter, in the 10th month, the duke was taking relaxation by the marsh of K'ung; and on Sin-sze, he died in Lien-chung. Ta-yin raised 1000 men-at-arms from the soldiers near the marsh, and conveyed the duke's [body] from K'ung-tung to the capital. Having gone with it to the Yuh palace, he sent to call the six ministers, saying there was a report that there were enemies in the State, and that the ruler wished them to frame measures for the emergency. When they arrived, he made the men-at-arms seize them, and said to them, "The ruler is very ill, and asks you to make a covenant;" and accordingly they covenanted in the courtyard of the small chamber, that they would do nothing disadvantageous to the ducal House. Ta-yin then declared K'e to be the successor to the State, bore the coffin to the ancestral temple, and set it forth there; but it was not till the 3d day that the thing was known in the city. Fei, the minister of Works, spread it abroad through the city, that Ta-yin had deceived the ruler and sought to monopolize all gain to himself; that the duke had now died without any illness; that Ta-yin had concealed his death; and that things could not be accounted for on any other ground but the crime of Ta-yin.

"Tih dreamt that K'e was lying outside the Loo gate with his head to the north, and that he himself was a bird which was settled upon him. His beak reached to the south gate, and his tail to the Tung gate. "I have dreamt," said he, "a beautiful dream. I shall succeed to the State." Ta-yin then considered that, as he was not in the covenant, and they might drive him out, he had better impose a second covenant on the ministers; and he therefore ordered the priest to prepare the writings. The ministers were then in Tang-yu; and just as the time for the covenant was at hand, the priest Soang told Hwang Fei-go of the writing, Fei-go consulted with Tze-loo, Tih the overseer of the gates, and the master of the Left, whether they could not get the people to drive him out for them. They then returned to their houses, and gave out their armour, sending notice round the city to this effect, "Ta-yin keeps the ruler in a State of delusion, and insolently oppresses the ducal House. Those who side with us will be saviours of the ruler." The multitude responded, "Let us side with them." Ta-yin, [on his part], sent round a notice, saying, "The clans of Tso and Hwang (The Yoh were descended from duke Tso) wish to injure the ducal House. Those who side with me need have no trouble about not becoming rich." The multitude said, "It is not different [from a ducal notice]."

"Tao-she and Hwang-she wished to attack the duke, but Yoh Tih said, "No. He is a criminal because of his violent proceeding with the duke; but if we attack the duke, our conduct will be more violent than his." They then made the people hold Ta-yin as the offender, and that officer fled to Tsou, taking K'e with him. They then raised Tih to be duke, with the minister of Works as chief minister. They made a covenant that the members of their three clans should all share in the government and not injure one another."

3. "Duke Chieh of Wei sent a messenger with a bow from Shing-tsoo to Tze-kung, to



ask him whether he would re-enter Wei again. Tse-kang bowed his head to the ground, received the bow, and replied, "I do not know." [Afterwards], he said privately to the messenger, "Formerly, duke Ch'ing withdrew to Chin (V. xxviii. 7); but, through the covenant of Yen-puh, brought about by Ning Woo-tzu and Sun Ch'wang-tzu, he entered again. Duke Hsien withdrew to Ts'e (IX. xiv. 4); but through the covenant of E-a, brought about by Tseu-sen and Tseu-chen, he entered again (IX. xxvi. 3). Your ruler has now twice withdrawn from his

State. I have not heard of his having relatives like those of Hsien, or ministers like those of Ch'ing;—I do not know by what means he is to re-enter. It is said in the ode (Sba, IV. i. Pt. 1. ode IV. 3),

"Nothing gives strength like the employment of right men;  
All throughout the State obey them."

If he [only] had the room, and the four quarters of the State regarded him as their lord, what difficulty would there be with the capital?"

*Twenty-seventh year.*

左傳曰：二十七年春，越子使后庸來聘，且言邾田封於駘上。二月，盟於平陽。三子皆從。康子病之，言及子贇曰：「若在此，吾不及此矣。」武伯曰：「然有不召。」曰：「固將召之。」文子曰：「他日請命。」

夏四月己亥，季康子卒，公弔焉，降禮。

晉荀瑤帥師伐鄭，次於桐丘。鄭驪弘請救於齊，齊師將興。陳成子屬孤子，三日朝，駟乘車兩馬繫五色焉，召顏涿聚之子晉曰：「隰之役而父死焉，以國之多難，未收恤也。今君命汝以是邑也，服車而朝，毋廢前勞，乃救鄭。」及甯舒，違穀七里，穀人不知，及濮，雨不涉。子思曰：「大國在敝邑之宇下，是以告急，今師不行，恐無及也。」成子衣製杖戈，立於阪上，馬不出者，助之鞭之。知伯聞之，乃還曰：「我卜伐鄭，不卜敝齊，使謂成子曰：『大夫陳子，陳之自出，陳之不祀，鄭之罪也。故寡君使瑤察陳夷焉。』謂大夫其恤陳乎？若利本之顛，瑤何有焉？」成子怒曰：「多陵人者皆不在，知伯其能久乎？」中行文子告成子曰：「有自晉師告寅者，將爲輕車千乘，以觀齊師之門，則可盡也。」成子曰：「寡君命恆曰：『無及寡，無畏衆，雖過千乘，敢辟之乎？』將以子之命告寡君。」文子曰：「吾乃今知所以亡，君子之謀也，始衷終皆舉之，而後入焉，今我三不知而入之，不亦難乎？」

公患三桓之侈也，欲以諸侯去之。三桓亦患公之妄也，故君臣多間。公游於陵阪，遇孟武伯於孟氏之衢，曰：「請有聞於子，余及死乎？」對曰：「臣無由知之。」三問卒辭不對。公欲以越伐魯而去三桓，秋八月甲戌，公如公孫有陘氏，因孫於邾，乃遂如越，國人施公孫有山氏。



XXVII. 1. In the [duke's] 27th year, in spring, the viscount of Yush sent How Yung on a complimentary mission to Loo, and to speak about the lands of Choo, that the boundary between it and Loo should be T'ao-shang. In the 26 month, a covenant was made at P'ing-yang, in which the 3 ministers all followed the envoy. K'ang-tze was vexed about this, and spoke about Tse-kung, saying, "If he had been here, I should not have come to this." "Why then did you not call him?" asked Woo-pih. "I was indeed going to call him," was the reply. Wan-tze (Shuh-sun) said, "Pray, think of it another time."

2. In summer, in the 4th month, on Ka-hao, Ka K'ang-tze died. The duke went to offer his condolences; but his ceremonies were not what the occasion required.

3. 'Sonn Yaou of Tsin led a force against Ch'ing, and halted at Tung-k'ue, while in the meantime Sze Hwang of Ch'ing went to beg assistance from T'uei. When the army of T'uei was being raised, Ch'in Ch'ing-tze assembled the sons of officers who had died in battle for the State, and presented them for 3 days in the court, giving also to each a carriage with two horses, and assigning to him 5 cities (=hamlets). He called to him Tsin, the son of Yen Choh-tsun, and said to him, "In the action at Seih (The Le-k'ue of XXIII. 2), your father died. In consequence of the many troubles of the State we were not able to think of you before. But now the ruler confers on you these cities, and to appear at court with these robes and his carriage. Do not make void the service of your father."

'After this [Ch'ing-tze] proceeded to the relief of Ch'ing. When he arrived at Loo-shoo, and was [only] 1½ from Kuh, the people of that place were not aware of his approach. When he got to the Puh, it had rained so that they could not cross. Tse-sze said, "[The troops of] the great State are quite close to our poor capital, and therefore we sent to tell you of our distress. But now your army does not go on, and I am afraid it will not be in time." Ch'ing-tze having on a [rain-] cloak, and leaning on a spear, stood upon the bank, and now helped forward, now whipt on, the horses which were unwilling to proceed. When Che Pih heard of this, he withdrew, saying, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Ch'ing, and not about fighting with T'uei." [At the same time] he sent a message to Ch'ing-tze, saying, "You Sir, are a son of Ch'in, sprung from the House of Ch'in. That Ch'in has lost its sacrifices (having been extinguished by T'uei; see XVII. 4) was owing to the crime of Ch'ing. My ruler therefore sent me to examine into the justice of [the fate of] Ch'in, thinking that, possibly, you would have a regard for Ch'in. If you consider that the overthrow of your root is an advantage to you, what is it to me?" Ch'ing-tze, in a rage, said, "All who have heaped insults on others have [soon] passed away;—can Cha Pih continue long?"

'Chung-hang Wan-tze (A refugee in T'uei) told Ch'ing-tze, saying, "One from the army of Tsin informed me that they were going with 1000 light chariots to attack the gate of the army of T'uei, which might thus be entirely destroyed." Ch'ing-tze replied, "My ruler charged me that

I should not fall on a small force, nor fear a large one. Though they come with more than 1000 chariots, I should not avoid them. I will inform my ruler of your communication." Wan-tze said, "Now I know the [fully] of my leaving Tsin. A superior man, in forming his plans, considers every thing,—the beginning, the middle, and the end,—and then he enters on his course. But now I took mine, without knowing any one of these;—is it not hard?"

4. The duke was distressed and annoyed by the arrogance of the three Hwans, and wished for the help of the other princes to take them off. The three Hwans were in like manner distressed and annoyed by the rudeness of the duke, and thus there arose many differences between him and them. The duke had been rambling in Ling-fan, and met Mang Woo-pih in the street of Mang-sho. "Let me ask you," said he to him, "if I shall [be permitted to] die [a natural death]." Woo-pih replied that he had no means of knowing. Thrice the duke put the question, till the minister declined to give any answer. The duke then wished, with the help of Yueh, to attack Loo, and take off the three Hwans. In autumn, in the 8th month, he went to Kung-sun Yaw-hing's, and thence he withdrew to Choo, from which he went on to Yueh. The people attributed the blame of this to Kung-sun Yaw-shan (i. e. Yaw-hing).

[With this year ended the rule and life of duke Gao. Tse-sze does not mention his death, but we may conclude from the above narrative that it took place in Yueh. Considering the saying of Tse-kung which Tse-sze has given under XVI. 4, there can be no doubt that he believed that the duke did not die in Loo. See Ma Ts'ien, however, in his History of Loo (史記三十三), says that 'the people of the State brought him back from Yueh, and he died in the house of Yew-shan-she.' This account is adopted in the Tung k'ien Kang-muh (通鑑綱目) of Chao He; but it appears to me more than doubtful. However, there is no doubt that duke Gao died in this year, B.C. 467.

It may be well to give here a list of the succeeding marquises of Loo.

Gao was succeeded by his son Ning (寧), known as duke Tsao (悼), B.C. 466—430.

Tsao was succeeded by his son K'ea (嘉), known as duke Yuan (元公), B.C. 429—409.

Yuan was succeeded by his son Heen (顯), known as duke Muh (穆公), B.C. 408—378.

Muh was succeeded by his son Fun (奮), known as duke Kung (共公), B.C. 375—353.



Kung was succeeded by his son Shun (屯),  
known as duke K'ang (康公), a.c. 333-343.

K'ang was succeeded by his son Yen (隱),  
known as duke King (景公), a.c. 342-313.

King was succeeded by his son Shuk (叔),  
known as duke P'ing (平公), a.c. 314-293.

P'ing was succeeded by his son K'ea (賈),  
known as duke Wên (文公), a.c. 292-270.

Wên was succeeded by his son Ch'ow (瞽),  
known as duke K'ing (頃公), a.c. 268-248.

In a.c. 248 Loo was extinguished by king K'ao-lieh of Tsoo, and duke K'ing reduced to the position of a private man. Thus from the duke of Chow to duke K'ing there had been thirty-four marquises in Loo, embracing a period of 874 years. The history of the State, however, after duke Gas is almost a blank.]

After the above year, there is a blank in Tso's chronicles, and he gives only one other narrative under the 4th year of duke Tsoo.



## Fourth year.

## 悼公

左傳曰悼之四年晉荀  
瑤帥師圍鄭未至鄭驪  
弘曰知伯愎而好勝早  
下之則可行也乃先保  
南里以待之知伯入南  
里門於桔枳之門鄭人  
俘鄭魁壘賂之以知政  
閉其口而死將門知伯  
謂趙孟入之對曰主在  
此知伯曰惡而無勇何  
以爲子對曰以能忍恥  
庶無害趙宗乎知伯不  
悛趙襄子由是甚知伯  
遂喪之知伯貪而愎故  
韓魏反而喪之

\*This year, Seun Yau of Tsin led a force to lay siege to [the capital of] Ch'ing. Before he arrived, Sze Hwang of that State said, "Che Pih is obstinate, and fond of victory. If we tender our submission early, he will take his departure." He therefore in the first place put Nan-le (A place outside the walls) in a state of defence, and waited for the approach of Yau. He entered Nan-le, and attacked the Keih-tsch gate. On the side of Ch'ing they made prisoner He Kwel-luy, and tried to bribe him by offering him a share in the government. He kept his mouth shut, however, and submitted to death.

"Che Pih said to Chaou-ming, "Do you enter the city?" but that minister replied, "You are here yourself; [do you enter it]." "Ugly and without courage as you are, how were you made chief of the Chaou?" said Yau. "As I am able," rejoined Chaou-ming, "to submit to such a disgrace [from you], perhaps I shall not cause any injury to the House of Chaou." Che Pih made no alteration in his conduct; and from this time he was an object of hatred to Chaou Siang-tze, and the issue was his ruin. Che Pih was greedy and self-willed, so that the

chiefs of the Han and Wei revolted from him, and [joined in] his destruction."

[Why Tao-sha ended his narratives here it is impossible to say. From the last sentence in the above relation, it is clear he could have continued them for at least ten years more. Too Yu says, 'According to the Historical Records, in the 4th year of duke E (懿公) of Tsin, and the 14th year of duke Taou of Loo, Che Pih led [the chiefs of] Han and Wei to lay siege to Chaou Siang-tze in Tsin-yang. There they turned against him, laid their plans with Chaou-shu, and put Che Pih to death beneath the walls of Tsin-yang;—27 years after the close of the Ch'un Tschew.'

On the extinction of the Che or Seun family, there remained in Tsin only the three great families of Chaou, Wei, and Han, by which Tsin was ultimately dismembered. In a.c. 402, instead of the great State of Tsin we have the three marquises of Wei, Chaou, and Han, though the descendants of K'ang-shuh continued to have nominal existence as marquises of Tsin for some years longer.]







# INDEXES.

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 Ch'ing, heir of Sung, VIII. xv. 3.  
 Ch'ing-chow, the capital at Loh-yang, VII. xvi. 2; X. xxvi. 7; xxviii. 4.  
 Ch'ing Fung, the lady Fung of Lo, VI. iv. 7; v. 1, 2, 3; ix. 13.  
 Ch'ing Hsiao, a great officer of Ts'ou, X. xli. 6.  
 Choh, a place in Ts'ou, III. ii. 4; iv. 7.  
 Choh, the ruler of Tsin, V. xi. 3.  
 Choo, the State of, I. i. 2; v. 5; vii. 5; II. viii. 4; xv. 8; xvii. 2, 7; III. xiii. 1; xv. 3; xvi. 5; xxviii. 2; IV. ii. 4; V. i. 7, 8; xviii. 1; xix. 2, 3, 4; xxi. 4, 5; xxii. 1, 3; xxviii. 13; xxxiii. 6, 7; VI. xiii. 8; xiv. 2, 7; VII. i. 9; x. 12; xvii. 5; xviii. 4; VIII. ii. 10; v. 7; vi. 5; vii. 5; viii. 10; xii. 1; xiii. 3; xv. 3, 10; xvi. 8, 10; xvii. 2, 8, 12; xviii. 9, 4; IX. i. 2, 3, 8; ii. 6, 9; v. 7; vi. 6; vii. 9; viii. 4; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3, 7; xv. 6; xvi. 2, 8; xvii. 1, 7; xviii. 4; xix. 2, 4; xx. 2, 4; xxi. 2, 8; xxii. 4; xxiii. 3, 11; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3; xxviii. 3; xxx. 9; X. i. 5, 10; xi. 6; xiii. 4; xviii. 3; xix. 1; xxv. 2; xxvi. 4; xxvii. 4, 6; XL. iii. 2, 4, 5; iv. 2; xiv. 15; xv. 1, 8; XII. i. 6; ii. 1, 2; iii. 9; vi. 6; vii. 4; viii. 4; x. 1.  
 Choo, Little, the State of, V. vii. 2; IX. ii. 9; vii. 3; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xii. 4, 9; xiv. 1, 3; xvi. 2; xviii. 4; xx. 2; xxii. 4; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3; xxix. 5; xxx. 9; X. iii. 4; iv. 2; xlii. 4; xvii. 1; xxv. 2; xxviii. 4; XL. iv. 2; XII. iv. 4; xiv. 1.  
 Choo, a town of Lo, III. xix. 5; VI. xii. 8.  
 Choo, marquis of Ts'ou, X. xxi. 6.  
 Choo, viscount of Ken, VIII. xiv. 1.  
 Choo-hia, a city in Lo, XII. vi. 1.  
 Choo-nrh, marquis of Ts'ou, III. viii. 5.  
 Ch'oo-foo, an officer of Tsin, VI. ii. 3; iii. 7; vi. 6.  
 Ch'oo-k'ew, marquis of Chin, V. xli. 4.  
 Ch'oo-k'ew duke of Song, VI. xvi. 7.  
 Ch'oo-k'ew, marquis of Ts'ou, XII. v. 4.  
 Chow, the duke of, V. ix. 2; xxx. 7.  
 Chow, a small State (pres. Gan-k'ew), II. v. 9.  
 Chow, marquis of Tsin, IX. xv. 7.  
 Chow-lao, a city belonging to Ts'ou, VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 8.  
 Chow-p'oo, ruler of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 2.  
 Chow-yu, a minister of Wei, I. iv. 3, 6.  
 Chuen, a small State attached to Lo, VIII. vi. 3.  
 Chuen, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, IX. xxvii. 4.  
 Chuen, viscount of Choo, XI. iii. 2.  
 Chuen-ling, a place in Ts'ou, X. xxi. 4.  
 Chieh-k'ew, a town in Lo, II. v. 5; III. iv. 1.  
 Chieh-ko, a place in Ts'ou, IX. xix. 1.  
 Ching Ke, an officer of Sung, X. xxxii. 4; XL. i. 1.  
 Ching-k'ew, a place in Lo, I. vii. 2; x. 1.  
 Ching-k'ew, a place in Ts'ou, IX. xxv. 5.  
 Ching-lao, a place in Ch'ing, VIII. v. 7.  
 Ching-le, a place in Ts'ou, VIII. xv. 10.  
 Ching-sao, earl of Ts'ou, II. x. 1.  
 Chung-shing, a city of Lo, VIII. ix. 13; XI. vi. 6.  
 Chung-sun, an officer of Ts'ou, IV. i. 8.  
 Chung-sun Ho-ke, an officer of Lo, X. xxxii. 4; XI. iii. 5; v. 4, 7; viii. 13; x. 6, 7; xii. 5; XII. i. 6; ii. 1, 2; iii. 9; vi. 9; xiv. 12.  
 Chung-sun Kieh, an officer of Lo, IX. xxiv. 2; xxviii. 5; xxix. 5, 11; xxxi. 4.  
 Chung-sun Kieh (Mang He-tze) an officer of Lo, X. ix. 4; x. 3; xi. 6; xxiv. 1.  
 Chung-sun Mieh, an officer of Lo, VII. ix. 8; xv. 7; VIII. v. 2; vi. 8; xviii. 14; IX. i. 8; ii. 6, 2; v. 4; xix. 10.  
 Chung-sun Suh, son of Mieh of Lo, IX. xxi. 1, 4; xxiii. 10.  
 Chung Suy, Suy son of duke Chwang of Lo, VII. viii. 3.  
 Chung T'ou, an officer of Sung, XI. x. 12; xi. 1.  
 Chung Tase, the wife of duke Hwuy of Lo, I. i. 4; v. 4.  
 Chung-urh, marquis of Tsin, V. xxxii. 5.  
 Chung Ying-tze, a nobleman of Lo, VIII. xv. 2.  
 Ch'uy, a place in Wei or Lo, I. viii. 1; II. i. 2; III. iv. 3.  
 Ch'uy, a place in Ts'ou, VII. viii. 3.  
 Ch'uy-keu, a place in Wei, XI. xli. 1.  
 Ch'uy-lung, a place (in pres. K'ao-fung dept.) VI. ii. 4.  
 Chwang, the duke of Lo, III.—IV. i. 3; ii. 2; V. v. 2; VI. iv. 7.  
 Chwang, duke of Ch'ing, II. xi. 3.  
 Chwang, duke of Chin, III. ii. 1.  
 Chwang, duke of Sung, III. iii. 2.  
 Chwang, duke of Ts'ou, III. xxiv. 2.  
 Chwang, duke of Ts'ou, IX. viii. 3. (See Szé).  
 Chwang, duke of Choo, XI. iii. 4.  
 Confucius, death of, XII. xvi. 3.

## E

- E, a small State attached to Sung, III. v. 3; xv. 3.  
 E, a place in Ts'ou, V. i. 5.  
 E, the same as Shing-foo, a place on the borders of Ts'ou and Sung, to which Hsu removed its capital, X. ix. 2.  
 E, a river between Choo and Ken, XII. ii. 1.  
 E, the earl of Szech, XII. x. 9.  
 E, the ruler of Ch'ing, VII. iv. 3.  
 E, the marquis of Tsin, X. xvi. 4.  
 E, the capital of Hing (B.C. 688), V. i. 3; IX. xxiv. 8; xxv. 3, 7.  
 E-foo, the duke of Choo, I. i. 2; II. xvii. 2.  
 E Hsing-foo, a minister of Chin, VII. xi. 7.  
 E-foo, (Ke-sun), X. xiv. 1.  
 E-k'ou, ruler of Tsin, VII. ii. 4.  
 E, a small State attached to Sung, III. v. 3; xv. 3.  
 E, a place in Ts'ou, V. i. 5.  
 E-k'ew, the Kung-tze, X. xiv. 6.  
 E-ling, a place in Ts'ou, XII. xi. 4.  
 E-mel, viscount of Woo, X. xv. 1.  
 E-pih, a worthy whose temple was struck by lightning, V. xv. 10.  
 E-shin, an officer of Ts'ou, V. xxi. 5; VI. x. 3.  
 E-woo, marquis of Tsin, V. xxiv. 5.

## F

- Fan, a small State (pres. Hwuy dis. in Ho-nan), I. vii. 6, 7.



Fang, a place in Loo, I. ix. 6; III. vii. 1; xxii. 5; xxix. 5; V. xiv. 2; IX. xii. 4; xxi. 4.  
 Fang, a place taken from Sung by Loo, I. x. 4.  
 Fang, a place given up by Kuo to Loo, X. v. 4.  
 Fei, a place in Ch'ing, VI. xii. 8.  
 Fei-lin, a place in Ch'ing, VII. i. 12.  
 Foo-chung, a place in Shing, II. xi. 8.  
 Foo-t'ao, earl of T'ao, IX. xviii. 4.  
 Fow-lao, a place in Kuo, I. vii. 8.  
 Fun-t'ao, a place in Loo, X. v. 6.  
 Fung, surname of the house of Jio—the lady, VI. iv. 7; v. 1, 2, 3; ix. 18.  
 Fung-jin, marquis of T'ao, II. xvii. 4.

## G

Gao, a hill in Loo, I. vi. 2; II. xv. 7.  
 Gao, duke of Loo, XII.  
 Gas, duke of Ch'in, X. viii. 10.  
 Gao, duke of Tsin, XI. ix. 7.  
 Gao K'ang, a duchess of Loo, V. ii. 2.  
 Gan, a place in T'ao, VIII. ii. 8.  
 Gan-poo, a place unknown, XI. x. 12.  
 Goh, marquis of Wei, X. vii. 5.  
 Goh, viscount of Woo, IX. xxx. 10.  
 Goh-t'ao, a place unknown, II. xi. 1.

## H

Han, a place in Tsin, V. xv. 13.  
 Han Ch'uen, an officer of Tsin, VIII. viii. 1.  
 Han Hoo, an officer of Ch'ing, X. i. 2; xi. 7.  
 Han K'ao, an officer of Tsin, X. ii. 1; xi. 7.  
 Han K'ueh, an officer of Tsin, IX. i. 3.  
 Han Puh-shin, an officer of Tsin, X. xxii. 4.  
 Han Tah, an officer of Ch'ing, XI. xv. 6; XII. ii. 8; xiii. 1.  
 H'ang-yung, a place in Ch'ing, VI. viii. 4.  
 He, a town of T'ao, V. xxvi. 2.  
 He, a place in Loo, II. xvii. 3.  
 He, a place in Ch'ing, IX. ix. 5.  
 He, the duke of Loo, V.—VI. i. 3, 4; ii. 2, 6; ix. 18; xii. 3; XII. iii. 2.  
 He, duke of T'ao, II. xv. 3.  
 He, duke of Hui, VI. vi. 1.  
 He, duke of Ch'ing, IX. viii. 2.  
 He, duke of K'ao, XII. ix. 1.  
 He-t'ao, son of the marquis of Tsin, V. ix. 6.  
 Hea, son of king Liog, IX. xxx. 5.  
 Hea, son of duke Wan of Wei, V. xxx. 3.  
 Hea of Liow (the duke Ting of Liow), Chien IX. xiv. 8; IX. xv. 2.  
 Hea Ch'ing-shoo, an officer of Ch'in, VII. x. 8, xi. 5.  
 Hea Gow-foo, an officer of Ch'in, XII. xii. 11.  
 Hea N'eh, an officer of Ch'in, X. xxi. 7.  
 Hea-yang, a city in K'ueh, V. ii. 3.  
 Heang, a small State, within the boundaries of Kuo, I. ii. 2; V. xxx. 1; VII. iv. 1; IX. xiv. 1; xx. 1.  
 Heang, a small State on the borders of Ch'in and T'ao, V. xvii. 2.  
 Heang, a city of Loo, II. xvi. 4.  
 Heang Ch'iao, an officer of Sung, XII. vi. 10; xii. 5; xiv. 2.  
 Heang King, an officer of Sung, X. xx. 4; xxi. 3; xxi. 2.  
 Heang Seuh, an officer of Sung, IX. xv. 1; X. i. 2.  
 Heang Tui, an officer of Sung, XII. xiv. 7.

Hsiao, a deity in pres. dia. of Yung-ning in Ho-nan, V. xxxii. 3.  
 Hsiao, duke of T'ao, V. xxvii. 6.  
 Hsiao, duke of K'ao, IX. xxi. 4.  
 Hsiao, an officer of Loo, I. ix. 3.  
 Hsiao, a small State within T'ao, V. v. 7.  
 Hsiao, a place in Wei, V. xii. 8; XI. vii. 3.  
 Hsiao, a place in Loo, VI. xi. 6.  
 Hsiao, duke of Wei, IX. xxix. 9.  
 Hsiao, duke of Suen, X. xxxi. 5.  
 Hsiao, duke of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4.  
 Hsiao-k'ow, a district in Loo, II. vii. 1.  
 Hsiao-woo, marquis of T'ao, III. x. 3.  
 Hsiao, the State of, I. xi. 3; II. i. 3; iv. 8; xvi. 4; xxix. 2; V. iv. 1, 2, 7, 8; v. 4; vi. 3; viii. 1; ix. 2; xiii. 8; xv. 3; xvi. 5; xxi. 3; xxi. 2; xxvii. 5; xxviii. 20, 21; xxx. 2; xxxii. 18; VI. v. 7; vi. 1; ix. 8; xiv. 4; VII. xvii. 1, 8; VIII. iii. 7; ix. 12; xiv. 4; xv. 11; IX. iii. 8; xvi. 7; xvii. 2; xviii. 8, 10; xviii. 2; xix. 7; X. i. 2; iv. 3, 4; ix. 2; xviii. 3; xix. 2, 5; xxi. 7; XXI. ix. 2; v. 1; XII. i. 2; xii. 2, 8.  
 Hsiao, a place in Sung, II. xii. 5, 14.  
 Hsiao-t'ao, a place probably in Sung, VIII. xviii. 14.  
 Hsiao, the sub-administrator of the king, I. i. 4.  
 Hih, marquis of T'ao, V. xiv. 5.  
 Hih-jang, a place in Tsin, VII. vii. 3.  
 Hih-k'ang, an officer of Choo, X. xxi. 6.  
 Hih-pai, younger brother of the marquis of Wei, VIII. x. 1.  
 Hih-tun, marquis of Tsin, VII. ix. 9.  
 Hing, a small northern State, III. xxxii. 7; IV. i. 2; V. i. 3, 3, 4; xvi. 5; xviii. 6; xix. 6; xx. 5; xxv. 1.  
 Hing, a place in T'ao (pres. Yen-shing) V. iv. 1.  
 Hing-k'ow, a place belonging to Tsin within the royal domain, IX. viii. 4.  
 Ho, the river, X. ii. 4; xii. 4; xii. 11; xxi. 7; xxii. 10.  
 Ho, duke of Sung, I. iii. 5.  
 Ho-k'ueh, a place in Tsin, VI. xii. 7.  
 Ho-yang, a place in pres. Ho-nan, V. xxviii. 10.  
 Hoo, a small State within Ch'ing, X. iv. 2, 4; xiii. 7; XI. iv. 2; xv. 3.  
 Hoo, a place in Ch'ing, pres. Yuen-woo, III. xxi. 10; VI. vii. 8; xv. 10; xvii. 4; VII. ix. 7, 9; VIII. xvi. 14; X. xxvii. 4.  
 Hoo, the son of king Ho, VI. iii. 2.  
 Hoo-lau, a city of Ch'ing, held by Tsin, IX. ii. 9; x. 9.  
 Hoo Yih-koo, (K'ao K'ao) an officer of Tsin, VI. xi. 7.  
 How, a city in Loo, XI. x. 6, 7; xi. 2.  
 Hung, a place in Loo, X. viii. 8.  
 Hung, a river (near pres. dep. Kwei-t'ao), V. xxii. 4.  
 Hwa, heir of Ch'ing, V. vii. 4.  
 Hwa, viscount of Chao, X. i. 5.  
 Hwa Hae, an officer of Sung, X. xi. 7; xx. 4; xxi. 3; xxi. 2.  
 Hwa Hsiao, an officer of Sung, X. vi. 5.  
 Hwa Jui, an officer of Sung, IX. vi. 2.  
 Hwa Shui, an officer of Sung, IX. xvii. 6.  
 Hwa sun, minister of war of Sung, VI. xv. 2.  
 Hwa Ting, an officer of Sung, IX. xxi. 5; X. xii. 3; xx. 4; xxi. 3; xxi. 2.  
 Hwa Yuen, an officer of Sung, IX. xiv. 7.  
 Hwa Yuen, an officer of Sung, VII. ii. 1; VIII. iv. 1; xiii. 4; xv. 9, 10; xvi. 8; IX. i. 2; ii. 6, 9.  
 Hwa, a place on the Hwa river in Shan-wei, V. xvi. 5.—the wild tribes of the, X. iv. 2, 4.



Hwae, duke of Ch'ing, XI. viii. 12.  
 Hwah, a small State, pres. Yen-sen, III. xvi. 4; V. xx. 4.  
 Hwah, a place in or near Ch'ing, III. iii. 5; xxiii. 1.  
 Hwan, a place in Loo, II. iii. 6, 7; XI. x. 5; XII. viii. 3, 7.  
 Hwan, the duke of Loo, II. xviii. 4; III. i. 6; xxiii. 8; xxiv. 1; XII. iii. 3.  
 Hwan, duke of Wei, I. iv. 2; v. 2.  
 Hwan, duke of Ts'ao, V. xviii. 5; VI. xiv. 3.  
 Hwan, duke of Ch'in, II. v. 4.  
 Hwan, duke of Ts'ao, II. x. 2.  
 Hwan, duke of K'uei, IX. vi. 8.  
 Hwan, marquis of Ts'ao, II. xvii. 6.  
 Hwan, marquis of Ts'ao, VI. vi. 4.  
 Hwan, marquis of Ts'ao, IX. xix. 8.  
 Hwan, the king, III. iii. 3.  
 Hwang, a small State, (in Ho-nan), V. ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5; v. 7; xi. 4; xii. 2.  
 Hwang, a place in Ts'ao, II. xvii. 1; VII. viii. 2; XI. 7, 9.  
 Hwang, a place in the royal domain, X. xxii. 7.  
 Hwang, younger brother of the marquis of Ch'in, IX. xx. 6; xxiii. 6.  
 Hwang-ch'ao, a place in Wei, XII. xiii. 3, 6.  
 Hwang-foo, the same as Hsi-hwang, a place in Ts'ao, X. xxv. 2.  
 Hwang Yuen, an officer of Sung, XII. vii. 1; ix. 2; xii. 4.  
 Hwah, earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 6; xv. 5.  
 Hway, a city of Ke, III. iii. 4; xii. 1.  
 Hway, the duke of Loo, I. i. 4.  
 Hway, duke of Ts'ao, VII. x. 10.  
 Hway, duke of Ch'ao, XI. iv. 6.  
 Hway, duke of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 8.  
 Hway, duke of Szech, XII. x. 10.  
 Hway, an officer of Loo, I. iv. 5; x. 2; II. iii. 5.

## J

Jin, ruler of Ts'ao, XII. xiv. 10.  
 Jing Shuh, a great officer of Chow, II. v. 3.  
 Jih, a small State in Ho-nan, VI. v. 5.  
 Joo-ieh, a place in Loo, VI. x. 5.  
 Joo Shuh, a nobleman of Ch'in, III. xxv. 1.  
 Jung, wild tribes on the west, I. ii. 1, 4; vii. 7; II. ii. 3; III. xviii. 2; xx. 4; xxiv. 8; xxvi. 1, 2; xxx. 4; xxxi. 4; V. x. 4.  
 —K'ang-jung, V. xxiii. 3.  
 —Loh-jung, VI. viii. 5.  
 —of Loh-kwan, VII. iii. 4; X. xvii. 4.  
 —Man-jung, X. xvi. 2; XII. iv. 6.

## K

Kao, earl of K'uei, IX. xxiii. 2.  
 Kan, a place in Loo, near Shing, II. xi. 9; X. xxiii. 1.  
 Kan, marquis of Wei, IX. xxvi. 3; xix. 3.  
 Kan Ching-see, messenger of Ch'in, X. viii. 4.  
 Kan-how, a city of Ts'ao, X. xxviii. 2; xix. 1, 2; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1, 4; xxxii. 1, 5; XI. i. 2.  
 Kan-k'uei, a place in Ts'ao (near Shing-foo), X. xiii. 2.  
 Kan-she, a place in Ts'ao, III. ix. 5.  
 Kang, viscount of Choo, IX. xvii. 1.  
 Kang-yin, the duke Ch'ing's wife, IX. ii. 4.  
 Kang-yin, viscount of K'uei, X. xxiii. 6.  
 Kany, a small State, V. xi. 2.

Kaou, a place taken by Loo from Sung, I. x. 4; II. ii. 4.  
 Kaou, an officer of Ts'ao, IV. ii. 6.  
 Kaou Chang, an officer of Ts'ao, X. xix. 1; xxiii. 4; XII. vi. 4.  
 Kaou Cho, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. xxix. 5.  
 Kaou Fah, an officer of Ts'ao, X. xix. 4.  
 K'au-foo, marquis of Ts'ao, I. viii. 4.  
 Kaou He, an officer of Ts'ao, III. xxii. 3.  
 Kaou How, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. xvii. 4; xix. 11.  
 Kaou Woo-k'uei, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. xv. 10; xvii. 5.  
 Kaou Woo-p'ei, an officer of Ts'ao, XII. xv. 2.  
 Kaou Yen, an officer of Ts'ao, X. xii. 1.  
 Kaou-yew, a place in Ch'ing, XI. iv. 4.  
 Ke, the State of, I. ii. 5, 6, 7; vii. 1; II. v. 2; vi. 2, 5; viii. 6; ix. 1; xiii. 1; xvii. 1; III. i. 8; iii. 4; iv. 2, 4, 5; xii. 1.  
 Ke, a place in Ts'ao, V. xxiii. 8.  
 Ke, a place in Loo, III. ix. 2.  
 Ke, heir of Ts'ao, III. xxiv. 8.  
 Ke, an officer of Loo, IV. i. 5.  
 Ke, the State of, I. iv. 1; II. ii. 5, 7; xii. 2; III. xxv. 4; xviii. 1, 4, 6; xix. 4; V. v. 2; xxiii. 4; xxvii. 1, 4; xxviii. 13; xxxi. 7; VI. xii. 2; VII. xviii. 2; VIII. iv. 3; v. 1, 7; vii. 5; viii. 8; ix. 1, 2; xviii. 8; IX. i. 3; v. 7; vi. 1, 3; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3; xvi. 2; xviii. 4; xx. 2; xxi. 4; xxiii. 2, 4; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3; xxix. 3, xxx. 9; X. vi. 1, 4; xi. 7; xiii. 4; xiv. 5, 7; xxvi. 4; xxxii. 4; XI. iv. 5, 10; XII. viii. 6; ix. 1.  
 Ke Ch'ing-foo, an officer of Ts'ao, VI. ix. 7.  
 Ke-foo, a place in Ts'ao, X. xxiii. 7.  
 Ke-sun E-joo, an officer of Loo, X. x. 3; xi. 7; xii. 7; xiv. 1; xvi. 6; xxxi. 2; XI. v. 4.  
 Ke-sun Hing-foo, grand-son of Ke Yew of Loo, VI. vi. 2, 3; xii. 8; xv. 1, 9; xvi. 1; xviii. 3; VII. i. 4; x. 15; VIII. ii. 3; vi. 10; ix. 5; xi. 3; xvi. 12, 14; IX. v. 13.  
 Ke-sun Suh, son of Hing-foo of Loo, IX. vi. 7; vii. 5; viii. 4; ix. 2; xii. 2; xiv. 1, 7; xv. 4; xix. 6; X. ii. 4; vi. 8; vii. 7.  
 Ke-sun Sze, an officer of Loo, XI. vi. 4, 7; viii. 13; xii. 5; XII. ii. 1; iii. 4, 6.  
 Ke-tai, a place in Ts'ao, IX. iii. 5.  
 Ke-yunt, a place taken from Choo by Loo, XII. iii. 4.  
 K'ao, earl of Ch'ing, X. xii. 2.  
 K'ao, viscount of Shih, XI. iv. 3.  
 K'ao Foo, a great officer of Chow, II. viii. 2; xv. 1.  
 K'ao, a small State of wild people in the east, V. xxix. 1, 5; xxx. 6.  
 K'ao, a tribe of Red Tois, VII. xvi. 1.  
 K'ao-k'uei, a place unknown, XI. x. 2, 3.  
 K'ao, family name of the house of Ts'ao, and of K'uei, II. iii. 8, 9; ix. 1, xviii. 1; —the lady, III. ii. 4; iv. 1; v. 2; vi. 1, 4; xv. 2; xix. 4; xx. 1; xxi. 3; xxiv. 5; IV. ii. 4; V. i. 5, 10; xi. 2; xvii. 3; VI. iv. 2; ix. 2, 6; xvi. 4; xviii. 7; VII. i. 3; VIII. xiv. 5; IX. ii. 3; ix. 3.  
 K'ao, a small State in pres. Ho-nan, V. ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5; VI. iii. 4, 7; iv. 4.  
 K'ang, Jung, western barbarians, V. xxiii. 3. See *Jung*.  
 K'ao, a city in the royal domain, X. xxiii. 4.  
 K'ao-k'ang, a place unknown, VIII. xii. 3.  
 K'ao, a son of duke Hwan of Loo, III. xix. 3.  
 K'ao, viscount of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 8.  
 K'ao, earl of Ch'ing, VIII. iv. 2.  
 K'ao, duke of Ch'ing, X. xii. 3.  
 K'ao, E-k'uei, an officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiv. 11.



- K'een, younger brother of the earl of Ts'ao, X. 1.  
4.  
K'een, viscount of Ts'ao, X. xi. 2; xii. 2.  
K'een, a place in Wei, XI. xiv. 7.  
K'eh, a small State attached to Lo, I. ii. 3.  
K'eh, a city of Ts'ao, VII. iii. 9.  
K'eh-lung, a place belonging to Ts'ao, IX. xvi.  
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K'eh Che, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. xvii. 13.  
K'eh Chow, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. xi. 2; xvi.  
14; xvii. 13.  
K'eh E, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. xiii. 1; xvii. 13.  
K'eh Keuh, an officer of Ts'ao, VI. xi. 2; xv. 7;  
VII. ix. 12.  
K'eh K'ih an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. ii. 3; iii. 11.  
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Ken, the State of, I. ii. 3, 7; ix. 1; xiii. 8; II. xii.  
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4; xxviii. 1; XI. ix. 2; XII. xiv. 3.  
Ken, viscount of Ts'ao, X. xxi. 3.  
Ken-choo, a place in Sung, XI. xv. 7.  
Ken P'ih-kew, the king's sub-administrator, II.  
ix. 2.  
Ken-sen, viscount of Choo, VI. xiii. 3.  
Ken-tai, duke Mu's son of Ch'ing, VIII. iii. 7.  
Ken-tai, ruler of Ken, X. i. 7; xiv. 3.  
Ken-tai marquess of Ts'ao, X. xxx. 2.  
Ken-tai, a place in Ts'ao, VI. x. 7.  
K'eh-yin, a place unknown, X. xi. 7.  
K'eh-p'ih, a place in Wei, XI. viii. 14.  
K'eh-cho, a place in Ts'ao, II. xii. 2.  
K'eh Huan, an officer of Ts'ao, V. iv. 3.  
K'eh Ken, an officer of Ts'ao, (Tsun-muh),  
XI. xiv. 8; xxvii. 2.  
K'eh Shu, great officer of Ts'ao, X. v. 2.  
K'eh-k'eh, a city of Sung, X. xxx. 8.  
K'eh-yeh, a city of Ts'ao, IX. xiii. 7.  
K'ewen, a place in Wei, III. xiv. 4; xv. 1; xix. 3.  
K'ewen, viscount of Ew, XI. ix. 9.  
Keun, a small State, in pres. Hoo-p'ih, VI. xi. 1.  
Keun, ruler of Ts'ao, VI. i. 10.  
Keun, viscount of Ts'ao, X. i. 11.  
K'ew, son of duke He of Ts'ao, III. ix. 3, 6.  
K'ew-muh, a great officer of Sung, III. xii. 3.  
K'ih, viscount of Choo, III. xvi. 3.  
Kin-naw, a State of eastern barbarians, VII.  
ix. 3.  
King, the original name of the State of Ts'ao,  
III. x. 5; xiv. 2; xvi. 3; xxi. 8; xxviii. 3.  
King, the king, X. xxi. 4, 5.  
King, duke of Ts'ao, X. vi. 2.  
King, duke of Ts'ao, XII. v. 6.  
King, duke of Ts'ao, IX. xxx. 8.  
King, duke of Ts'ao, VIII. ix. 9.  
King, duke of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 11.  
King, duke of Ts'ao, X. xxx. 3.  
King, a great officer of Ken, III. xxvii. 5; V.  
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King, viscount of Ken, XII. xiv. 3.  
K'ing-foo, son of duke Huan of Lo, III. ii. 2;  
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K'ing Fung, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. xxvii. 1;  
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K'ing Hoo, a great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xxiii. 5.  
K'ing Yin, a great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xiii. 3.  
Ko, a place in Ts'ao, pres. Tung-o, III. xii. 4;  
IX. xix. 15.  
K'ooling, a place in the west of Ch'ing, VIII.  
xvii. 3.  
Koh, a small State, pres. Ning-ling, II. xv. 8.  
Koh Water, in the south of Lo, IX. xix. 5;  
XII. ii. 1.  
Koh-loo, the chief of an eastern wild tribe, V.  
xxix. 1, 5.  
Koo, duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 6.  
Koo, ruler of Ts'ao, IX. xxx. 2.  
Koo-yung, earl of K'ao, IX. xi. 1.  
K'ow, the son of duke Huan of Lo, I. v. 7.  
Kow-yih, a place in Choo, XII. ii. 2; xiv. 2.  
Kuh, a small State, pres. K'uh-shing, II. vii. 2.  
Kuh, a place in Ts'ao, pres. Tung-o, III. vii. 3;  
xiii. 6; V. xxi. 3; VI. xvii. 3, 5; VII. xiv.  
6; VIII. v. 3; IX. xix. 9.  
Kuh, earl of S'ueh, X. xxxi. 3.  
Kuh-k'ew, a place in Sung, II. xii. 3.  
Kung, duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 3; IX. xxx. 3.  
Kung, duke of Ts'ao, VI. ix. 14.  
Kung Foo, a great officer of Sung, II. ii. 1.  
Kung Huan, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xxvii. 2;  
X. viii. 9.  
Kung Ko, eldest daughter of Duke Ch'ing of  
Lo, IX. xxx. 3, 6.  
Kung K'ew, Confucius, XII. xvi. 2.  
Kung-nung K'ew, an officer of Wei, XI. xii. 4;  
xiii. 4; xiv. 12; XII. x. 8; xv. 5.  
Kung-shuh Shao, a noble of Wei, XI. xiv. 1.  
Kung-sun Ch'ao, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xiv.  
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Kung-sun Ch'eh, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. x. 4, 8.  
Kung-sun Gao, son of K'ing-foo of Lo, V. xv.  
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Kung-sun H'ao, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xiv. 9.  
Kung-sun Hui, a great officer of Ch'ing, X. ii. 3.  
Kung-sun Hoh, an officer of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 5.  
Kung-sun K'ow, an officer of Ts'ao, X. xv. 2.  
Kung-sun Kwei-foo, son of Suy of Lo, VII. x.  
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Kung-sun Kwei-sung, an officer of Ts'ao, IX.  
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Kung-sun Lo, an officer of Ts'ao, XII. iii. 7.  
Kung-sun Ning, a minister of Ch'ing (Ch'ao,  
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Kung-sun P'ao, an officer of Wei, IX. i. 7.  
Kung-sun Sang, an officer of Ts'ao, XI. ix. 3;  
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Kung-sun Shay-cho, (Tsun-chen), an officer of  
Ch'ing, IX. xi. 3; xxv. 4.  
Kung-sun Shin, an officer of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 2.  
Kung-sun Shou, an officer of Sung, VIII. xii. 3.  
Kung-sun Ts'ao, an officer of Ch'ing, XI. xiv. 3.  
Kung-sun Tze, an officer of Lo, V. ix. 3; v. 3;  
xvi. 4.  
Kung-sun Tsen, an officer of Ch'ing, IX. xxix. 5.  
Kung Tsh, a minister of Wei, (Ch'ao, VII. xii.  
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Kung-tze Ch'ing, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. v. 10;  
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Kung-tze Fah (Tze-k'ueh) of Ch'ing, IX. v. 2;  
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Kung-tze Fui (Tze-ssu) of Ch'ing, IX. x. 3.  
Kung-tze He, an officer of Ch'ing, VIII. xiv.  
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Kung-tze Jih-tso, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. i. 4;  
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- Kung-tze K'ie-tshih, an officer of Ts'oo, X. xi. 3; xlii. 3.
- Kung-tze K'ien (Tze-k'ung) a great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xix. 12.
- Kung-tze Keoh, an officer of Ts'oo, XI. xiv. 3; XII. x. 11.
- Kung-tze Kwo, a great officer of Ch'in, X. viii. 7.
- Kung-tze Loh, an officer of Ch'in, X. viii. 5.
- Kung-tze P'u, (Tze-kan) of Ts'oo, X. i. 12; xlii. 2, 3.
- Kung-tze Shaou, an officer of Ch'in, X. i. 2; viii. 9—See *Shien*.
- Kung-tze Shin, great officer of Ts'oo, IX. ii. 10;—another, XII. xlii. 4.
- Kung-tze Show, an officer of Ts'oo, VIII. ii. 3.
- Kung-tze Sze, great officer of Ts'oo, XII. ii. 9.
- Kung-tze To, a noble of Sung, XI. x. 9; xi. 1.
- Kung-tze Ts'ao, an officer of Ch'ing, VIII. xv. 10.
- Kung-tze Tshih, (Tze-fan) an officer of Ts'oo, VIII. xvi. 7.
- Kung-tze Yih-tze, a son of a duke of Loo, I. i. 7.
- Kung-tze Ying-tze, an officer of Ts'oo, VIII. ii. 3; vi. 2; vii. 5; ix. 10; IX. iii. 1.
- Kung Yu, an officer of Wei, XI. iv. 12.
- K'uei, a great officer of Choo, X. xxvii. 6.
- K'uei-sze, heir of Wei, XI. xiv. 11; XII. ii. 5; xvi. 7.
- Kwan, a place in Sung, I. x. 3.
- Kwan, a place in Sung, V. ii. 4.
- Kwan, heir of Ch'in, V. vii. 4; viii. 1; xxviii. 12.
- Kwan, earl of Ch'ing, IX. ii. 4.
- K'wan, earl of North Yen, X. iii. 7.
- K'wan, viscount of Hoo, X. xxiii. 7.
- Kwang, heir-son of Ts'ao, IX. iii. 5; v. 7, 11; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 2.
- K'wang, viscount of Woo, XI. xiv. 9.
- Kwang, a place in Wei, V. xv. 3.
- K'wang, king, VII. iii. 3.
- Kwei, a place in Sung, II. xii. 6.
- Kwei, the lady Ts'ao Kwei of Loo, X. xi. 4, 8.
- Kwei, a small State subordinate to Ts'oo, V. xxvi. 6.
- Kwei-choo, marquis of Tsin, V. ix. 5.
- Kwei-k'uei, a place in Sung, V. ix. 2, 4.
- Kwei-sung, son of duke Wan of Ch'ing, VII. ii. 1; iv. 3.
- Kwei-yin, a place in Loo, XI. x. 3.
- Kwo, earl of Ky, XII. viii. 8.
- Kwoh, a small State, situation unknown, III. xiv. 9.
- Kwoh, a place in Ch'ing, X. i. 2.
- Kwoh Hsa, an officer of Ts'ao, XI. iv. 2; vii. 7; viii. 6; XII. iii. 1; vi. 4.
- Kwoh Juh, an officer of Ts'ao, X. i. 2; xi. 7.
- Kwoh Kwei-fai, an ambassador of Ts'ao, V. xxviii. 2.
- Kwoh Shou, an officer of Ts'ao, XII. xi. 1, 4.
- Kwoh Tso, an ambassador of Ts'ao, VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10; xviii. 3.
- Kwoh Tsan, an officer of Ch'ing, X. xxvii. 4.
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- Lao, a small State, in pres. Shan-tung, VII. vii. 2, 3; ix. 4; IX. vi. 8.
- Lao, a small State within Ts'oo, X. ix. 8.
- Lan, a city of Choo, X. xxxi. 8.
- Lan, earl of Ch'ing, VII. iii. 8.
- Lang, a town of Loo, pres. Yu-tai, I. ix. 4; II. iv. 1; x. 4; III. viii. 1; x. 4; xxxi. 1; X. ix. 6.
- La, a subject-state of Ts'ao, V. xv. 6.
- La, a place in Loo, V. i. 3.
- La, duke of Ch'ing, III. xxi. 4.
- La, son of duke Ch'wang of Ts'ao, IX. xx. 5.
- La K'ih, an officer of Tsin, V. ix. 6; x. 3, 5.
- La-lao, the chief of E. III. v. 3.
- La-seu, a minister of Ke, I. ii. 5.
- La-shin, a place unknown, VIII. xvii. 10.
- Léang, a small State, in pres. Shen-se, V. xix. 8.
- Léang, mount, in Shen-se, VIII. v. 4.
- Léang-k'ow, a place in Ts'ao, pres. Shing-woo, III. xxii. 2.
- Léang Szeou, a minister of Ch'ing, IX. xi. 10; xxvi. 5; xxvii. 2; xxx. 7.
- Léou, ruler of Woo, X. xxvii. 2.
- Loih, a strong city of Ch'ing, II. xv. 9.
- Leu, viscount of Ts'ao, VII. xviii. 5.
- Leu, marquis of Ts'ao, X. xlii. 3; x. 5.
- Léw, a place near the capital, a principality, IX. xv. 1, 2; X. xlii. 4; xlii. 7, 8; XI. iv. 2, 3, 13.
- Léw, marquis of Ch'in, XI. viii. 9.
- Léw-yu, a tribe of Red Teth, VII. xvi. 1.
- Lia, marquis of Ch'in, III. i. 3.
- Ling, duke of Ch'in, VII. xii. 1.
- Ling, duke of Ts'ao, IX. xix. 13.
- Ling, duke of Hsu, IX. xxvi. 10.
- Ling, duke of Ts'ao, X. xlii. 10.
- Lang, duke of Wei, XII. ii. 7.
- Ling-hoo, a place in Tsin, VI. vii. 5.
- Loh-jung, a tribe of the Jung in Ho-nan, VI. xiii. 3.
- Loh-koo, a place in Ts'ao, pres. Ping-yin, IV. i. 4.
- Loo, the State of, III. xxx. 6.
- Loo, a State of Red Teth, VII. xv. 3.
- Loo, earl of Ts'ao, VIII. xiii. 4; XI. viii. 5.
- Low-lin, a place in Sou, V. xv. 12.
- Luh, a small State, in pres. Luh-gan Chow, VI. v. 6.
- Luh, a stream flowing into the Ts'ao, II. xviii. 1.
- Luh-fai, marquis of Ts'ao, II. xiv. 6.
- Luh-hwan, country of the Little Jung, VII. iii. 4; X. xvii. 4.
- Luh-shang, a place in Sung, V. xxi. 2.
- Lwan Shu, an officer of Ts'ao, X. x. 2.
- Lwan Sze, an officer of Tsin, VIII. vi. 11; viii. 2; ix. 8.
- Lwan Yin, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xvi. 5; IX. i. 2.
- Lwan Ying, (Hwan-tze) son of Yin of Tsin, IX. xxi. 4; xxiii. 7, 19.
- M**
- Ma-ling, a place in Wei, VIII. vii. 5.
- Mao, son of duke Ch'wang of Loo, V. xxviii. 2.
- Mao, ruler of Hsu, X. xix. 2.
- Man-jung, a tribe of Jung in Ho-nan, X. xvi. 2; XII. iv. 6.
- Mang, the king, X. xxii. 7, 8, 9.
- Mang Tze, the wife of duke Ch'ao of Loo, XII. xii. 2.
- Maou, a small State,—the earl of, VI. i. 2; ix. 4; VII. xv. 5; X. xxvi. 8.
- Mao-jung, a tribe of Jung in Shan-se, VIII. i. 6.
- Meih, a place in Loo, pres. Sze-shuay, I. i. 2.
- Mei, a town of Loo, III. xxviii. 5.
- Meih, a place belonging to Keu, I. ii. 7.
- Meih-chow, ruler of Keu, IX. xxxi. 7.



Miu, a town of Sung, V. xxiii. 1; xxiv. 7.  
 Min, duke of Loo, IV. —VI. ii. 4.  
 Mow, a small State, pres. Las-woo, II. xv. 5; V. v. 3.  
 Mow-e, an officer of Kuo, X. v. 4.  
 Mow-k'w, a place in T'w, V. xv. 3.  
 Mow-low, a place on the southern border of K'e, I. iv. 1; X. v. 4.  
 Muh, duke of Sung, I. iii. 7.  
 Muh, duke of Hsu, V. ix. 7.  
 Muh, duke of Ch'ing, VII. iii. 9.  
 Muh, duke of Wei, VIII. iii. 2.  
 Muh K'ang, duchess of Loo, IX. ix. 4.  
 Mung, a city in T'w, X. xxi. 3.

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Nan Ke, a king's messenger, I. ix. 1.  
 Nan-je, place in the capital of Sung, X. xxi. 3; xxii. 2.  
 Nang Wa, an officer of T'w, XI. iv. 14.  
 Nian-pih, a place in Hing, V. i. 2.  
 Nien, younger brother of the marquis of T'w, I. vii. 4; II. iii. 9.  
 Neth, Son of the duke of Loo, III. iii. 1.  
 Neth, marquis of Ch'in, X. viii. 2.  
 Neo, an officer of Kuo, V. i. 9.  
 Ning, earl of Ch'ing, X. xxviii. 3.  
 Ning, viscount of T'ang, X. xxviii. 5.  
 Ning, baron of Hsu, IX. xxvi. 3.  
 Ning Chih, an officer of Wei, IX. i. 2; ii. 3; xvi. 7.  
 Ning-fu, younger brother of the king K'ing, IX. xxx. 4.  
 Ning He, an officer of Wei, IX. xxvi. 1; 7; xxvii. 3.  
 Ning-huo, a place in Loo, V. vii. 4.  
 Ning Suh, (Ch'ang-t'ao) an officer of Wei, V. xxvi. 1.  
 Ning Yu, an officer of Wei, VI. iv. 6.  
 Now, marquis of Tsin, VIII. x. 5.

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Pa, a State in pres. Sze-ch'uen, VI. xvi. 6.  
 Pahi, a place, the same as Pan, (See VII. iv. 1), XI. iii. 5.  
 Pan, son of duke Ch'wang of Loo, III. xxxii. 5.  
 Pan, earl of T'w, V. vii. 5.  
 Pan, heir-son of T'w, IX. xxx. 2; X. xi. 2.  
 Pang, a town in Loo, I. vii. 2, 2.  
 Pang-shing, a place in Sung, VIII. xviii. 5; IX. i. 2.  
 Pang-yu, a place in T'w, VI. ii. 1.  
 Pao, a place in Ch'ing, VI. viii. 5.  
 Pao, marquis of Ch'in, II. v. 1, 4.  
 Pao, duke of Sung, VIII. ii. 5.  
 Pao, viscount of Hsu, XI. xv. 3.  
 Pao, an officer of Loo. See Shih-son Pao.  
 Pa, a city in Loo, IX. vii. 4; X. xiii. 1; XI. xii. 5.  
 Pe, earl of Ch'ing, VIII. vi. 7.  
 Pe, ruler of Shih, XI. xiii. 8.  
 Pe, a city in Loo, XII. v. 1.  
 Pe Ch'ing-too, a great officer of Tsin, V. xl. 1.  
 Pe-go, an officer of Chao, IX. xxiii. 3.  
 Pe-p'oo, a place in Loo, X. xl. 5; XI. xiii. 3; xiv. 14.  
 P'ao, ruler of Wei, IX. xxvi. 1.  
 P'ao, a place in Loo, V. xvii. 3.

Peih, a place in Ch'ing, VII. xii. 3.  
 Peih-yang, a small State, subject to T'w, IX. x. 2.  
 P'ew, marquis of Tsin, X. x. 4.  
 Pih-hang, a place in T'w, III. xiii. 1.  
 Pih-kou, a place in T'w, XI. iv. 14.  
 Pih-kung Ho, an officer of Wei, X. xxv. 2; xxvii. 4.  
 Pih-kung K'eh, an officer of Wei, XI. vii. 4; xiv. 4.  
 Pih-kung Kw'eh, an officer of Wei, VIII. xvii. 1; IX. xiv. 3.  
 Pih-kung T'w, an officer of Wei, X. xi. 7.  
 Pih-yu (Seth) a city in T'w to which Hsu removed its capital, X. xviii. 5.  
 Ping, a city of K'e, III. i. 8.  
 Ping, duke of Sung, III. ii. 5.  
 Ping, duke of T'w, X. xxi. 1.  
 Ping, duke of Tsin, X. x. 5.  
 Ping, duke of T'w, X. xviii. 4.  
 Ping, duke of K'e, X. xiv. 7.  
 Ping-chow, a place in T'w, VII. i. 8.  
 Ping-k'w, a place in Wei, X. xiii. 4, 5.  
 Ping-k'w, ruler of Ch'in, VII. x. 8.  
 Ping-yang, a city of Loo, VII. viii. 14.  
 Poh, a place in Sung, V. xxi. 7.  
 Poh, the altar of, built in remembrance of the Yin dynasty, XII. iv. 8.  
 Poh-shing a place in Ch'ing, IX. xi. 5.  
 P'oo, a place in Wei, pres. Ch'ang-yuen, II. iii. 2; VIII. ix. 2.  
 Puh, a place in Ch'in, I. iv. 6.  
 P'wan, marquis of T'w, VI. xiv. 3.

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Sang, a place in Loo, VII. xviii. 8.  
 Se-k'w, a place in T'w, VI. xvi. 3.  
 Seang, king, VI. vii. 3; ix. 4.  
 Seang, duke of T'w, III. ix. 4.  
 Seang, earl of T'w, V. xxviii. 21; VI. ix. 10.  
 Seang, duke of Tsin, VI. vi. 5.  
 Seang, duke of Ch'ing, VIII. iv. 6.  
 Seang, duke of Loo, IX.  
 Seang, duke of Wei, X. vii. 8.  
 Seang, duke of Shih, XI. vii. 2.  
 Seang, a small State attached to Sung, III. xxiii. 7; V. xxx. 6; VII. xii. 5; XI. xi. 1, 3; xiv. 13.  
 Seang, a city of Loo, XI. xiv. 16.  
 Seang-k'w, a city of Loo, III. xxiii. 1.  
 Seang-pih, son and successor of duke Ho of T'w, III. ix. 8; V. xvii. 5.  
 Seang-yu, a place in Ch'ing, IX. xi. 8.  
 Sech, a small State, within Chao, I. xi. 1; III. xxxi. 2, 3; VIII. ii. 10; IX. i. 5; v. 7; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3; xvi. 2; xviii. 4; xx. 2; xxi. 8; xxv. 5; xxx. 6; X. xiii. 4; xiv. 2; xxi. 3, 5; xxii. 4; XI. iv. 7; xii. 1, 2; xiii. 8; XII. x. 9, 10.  
 Sech, son of duke Ch'wang of T'w, IX. viii. 3; x. 5; xiii. 4; xxv. 3.  
 Sech Yay, a great officer of Ch'in, VII. ix. 13.  
 Sech H'oh, a great officer of Tsin, VII. xii. 4.  
 Sech Moeh (See Pih), an officer of Tsin, VI. vii. 6.  
 Shen T'oo, an officer of Tsin, VI. ix. 5.  
 Shen-yu, a place in North Yen, held by White T'w, X. xii. 10; xv. 5; XI. iv. 12; v. 6; XII. vi. 5.  
 Seih-gw, baron of Hsu, VII. xvi. 1.



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 See-k'ien, a small State, V. xxi. 1; VI. vii. 2.  
 See K'ia-foo, a great officer of Ts'ao, VII. 1. 5.  
 See T'ung, a great officer of Ts'ao, VIII. xviii. 1.  
 Seuen, the king, VII. xvi. 2.  
 Seuen, duke of Lo, VII.—VIII. 1. 2; IX. ix. 3.  
 Seuen, duke of Ts'ao, I. vii. 7.  
 Seuen, duke of Ts'ao, VIII. xii. 6.  
 Seuen, duke of Wei, II. xiii. 2.  
 Seuen, duke of Ch'iu, V. xiii. 2.  
 Seun, Kang, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. iii. 12, 13.  
 Seun Loeh, an officer of Ts'ao, X. xxi. 2, 4.  
 Seun Lin-foo, an officer of Ts'ao, VII. ix. 8; xii. 3.  
 Seun Seih, a great officer of Ts'ao, V. x. 3.  
 Seun Shao, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. v. 3.  
 Seun Yen, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. xiv. 3; xvi. 7.  
 Seun Yin, an officer of Ts'ao, XI. xii. 6.  
 Seun Ying, an officer of Ts'ao, VIII. xvii. 7; IX. 1. 7; ii. 2; iii. 8.  
 Seun Woo, an officer of Ts'ao, IX. xxvi. 4; X. 1. 6; xv. 6; xvi. 4.  
 Sha, a place in Ts'ao, XI. vii. 3.  
 Sha-hsi, a hill in Ts'ao, V. xiv. 3.  
 Sha-say, a place in Sung, VIII. xvi. 8; IX. xxii. 4.  
 Shan, a great officer of Sung, VIII. xv. 9.  
 Shang-jin, a place unknown, IX. xxi. 8.  
 Shang-jin, a son of duke Hwan of Ts'ao, VI. xiv. 2; xviii. 3.  
 Shang-shin, heir of Ts'ao, VI. 1. 10.  
 Shaou, the earl of, VI. v. 3; VII. xv. 6; VIII. vii. 7; X. xxvi. 5.  
 Shaou (Kung-tze) younger brother of the marquise of Ch'iu, X. vii. 1.  
 Shaou-ling, a place in Ts'ao, pres. Yen-shing, V. iv. 3; XI. iv. 2.  
 Shay, ruler of Ts'ao, VI. xiv. 3.  
 Shay-yuen, a park in Lo, XI. xiii. 2.  
 She, a small State near Lo, IX. xiii. 2.  
 She, heir of Hsu, X. xia. 2.  
 She-lao, a place in Ch'ing, I. xi. 2.  
 She-shih E, an officer of Wei, IX. xxix. 3.  
 She-shih Shih, an officer of Wei, X. xxii. 4.  
 She-shih Tze, an officer of Wei, XII. xi. 7.  
 Sheh, capital of Hsu, VIII. xv. 11.  
 Shen, a city in the royal domain, III. 1. 2; xiv. 2, 4; VI. xiv. 11; xv. 6; VIII. xvii. 2, 3; IX. iii. 5; X. xxii. 7, 8.  
 Shen-tao, a place in Wei, IX. v. 4.  
 Shen-yuen, a river and city in Wei, IX. xx. 2; xxvi. 3; xxx. 9.  
 Shih, a duke of Chow, III. vi. 1.  
 Shih Goh, an officer of Wei, IX. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 2.  
 Shih K'ow, an officer of Sung, XI. x. 12; xi. 1.  
 Shih Ma, an officer of Wei, IX. xvii. 3; xviii. 2.  
 Shih Man-koo, an officer of Wei, XII. iii. 1.  
 Shih-min, a place belonging to Tze, pres. Chang-t'ing, I. iii. 6.  
 Shih Shang, king's envoy, XI. xiv. 10.  
 Shih, a small State, pres. Joo-yang, VI. iii. 1; X. iv. 3, 4; v. 8; xxiii. 7; XI. iv. 3.  
 Shih, a small State taken by Ts'ao, X. iv. 2; xi. 2.  
 Shih, viscount of Ts'ao, IX. xii. 3.  
 Shih, marquise of Ts'ao, VII. xvii. 2;—another, XII. iv. 1.  
 Shih, younger brother of the duke of Sung, XI. x. 12; xi. 1; xiv. 13.  
 Shin Hoo, a great officer of Ch'ing, V. vii. 2.

Shin-ling, a place in Ch'iu, VII. xi. 2.  
 Shin-sang, heir of Ts'ao, V. v. 1.  
 Shing, a small State, pres. Wan-shang, I. v. 2; X. 7; II. iii. 3; III. xii. 3; VI. xii. 1.  
 Shing, viscount of Woo, IX. xii. 4.  
 Shing-hing, a place in Lo, V. xxii. 3.  
 Shing K'ang, the lady K'ang of Lo, VII. xvii. 2.  
 Shing-k'ue, a place in Lo, III. x. 4.  
 Shing-k'wang, a place in Sung, VI. xi. 2.  
 Shing-poh, a place in Wei, III. xxvii. 7; V. xxviii. 5.  
 Shoo, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, V. iii. 2.  
 Shoo, a river in Lo, III. ix. 7.  
 Shoo-chow, a city of Ts'ao, XII. xiv. 3, 10.  
 Shoo-k'ue, ruler of K'ou, VI. xviii. 9.  
 Shoo-k'ue, a great officer of Choo, IX. xxi. 2.  
 Shoo-k'ue, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, IX. xxv. 8.  
 Shoo-liao, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, VII. viii. 7.  
 Shoo-yung, a small State in pres. Gan-hwuy, VIII. xvii. 14.  
 Show, earl of Ts'ao, VII. xiv. 3.  
 Show-che, a place in Wei, V. v. 4, 5.  
 Shuh, a place in Lo, VIII. ii. 9, 10.  
 Shuh, So-k'ueh Shuh, a minister of Ts'ao, VI. xii. 6.  
 Shuh of Chae, a minister of the king, III. xxiii. 2.  
 Shuh of Shao, III. xxiii. 7.  
 Shuh of Yang, a great officer of Chow, III. 1. 5; VI. v. 1.  
 Shuh Ch'eh, an officer of Lo, X. xxi. 5.  
 Shuh-chung P'ang-sung, grandson of Ya of Lo, VI. xi. 2; xiv. 2.  
 Shuh E, son of Shih Yang of Lo, X. xxi. 2; xxix. 3.  
 Shuh-foh, a king's messenger to Lo, VI. 1. 3.  
 Shuh-hoeh, younger brother of the duke Seuen of Lo, VII. xvii. 7; (also the name of Confucius' father, Ch'ao, IX. xvii. 4).  
 Shuh Kung, son of Laou of Lo, IX. xxx. 6; X. 1. 9; ii. 2; iii. 2; v. 6; vi. 2; viii. 3; ix. 1; x. 3; xi. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 2.  
 Shuh Laou, grandson of Shuh-hoeh of Lo, IX. xiv. 1; xvi. 7; xv. 7; xxi. 3.  
 Shuh Seuen, successor of Shuh E of Lo, XI. xi. 4; XII. v. 5; vi. 5; xiv. 4.  
 Shuh-sun Chow-k'ue, an officer of Lo, XI. x. 6, 7, 11; xii. 3; XII. ii. 1, 2; iii. 4, 9.  
 Shuh-sun K'iaou-joo, an officer of Lo, VIII. ii. 3; iii. 9; v. 8; vi. 8; xi. 4; xiv. 3, 5; xv. 10; xvi. 13.  
 Shuh-sun Paou, an officer of Lo (Ch'ao, VIII. xxi. 14), IX. ii. 3; iii. 7; iv. 2; v. 3; vi. 8; xiv. 3; xv. 4; xvi. 10; xix. 10; xxiii. 9; xxiv. 1, 12; xxvii. 2, 5; X. 1. 2; iv. 8.  
 Shuh-sun Puh-kan, a noble of Lo, XI. v. 5.  
 Shuh-sun Shay, son of Paou of Lo, X. vii. 3; x. 3; xxiii. 1, 3; xxiv. 2; xxv. 1, 7.  
 Shuh-sun T'ao-shin, grand-son of Ya of Lo, VI. ii. 7; iii. 1; ix. 3; xi. 6; xviii. 5; VII. v. 4.  
 Shuh Yang, son of Shuh Kung of Lo, X. xxii. 5; xxiii. 2.  
 Sin, a place in Ts'ao, III. x. 5.  
 Sin-chiu, baron of Hsu, V. iv. 2, 7.  
 Sin-chuh, a place in Wei, VIII. ii. 2.  
 Sin-shing, a city in Ch'ing, V. vi. 2.  
 Sin-shing, a city in Sung, VI. xiv. 4.  
 So, viscount of Choo, III. xxviii. 2.  
 So-tai, a place unknown, VIII. xii. 2.  
 Soh, marquise of Wei, II. xvi. 5; III. vi. 2; xxv. 2.  
 Soh, marquise of Ch'iu, VI. xii. 2.



- Soo, a small State within the royal domain (See Wan), VI. x. 5.
- Soh, a small State, pres. Tung-ping, I. i. 5; vii. 5; III. x. 3.
- Suh, marquis of Wei, VIII. ii. 6.
- Sun Lêng-foo, an officer of Wei, VII. vii. 12; VIII. ii. 2, 3; iii. 11, 12, 13; vi. 4; IX. ii. 6, 9; xiv. 7; xix. 7; xxvi. 2.
- Sun Lîs-foo, the son of Lêng-foo of Wei, VIII. vii. 9; xiv. 2; xv. 10; IX. ii. 6, 9; xiv. 9; xix. 7; xxvi. 2.
- Sun Mên, an officer of Wei, VII. vi. 1.
- Sung, the State of, I. i. 5; iii. 6, 7; ix. 3, 4; v. 6, 8; vi. 4; viii. 1, 6; x. 2, 3, 5, 6; II. ii. 1, 3, 4; xi. 4, 7, 8, 9; xii. 3, 5, 6, 9; xiii. 1; xiv. 7; xv. 10; xvi. 1, 2; xvii. 7; III. ii. 6; iii. 2; v. 4; x. 2, 3, 4; xi. 2, 3; xii. 3, 4; xiv. 1, 2, 3; xv. 1, 3, 4; xvi. 2, 4; xix. 3, 5; xxvi. 4; xxvii. 2; xxxii. 2; V. i. 2, 4, 7; ii. 4; iii. 6; iv. 1, 8; v. 4; vi. 2; vii. 4; viii. 1; ix. 1, 2; xiii. 3; xv. 3, 11; xvi. 1, 5; xviii. 1, 3; xix. 1, 2, 5; xxi. 2, 4, 6, 7; xxi. 2, 4; xxiii. 1, 2; xxv. 3, 4; xxvi. 7; xxviii. 5, 6; xxxviii. 4, 5, 8, 15; xxxix. 3; VI. ii. 4, 7; iii. 1, 5; vii. 3, 4; viii. 6; ix. 8; x. 6; xi. 4; xiv. 4, 10; xv. 2; xvi. 7; xvii. 1; VII. i. 10, 12, 14; ii. 1, 3; iii. 7; vii. 5; ix. 7, 11; x. 9, 11; xii. 6, 7; xiii. 2; xiv. 4; xv. 1, 2; VIII. ii. 6, 10; iii. 1, 5; iv. 1; v. 2, 7; vi. 4, 8; vii. 6; viii. 4, 11; ix. 2, 4, 5, 6; x. 3, 4; xiii. 3; xv. 3, 5, 8, 9, 10; xvi. 2, 8; xvii. 2, 8; xviii. 5, 12, 14; IX. i. 3, 7; xv. 1; xvi. 2, 7; xvii. 2, 6; xviii. 4; xx. 2, 9; xxi. 8; xxi. 4; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3; xxvi. 5, 6; xxvii. 2; xxix. 5; xxx. 3, 6, 9; X. iv. 2; vi. 3; a. 6; xi. 1, 7; xii. 3; xiii. 4; xviii. 2; xix. 1; xxi. 2, 4; xxi. 3; xxi. 3; xxv. 1, 2, 8; xxvi. 1; xxvii. 4; xxxiii. 4; XL. i. 1; iv. 2; v. 5; x. 8, 9, 12; xi. 1; xiv. 2, 11, 13; xv. 6; XII. iii. 5; iv. 4; v. 2; vi. 10; vii. 1, 5; viii. 1; ix. 2, 3; x. 4; xi. 7; xii. 4, 5; xiii. 1; xiv. 7, 9; xv. 3; xvi. 2.
- Suy, a small State within Loo, III. xiii. 2; xvii. 2.
- Suy, a small State within Teou, V. xx. 6; XII. i. 2.
- Suy, son of duke Chwang of Loo, V. xxvi. 3; xxvii. 4; xxviii. 14; xxx. 8; xxxi. 2; xxxiii. 7; VI. ii. 8; vi. 5; viii. 4, 5; ix. 6; xi. 4; xvi. 3; xviii. 6; xviii. 5; VII. i. 2, 3, 7; vii. 2, 3.
- Suy, earl of Kuei, II. vii. 2.
- Sue, baron of Hsu, XI. vi. 1.
- Sue, Ting Sue, duchess of Loo, IX. (v. 3, 5;—another, XI. xv. 2, 13).
- Sue Fang, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 13; IX. xii. 2.
- Sue Hwang, an officer of Ching, XII. vii. 6.
- Sue Hsueh, minister of Works of Tsin, VI. ii. 4; ix. 7.
- Sue Kae, an officer of Tsin, VIII. xviii. 7; IX. viii. 9; xiv. 1, 7; xix. 9, 13.
- Sue Keih-shih, an officer of Tsin, XI. xiii. 8.
- Sue Sesh, an officer of Tsin, VIII. viii. 9, 10; xv. 10.
- Sue Yang, an officer of Tsin, IX. xxix. 6; X. xxi. 2; xxvii. 4; XI. iv. 12; v. 5; viii. 10.
- T'ao, a city belonging to Loo, IX. xii. 1, 2.
- Tah, a place unknown, VI. xiii. 3.
- Tan, a small State within T'ao, III. x. 4.
- Tan, a small State adjoining to Kuo, VII. iv. 1; xvi. 3; VIII. vii. 2; viii. 10; IX. vii. 1; X. xvii. 2.
- Tang, a clan name in Song, V. xxv. 2.
- T'ang, a small State, within Choo, I. vii. 3; xi. 1; II. ii. 2; III. xvi. 4; V. xix. 1; xvii. 2; VI. xii. 5; VII. ix. 6, 11; x. 9; VIII. xiii. 3; xvi. 9; IX. i. 2; ii. 9; v. 7; vi. 4; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3; xviii. 4; xx. 2; xxiv. 8; xxv. 3; xxx. 3; xxx. 9; X. iii. 1, 2, 3; iv. 2; xiii. 4; xxv. 2; xxvii. 4; xxviii. 5, 6; XI. iv. 2; xv. 11; XII. ii. 4; iv. 9, 11; xi. 5, 6.
- T'ang, a small State, pres. T'ang-chow, II. vii. 3.
- T'ang, a city of T'ao, II. ii. 6.
- T'ang, a place belonging to Loo, pres. Yu-t'ao, I. ii. 4; II. ii. 2, 9.
- T'ang, another place near the last, I. v. 1.
- T'ang, earl of T'ao, X. xiv. 2.
- Taou, earl of Tsin, VII. iv. 2.
- Taou, duke of Tsin, IX. xvi. 1.
- Taou, duke of Choo, X. i. 10.
- Taou, duke of Hsu, X. xix. 5.
- Taou, duke of T'ao, X. xxviii. 1.
- Taou, duke of T'ang, X. xxviii. 6.
- Taou, duke of K'uei, XI. iv. 10.
- Taou, duke of T'ao, XII. x. 7.
- T'ao, a place in Loo, III. xxvii. 1; V. xxv. 7.
- T'ao, another place in Loo, IX. xvii. 4.
- T'ao, a place in T'ao, V. viii. 1; XI. xiv. 9.
- T'ao-k'uei, a place in Wei, pres. Tung-o, II. x. 3.
- Te-k'uei, a capital of Wei, (See Teou-k'uei), V. xxxi. 9.
- Temou-k'uei, a city of Tsin, VIII. xvi. 12; X. xviii. 8.
- T'eh, a small hill north of T'eh in Wei, XII. ii. 6.
- Teli, wild tribes of the north, III. xxxii. 7; IV. ii. 7; V. viii. 3; x. 2; xiii. 1; xiv. 4; xviii. 4, 6; xx. 8; xxi. 1; xxiv. 2; xxx. 2; xxxi. 8; xxxii. 3, 4; xxxiii. 5, 8; VI. iv. 3; vi. 7; vii. 7; ix. 9; x. 6; xi. 5, 6; xiii. 7; VII. xi. 4; VIII. xii. 3; X. i. 6.
- Red, VII. iii. 4; iv. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 1; VIII. iii. 11.
- White, VII. vii. 6; VIII. ix. 11; IX. xviii. 1; See *See-yu*.
- Teli-k'uei, a city of Tsin, X. xxxi. 2.
- Teli-t'ao, a place near the capital at Loh-yang, V. xxix. 3; X. xviii. 8.
- Tih chin, a great officer of T'ao, V. xxviii. 6.
- Ting, the duke of Loo, XI.
- Ting, duke of Wei, VIII. xv. 1.
- Ting, duke of Ching, X. xxviii. 4.
- Ting, earl of Szech, XI. xii. 1.
- Ting Sue, duchess of Loo, IX. iv. 5;—another, XI. xv. 13.
- T'ou, son of duke Wan of Ch'in, II. vi. 4.
- T'ou-kaou, a city of Woo, XII. xii. 3.
- T'ou, ruler of T'ao, XII. vi. 8.
- T'ao, the State of, I. iv. 4, 5; viii. 4, 7; x. 6; II. ii. 6; v. 6; vi. 4; xi. 7; xiv. 7; xv. 4; xvi. 1, 2; xvii. 4, 5, 6; III. v. 4; viii. 1; x. 5; xiii. 1; xiv. 5; V. iv. 1; xiv. 3; xix. 7; xxi. 4; xxvii. 5; xxviii. 8, 13; xxx. 3; VI. x. 7; xv. 7; VII. xvii. 2, 5; VIII. viii. 2; IX. viii. 3; xx. 5; xxvi. 9; xxvii. 2; xxx. 2, 9; X. i. 2; iv. 2, 3; v. 3; xi. 2, 3, 9; xiii. 9, 10; xv. 3; xx. 5; xxi. 1, 6; xxiii. 5, 7; XL. iv. 2, 3, 11, 4; v. 2; XII. i. 2; ii. 8, 9; iii. 7; iv. 1, 2, 5, 10.

## T

- Ta-keih, a place in Sung, VII. ii. 1.
- Ta-loo, a place in Tsin, X. i. 2.
- Tao, a small State, pres. K'ao-shing, I. x. 3.



Tung, a small State on the borders of Loo and Kou, V. xiv. 2; xv. 9; xvi. 8; xix. 3, 4; VII. xviii. 4; VIII. 5; 10; IX. v. 3, 7; xi. 5; X. iv. 7.

Tung, a city, of Ch'ing, IX. i. 3; XII. vii. 3.

Tung, heir-son, and marquis of Wei, VII. xviii. 1; VIII. xiv. 6.

Tung, viscount of Tun, XI. xiv. 3.

Tung-sun Heih, an officer of Loo, IX. xviii. 11.

Tung-sun Hsu, son of Shin of Loo, VIII. i. 5; ii. 3; iv. 4.

Tung-sun Shin (Wao-chung), an officer of Loo, III. xviii. 7; VI. x. 1.

Tu-chu, the State of, II. v. 9; ix. 4; x. 1, 2; xiv. 1; xvi. 1; III. xiv. 1; xviii. 9; xiv. 2, 5; xxv. 3; V. i. 2, 4, 7; iv. 1, 8; v. 4; vi. 2; vii. 6, 7; viii. 1; ix. 2; xiii. 3; xv. 3, 6, 11; xvi. 3; xviii. 1; xix. 2, 5; xxviii. 2, 4, 21; VI. ix. 10, 14; xi. 3; xiv. 4; xv. 3, 12; VII. i. 12; iii. 7; vii. 5; ix. 7; x. 11; xii. 6; xiv. 2, 5; xvii. 5; VIII. ii. 3, 10; iii. 1; v. 7; vii. 3, 6; ix. 2; x. 3; xiii. 3, 4, 6; xv. 3, 4; xvi. 11; xvii. 2, 8; IX. i. 2, 8; ii. 3, 9; v. 7, 11; vii. 9; ix. 6; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. i. 3; xvi. 2; xvii. 3; xviii. 4, 5; xix. 6; xx. 2; xxi. 7. 8; xxi. 4, xxi. 8; xxv. 3; xxvi. 3; xxvii. 2; xxix. 5; xxx. 9; X. i. 3; xi. 7; xiii. 4; xiv. 2, 4; xvii. 1, 4; xx. 2; xxv. 2; xxvii. 4, 5; xxviii. 1; xxix. 4; XI. iv. 2; viii. 3, 11; x. 5; xi. 3; xii. 4; xiii. 4; XII. iii. 6; vi. 10; vii. 5, 6; viii. 1; xiv. 7, 9.

Tu-chu, a place in Ch'ing, IX. vii. 10.

Tu, a river in Loo and T'ao, III. xviii. 2; xxx. 6.

Tu-er, a district west of the Tu river, V. xxi. 1; VII. i. 8; x. 2.

Tu, the State of, I. iii. 6; vi. 2; vii. 4; viii. 6; ix. 6; x. 1, 2, 7; xi. 3; III. ii. 3; iii. 1, 2, 5-8; v. 2; x. 4; xi. 1; xiii. 1; xiv. 6, 7; xv. 3, 7; xvi. 8; xvii. 1, 3; xviii. 1, 2; III. i. 2, 7, 8; ii. 3, 4; iii. 1, 4; iv. 1, 3, 5, 7; v. 2, 4; vi. 5; vii. 1, 4; viii. 3, 5; ix. 1-6; x. 1, 4, 6; xi. 4; xii. 1, 2, 4; xiv. 1, 4; xv. 1, 2, 5; xvi. 4; xvii. 1, 2, 3; xix. 3, 5; xx. 2, 4; xxi. 5, 6; xxiii. 1, 3, 4, 10; xxiv. 3, 4; xxv. 4; xxvii. 2, 7; xxviii. 1, 4, 7; xxix. 5, 6, 7; xxx. 4; xxxi. 2, 6; IV. i. 2, 4, 6; ii. 1, 6; V. i. 2, 4, 5, 7, 10; ii. 4; iii. 6, 6; iv. 1, 8; v. 4; vi. 2; vii. 1, 4, 6; viii. 1; ix. 2; x. 1, 4; xi. 2; xiii. 3, 5; xv. 1, 3, 8; xvi. 5; xvii. 1, 3, 5; xviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; xix. 7; xx. 5; xxi. 2; xxiii. 1; xxv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9; xxvii. 2, 3; xxviii. 5, 8, 14; xxix. 3; xxx. 2; xxxiii. 2, 5, 9; VI. i. 1; ii. 8; iv. 2, 3; ix. 2, 4, 9; xi. 5; xiv. 3, 8, 9, 11, 12; xv. 4, 6, 8, 11, 12; xvi. 1, 3; xvii. 3, 6; xviii. 3, 6, 7, 8; VII. i. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8; iii. 6; iv. 1, 4, 5, 6; v. 1, 3, 3, 5; vii. 2; viii. 2; ix. 1, 2, 4; x. 1, 5, 4, 6, 7, 10, 15, 16, 17; xi. 3; xiii. 1; xiv. 6; xv. 7; xviii. 1, 8; VII. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10; v. 7; vii. 5; viii. 1, 10; ix. 2, 7, 9; x. 3, 4; xi. 4; xiii. 3; xiv. 3, 5; xv. 3, 10; xvi. 8, 10, 13; xvii. 2, 6, 8; xviii. 2, 14; IX. i. 3; ii. 9; iii. 5; v. 7, 11; vi. 8; viii. 4; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xiv. 1, 3, 4; xv. 2, 3; vi. 9, 11, 13; xx. 2, 7; xxi. 6; xxi. 4; xxi. 8, 13; xxiv. 2, 5; xxv. 1, 2; xxvii. 1, xxviii. 6; xxix. 5, 10; xxx. 9; X. i. 2, 4, 6, 12; ii. 1, 2, 4; v. 3, 5; vi. 3; viii. 2; x. 5; xi. 7; xii. 4, 10; xiii. 2, 4, 7, 11; xiv. 1; xv. 5, 6; xvi. 3, 4, 6, 7; xvii. 4; xxi. 2, 7; xxiii. 1, 3, 4, 10; xxiv. 2; xxv. 2; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 2; xix. 2; xxx. 2, 3; xxxi. 2, 4; xxxii. 4; XI. i. 1; iii. 1; iv. 12; v. 6; vi. 4, 5; viii. 7, 10; x. 4; xii. 5, 6, 7; XII. i. 5; ii. 6; iv. 6; v. 3; vi. 2; vii. 2; x. 5; xii. 3, 7; xiv. 11; xv. 6.

i. xiv. 7, 9; xv. 7; XII. i. 5; iii. 1; v. 2, 4, 5, 6; vi. 4, 7, 8; viii. 3, 7; x. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8; xi. 1, 3, 4; xiv. 3, 10; xv. 2, 7, 8.

T'ao Goh, an officer of Wei, X. i. 2.

T'ao N'ang, duchess of Loo, IX. ii. 7.

T'ao-k'ao-joo, a tribe of Red Taih, VIII. iii. 11.

T'aoan, an officer of T'ao, VI. ix. 12.

T'aoeh, ruler of Sung, III. xii. 3.

T'aoeh, earl of Ch'ing, V. xxxii. 2.

T'aoeh-t'ao, a son of duke Wan of Choo, VI. xiv. 7.

T'aoen, a town of Loo, I. ii. 1.

T'aoen-t'oo, a place in Ch'ing, V. xxviii. 8.

T'aoeh, a place in Sung, II. ii. 3.

T'aoeh, a city of Wei, VI. i. 9; VIII. xv. 3; IX. ii. 6; v. 7; xiv. 7; xvi. 2; XII. ii. 5; iii. 1; xvi. 1.

T'aoeh, a city of Choo, surrendered to Loo, IX. xxi. 2; XI. xv. 14.

T'aoen, the tower of, at Lang in Loo, VI. xvi. 5.

Tain, the State of, V. ii. 3; v. i. 9; viii. 3; ix. 5, 6; x. 3, 5; xi. 1; xv. 13; xvi. 5; xxviii. 1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 15, 18, 19; xix. 3; xxx. 3, 8; xxxi. 2; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 3, 4, 13; VI. i. 6, 8, 9; ii. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8; x. 2; xi. 2; xii. 7; xiii. 6, 8; xiv. 1, 4, 7; xv. 1, 7, 9; xvi. 1; VII. i. 3, 11, 12, 13, 14; ii. 2, 3, 4; vi. 1; vii. 5; viii. 6; ix. 7, 8, 9, 12; x. 11; xi. 4; xii. 3, 6; xiii. 4; xiv. 3; xv. 3, 4; xvi. 1; xvii. 5; xviii. 1, 6, 8; VIII. i. 5; ii. 3; iii. 1, 6, 8, 11, 12; v. 3, 7; vi. 6, 10, 11; vii. 5, 9; viii. 1, 2, 9, 10; ix. 2, 8, 11; x. 3, 5, 6; xi. 1, 2, 5; xii. 1, 2, 3; xiii. 1, 2; xiv. 2; xv. 3, 4, 9, 10; xvi. 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14; xvii. 2, 7, 8, 13; xviii. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 14; IX. i. 2, 3, 7; ii. 5, 6, 9; iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9; iv. 2, 6; v. 1, 3, 7, 11; vi. 7; vii. 9; viii. 1, 4, 5, 9; ix. 2, 5; x. 1, 2, 5, 7; xi. 4, 8, 11; xii. 3, 6; xiii. 1; xiv. 1, 3, 7; xv. 7; xvi. 1, 2, 3, 7, 10; xviii. 2, 4; xix. 2, 5, 15; xx. 2; xxi. 1, 3, 4, 8; xxii. 4; xxiii. 7, 8, 9, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; xxv. 3; xxvi. 4, 7; xxvii. 2, 4; xxviii. 2, 5; xxix. 5, 6, 11; xxx. 5, 9; X. i. 2, 4, 6, 12; ii. 1, 2, 4; v. 3, 5; vi. 3; viii. 2; x. 5; xi. 7; xii. 4, 10; xiii. 2, 4, 7, 11; xiv. 1; xv. 5, 6; xvi. 3, 4, 6, 7; xvii. 4; xxi. 2, 7; xxiii. 1, 3, 4, 10; xxiv. 2; xxv. 2; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 2; xix. 2; xxx. 2, 3; xxxi. 2, 4; xxxii. 4; XI. i. 1; iii. 1; iv. 12; v. 6; vi. 4, 5; viii. 7, 10; x. 4; xii. 5, 6, 7; XII. i. 5; ii. 6; iv. 6; v. 3; vi. 2; vii. 2; x. 5; xii. 3, 7; xiv. 11; xv. 6.

Tain, marquis of Wei, I. iv. 7; II. xii. 8.

Tain, the State of, V. xviii. 5, 15; xix. 3; xxx. 5; xxxii. 8; VI. ii. 1, 7; iii. 8; iv. 5; v. 5; vii. 5, 6; ix. 13; x. 2; xii. 6, 7; xvi. 6; xviii. 2; VII. ii. 2; iv. 2; vii. 6; xv. 4; VIII. ii. 10; ix. 11; xii. 3, 5; xiv. 7; IX. x. 5; xi. 11; xiv. 3; X. i. 4; v. 7; vi. 2; XI. ix. 6, 7; XII. iii. 6; iv. 3.

Tain, a place in Loo, III. xxi. 5.

Tain-yang, a place in Tain, XI. xii. 3.

Tain-t'ang, a place in Loo, X. xi. 6.

Tain, duke of T'ao, XI. viii. 11.

Tain, a place in Wei, I. iv. 3.

Tain-k'ue, a place in Wei, VII. xii. 6.

Tao, heir of Sung, IX. xxi. 6; X. iv. 2; xxv. 8.

Tao, the State of (See K'ang), V. i. 6; ii. 8; iii. 7; iv. 1, 3, 6; v. 7; vi. 3; xi. 4; xii. 2; xv. 2, 16; xix. 7; xx. 5; xxi. 2, 4, 6; xii. 2, 4; xiii. 3; xxv. 3; xxvi. 5-8; xxvii. 5; xxviii. 5, 6, 7; 11; VI. i. 10; ii. 4, 7; iv. 4; v. 6; ix. 8, 12; x. 3, 7; xi. 1; xii. 4; xvi. 6; VII. i. 10; iii.



4, 5; iv. 7; v. 6; viii. 1, 12; ix. 12; x. 19; xii. 2, 5; xli. 2, 3, 5; xlii. 2; xiv. 4; xv. 1, 2; xviii. 3; XVIII. II. 8, 9, 10; vi. 9; vii. 5; ix. 10; xv. 7, 9; xvi. 6, 7; xvii. 14; xviii. 12; IX. 1, 4; II. 10; III. 1; v. 10; vii. 8; viii. 8; ix. 6; x. 4, 10; xi. 7, 10; xli. 5; xlii. 3; xiv. 6; xviii. 6; xx. 5, 6; xxi. 4; xxii. 8; xxiii. 6; xxiv. 3; xxv. 8, 10; xxvi. 8; 9; xxvii. 2; xxviii. 7, 9; xxix. 1, 2; xxx. 1; X. 1, 2, 11, 12; iv. 2, 4; v. 2, 6; vi. 7, 8; vii. 2, 6; viii. 4, 9; ix. 1; xi. 2, 3, 9; xli. 6, 9; xlii. 2, 3; xvi. 2; xvii. 6; xxi. 6; xxii. 2; xxiii. 5; xxvi. 6, 8; xxvii. 3; xxx. 4; XI. II. 3; iv. 2, 11, 14; xiv. 3; xv. 3; XII. 1, 2; iv. 6; vi. 6; ix. 3; x. 11; xli. 4; xiv. 6, 13, 14.

Ts'oo, a palace built by the duke of Loo like those of Ts'oo, IX. xxii. 2.

Ts'oo-k'ew, a place in Wei, I. vii. 7;—another, the capital of Wei, V. II. 1.

Ts'ung, a small State, pres. Se-gan, VII. I. 15.

Ts'ung Shao, an officer of Ch'in, XII. xiv. 3.

Ts'uy, a place in Loo, II. xvii. 2.

Ts'uy, a family of Ts'ue, VII. x. 3.

Ts'uy Ch'ao, an officer of Ts'ue, VIII. xviii. 14; IX. 1, 2; II. 8; xxiv. 5; xxv. 1, 2.

Ts'uan-han, a place in the territory of the Ts'ui, VII. xi. 4.

Ts'ue, a city of Ke, III. 1, 8.

Ts'ue, a place in Loo, III. xi. 2.

Ts'ue, a place given by K'au to Loo, X. v. 4.

Ts'ue, the wife of duke Yin of Loo, I. II. 8.

Ts'ue-foo, duke of Sung, V. xxiii. 2.

Ts'ue-gao, a minister of Sung, VI. xiv. 10.

Ts'ue-k'au, son of duke Hsiao of Ts'ue, III. ix. 8.

Ts'ue-low, a place, pres. Ts'ue-ning Chow, V. xxviii. 6.

Ts'ue-pih, an officer of Ke, I. II. 7.

Ts'ue-shen Ch'ing, an officer of Wei, XII. xvi. 2.

Ts'ue-t'ui, an officer of the king, III. vi. 1.

Ts'ue, a minister of Sung, II. II. 1.

Ts'ue, earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 5; xv. 4, 9; III. xxi. 2, 4.

Ts'ue, a small State within Ch'in, V. xxv. 5; IX. iv. 7; X. iv. 2, 4; v. 8; xlii. 7; XI. iv. 7; xiv. 3.

Ts'ue, a son of duke Hsiao of Loo, II. vi. 3.

Ts'ue-k'uei, marquise of Ts'ue, X. xlii. 5.

Ts'ue, younger brother of the duke of Ch'ing, I. 1, 3.

Ts'ue-t'au, a place in Ts'ui, VII. xvii. 5.

## W

Wa, a place in Wei, XI. viii. 7, 8.

Wan, a city in the royal domain, V. x. 2; xxviii. 13.

Wan, the duke of Loo, VI.

Wan, duke of Wei, V. xxv. 6.

Wan, duke of Ts'ui, V. xxviii. 4.

Wan, duke of Ch'ing, VII. II. 1.

Wan, duke of Ts'ao, VII. xiv. 5.

Wan, duke of Ts'ue, VII. xvii. 3.

Wan, duke of Sung, VIII. III. 5.

Wan, duke of K'ue, X. vi. 4.

Wan of Loo, XI. iv. 13.

Wan K'ang, the wife of duke Hsiao of Loo, III. xxi. 2. See K'ang.

Wan of Sung, who murdered his ruler, III. xii. 2, 4.

Wan-yang, a territory of Ts'ue, taken by Loo, VIII. II. 7; restored, viii. 1.

Wang-shin, duke of Sung, VI. vii. 3.

Wei, the State of, I. II. 9; iv. 2-7; v. 2, 3; viii. 1, 6; x. 3, 6; II. III. 2; v. 6; x. 3, 4; xi. 1, 6; xli. 8; xlii. 1, 2; xiv. 7; xv. 10; xvi. 1, 2; xvii. 7; III. III. 1; v. 4; vi. 1-5; xiv. 4; xv. 1; xvi. 2, 4; xxv. 2; xxviii. 1; IV. II. 7; V. iv. 1, 6; v. 4; vi. 2; viii. 1; ix. 2; x. 2; xv. 3; xli. 1, 3; xli. 5; xviii. 1, 6; xix. 6; xxi. 1; xlii. 2; xxv. 1, 2, 6, 7; xxvi. 1, 4; xxviii. 1, 2, 3, 8, 11, 13, 19; xxx. 2, 4; xxxi. 8, 9; xxxii. 3, 4; VI. I. 6, 8; II. 1; iv. 6; ix. 8; xlii. 6, 7; xiv. 4; xvii. 1; VIII. 1, 5, 12; II. 3; vi. 1; vii. 1, 6; ix. 7, 10; x. 5, 11; xli. 6, 7; xiv. 1; xvii. 5; xviii. 1; VIII. II. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10; III. 1, 2, 11, 12; v. 7; vi. 4; vii. 3, 9; viii. 11; ix. 2; x. 1, 3; xli. 2; xlii. 3; xiv. 2, 6; xv. 1, 3, 10; xvi. 8; xvii. 1, 2, 8; xviii. 14; IX. 1, 2, 7; II. 5, 8, 9; III. 5; v. 4, 7, 11; vii. 7, 9; viii. 4; ix. 3; x. 1, 7; xli. 4, 8; xli. 1, 3, 4, 7; xli. 2, 7; xvii. 3; xviii. 2; xx. 2; xli. 8; xlii. 4; xlii. 8; xxiv. 3; xxv. 3, 7; xxvi. 1, 2, 3, 7; xxvii. 2, 3, 4; xxviii. 2; xxix. 3, 5, 9; xxx. 9; X. 1, 2; vi. 6; vii. 6, 9; xi. 7; xli. 4; xviii. 2; xx. 3; xxv. 2; xxvii. 4; xxxii. 8; XI. iv. 3, 12; vii. 4, 5; viii. 10, 13, 14; ix. 5; x. 4, 10; xli. 4; xlii. 1, 4; xiv. 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 12; xv. 7; XII. 1, 5; II. 8, 5, 7; III. 1; v. 8; vii. 2; x. 2; xli. 7; xli. 4; xlii. 7; xiv. 9, 11; xv. 5, 8; xvi. 1, 2.

Wei, the marquise of Wei, V. xxv. 1, 2, 6.

Wei Man-to, an officer of Ts'ui, XII. vii. 2; xlii. 7.

Wei Pe, an officer of Ts'ue, IX. xxx. 1; X. vi. 7.

Woo, the State of, (Ch'ue), VII. viii. 7; VIII.

vii. 2, 7; xv. 10; IX. III. 1; v. 4, 7; x. 1;

xli. 4; xxiv. 3; xxv. 10; xxix. 4, 8; X. 1, 8;

iv. 4; v. 8; vi. 7; xlii. 12; xv. 1; xvii. 4;

xlii. 7; xxiv. 6; xxvii. 2; xxx. 4; xxxii. 3.

XI. II. 3; iv. 13, 15; v. 3; xiv. 5, 6; XII.

III. 7; iv. 2; vi. 3, 5; vii. 8; viii. 2; x. 2, 11;

xi. 3, 4; xli. 3; xlii. 5, 5.

Woo, a city of Ke, III. 1, 8.

Woo, a city of Loo, VI. vii. 2.

Woo, duke or marquise of Loo from 825 to 815 B. C.; VIII. vi. 2; X. xv. 2.

Woo, marquise of Ch'in, IX. iv. 1; xlii. 9; XI. iv. 1.

Woo, heir of Ts'ue, IX. v. 3.

Woo, duke of Ts'ui, X. xiv. 4.

Woo, earl of Ts'ui, X. xxvii. 3.

Woo-sho, a nobleman of Ts'ue, III. viii. 5; ix. 1.

Woo, a family name at the court of Chow, I. III. 4.

Woo-foo, a place in Ch'ing, II. xii. 7.

Woo-hsiao, an officer of Loo, I. II. 3; viii. 10.

Woo-ke, marquise of Ts'ue, II. vii. 3.

Woo-low, a place in K'ue, VII. xv. 7.

Woo-sung, earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 2.

Woo-sho, a city of Ts'ui, XI. ix. 5.

Woo-shing, a city of Loo, IX. xix. 16.

Woo-jay, marquise of Ts'ue, VIII. ix. 7.

## Y

Ya, son of duke Hsiao of Loo, III. xxvii. 3.

Ya-urh, a place in the royal domain, I. viii. 6.

Yang, a small State, pres. K-shway, IV. II. 1.

Yang, a place in North Yen, X. xli. 1.

Yang, the third duke of Loo, XI. 1, 5.

Yang, earl of Ts'ui, XII. viii. 1.

Yang Ch'ue-foo, (See Ch'ue-foo) an officer of Ts'ui, VI. II. 3; III. 7; vi. 6.



- Yang-chow, a border-city between Loo and Ta'e, X. xxv. 4.  
 Yang-kuh, a place in Ta'e, V. iii. 5; xi. 2: VI. xvi. 1.  
 Yang-sung, Kung-tse, of Ta'e, XII. vi. 7; afterwards marquis, x. 3.  
 Yay, son of the duke of Loo, IX. xxxi. 3.  
 Yay-tsing, a city of Ta'e, X. xxv. 6.  
 Yeh, baron of Hsu, VI. v. 7.  
 Yen, a small State, pres. dis. Keih in Ho-nan, II. xii. 3; xiii. 1.  
 Yen, North, a State, IX. xxix. 10; X. iii. 7; vi. 9; vii. 1; xii. 1; XII. xv. 2.  
 Yen, a place in Ch'ing, pres. Yen-ling, I. i. 3.  
 Yen, a city of Ch'ing, XII. xiii. 1.  
 Yen, a place in Loo, V. i. 8.  
 Yen, a place in Ta'e, V. xviii. 3.  
 Yen-ling, Yen in Ch'ing, VIII. xxi. 8.  
 Yen, half-brother of the duke of Loo, VIII. xvi. 16.  
 Yen-ssu, heir of Ch'ia, X. viii. 1.  
 Yew, a place in Sung, pres. K'au-shing, III. xvi. 4; xxvii. 2.  
 Yew, a great officer of Loo, II. xi. 7.  
 Yew, a son of duke Hwan of Loo, III. xxv. 6; xxvii. 5; V. i. 9; iii. 6; xii. 6; xiii. 5; xvi. 2.  
 Yew, heir of Ts'ao, X. xi. 9.  
 Yew Keih, an officer of Ch'ing, X. xxv. 3.  
 Yew Suh, an officer of Ch'ing, XI. vi. 1; x. 10.  
 Yih, a city of Choo, VII. x. 13.  
 Yih, viscount of Choo, XII. vii. 4; viii. 4; x. 1.  
 Yih, an officer of Little Choo, XII. xiv. 1.  
 Yih-koo, heir of Ts'ao, II. ix. 4; III. xxiii. 9.  
 Yih-koo, earl of K'e, X. vi. 1.  
 Yin, a family name, I. iii. 5; X. xxiii. 8; xxxi. 3.  
 Yin, the viscount of, VIII. xvi. 10; xvii. 2.  
 Yin, son of duke Siang of Loo, X. xii. 8.  
 Yin, duke of Tang, XII. xi. 6.  
 Ying, the capital of Ts'oo, XI. iv. 15.  
 Ying, a place in Ta'e, II. iii. 1.  
 Ying, earl of Ts'in, VI. xviii. 2.  
 Ying, the lady, of Loo, VII. viii. 5.  
 Ying-sho, a small State subordinate to Ts'oo, V. xvii. 1.  
 Ying-t'ao, viscount of Tang, V. xix. 1.  
 Ying-urb, viscount of the Loo tribe of Red Telh, VII. xv. 3.  
 Yoh, marquis of Chin, II. xii. 4.  
 Yoh K'e-le, an officer of Sung, X. xxv. 2; XI. x. 8; xi. 3.  
 Yoh K'wan, an officer of Sung, XII. iii. 3.  
 Yoh Ts'ui, an officer of Sung, X. xxv. 2; XI. x. 8; xi. 3.  
 Yu, a small State, pres. Ping-luh, V. ii. 5; v. 9.  
 Yu, a small State within Loo, X. xviii. 3.  
 Yu, a place in Sung, V. xxi. 4.  
 Yu, a place in Loo, IX. xv. 3.  
 Yu, the younger brother of the earl of Ch'ing, II. xiv. 3.  
 Yu-chao, viscount of Woo, IX. xxix. 4.  
 Yu-e, the ruler of Sung, II. ii. 1.  
 Yu-k'ow, son of the marquis of Ch'in, III. xxi. 3.  
 Yu Shih, an officer of Sung, VIII. xv. 9; xviii. 5.  
 Yu-woo, viscount of Tang, XII. xi. 5.  
 Yu-yu-k'ow, a small State not far from Loo, III. ii. 2.  
 Yu-yueh, the State of Yuch, XI. v. 3; xiv. 3; XII. xiii. 5.  
 Yu-yueh, duke of Sung, V. ix. 1.  
 Yuch, the State of, (Chuen, VII. vii. 7), X. v. 8; viii. 9; xxii. 2; XI. v. 5; xiv. 5; XII. xiii. 5.  
 Yuch, a place in Wei or Loo, the same as Ch'uy, II. i. 4.  
 Yuen, duke of Sung, X. xxvi. 1.  
 Yuen, duke of Hsu, XII. xiii. 8.  
 Yuen, marquis of T'ao, VII. x. 4.  
 Yuen, viscount of Tang, X. iii. 1.  
 Yuen, marquis of Wei, XII. ii. 3.  
 Yuen, an officer of Ch'ing, I. viii. 2.  
 Yuen Chung, a minister of Ch'ia, III. xxvii. 3.  
 Yuen Hsuen, an officer of Wei, V. xxviii. 11, 19; xxx. 3.  
 Yuen K'iao, an officer of Chin, IX. iii. 6, 7.  
 Yuen-ling, a town of K'e, V. xiv. 1.  
 Yuen-low, a place in Ta'e, VII. ii. 4.  
 Yuen Mao, an officer of Chin, XII. xiv. 14.  
 Yuen P'ao, an officer of Chin, XII. xi. 2.  
 Yuen Ts'ao-p'ao, a great officer of Chin, V. iv. 4.  
 Yuh-le, earl of K'e, X. xxiv. 6.  
 Yun, a town in Loo, VI. xii. 3; VII. ix. 10; IX. xii. 2; X. i. 3, 9; xiv. 9; xxvi. 2, 5; xxvii. 1, 8; xxix. 1, 6; XI. vi. 7; x. 5;—another, VIII. iv. 8.  
 Yun, a place in Woo, XII. xii. 4.  
 Yung, a State, in pres. Hoo-pih, VI. xvi. 6.  
 Yung, a clan-name in Chow, III. i. 6.  
 Yung-k'ow, a place in Sung, XII. ix. 2.  
 Yung-shing, a place within Ts'oo, XI. iv. 7.  
 Yung-yu, a place belonging to Tsin, IX. xxiii. 9.



# INDEX III.

## OF CHINESE CHARACTERS AND PHRASES:—

INTENDED ALSO TO HELP TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF A DICTIONARY AND CONCORDANCE FOR THE CLASSICS.

### THE 1ST RADICAL. 一

One. Found only in the specification of years and months:—**一** 十有一年, in the eleventh year, I. xl. 1; **一** 十有一月, in the eleventh month, 2, 4; **一** 二十有一年, in the twenty-first year, III. xxi. 1; **一** 三十有一年, in the thirty-first year, V. xxxi. 1. For the first year we always find **一** 元年, and for the first month, **一** 正月.

A calendaric stem-character;—in the specification of days. II. i. 4; vi. 5; et seqs.

Seven. Found, like 一, in the specification of years and months:—**一** 七月, in the seventh month, I. i. 4; **一** 七年, in the seventh year, I. vii. 1; **一** 十有七年, in the 17th year, III. xvii. 1; **一** 二十有七年, in the twenty-seventh year, III. xxvii. 1.

Three. In the phrase **一** 三望, to offer the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey, V. xxxi. 5; VII. iii. 2; et al. What those objects were is uncertain. A third time, IX. vii. 2. The character is generally found in the specification of years and months:—**一** 三年三月, in the third year, in the third month; **一** 十有三年, in the thirteenth year; **一** 三十年, in the thirtieth year; **一** 二十有三年三十有三年, in the 33d, in the 33d year.

(1) — the first, X. xxv. 4. (3) 鹿上, the name of a place in Sung;—in the pres. dia. of 太和 dep. 潁州, Guo-hway.

下  
hēo

(1) Beneath. After the noun. 于臺下, VI. xviii. 1. (2) 下陽, the second city in the State of Kweh (魏), in the north-east of the present dia. of Ping-sh, now in Kiao Chow, Shan-se. V. ii. 2.

下  
hēo  
不  
pūh

To decline. Used of the sun. XI. xv. 12 (日下景).

(1) Not. III. vii. 2; xxxi. 6; V. ii. 5; iii. 1, 2; et al. (2) 不信, name of an officer of Tsin. X. xxxii. 4. 不敢, name of an officer of Loo. XI. v. 3.

A calendaric branch-character. II. v. 1; viii. 3; et seqs.

丑  
ch'ow  
且  
tsū

且, name of a viscount of Choo. VIII. xvii. 12.

And, VI. v. 1.

且  
ts'ing  
世  
shē

(1) In the phrase 世子, heir-son, the son to whom it has been declared, or it is understood, that the succession belongs. II. ix. 4; V. v. 1, 4; vii. 4; viii. 1; et al. The application of the phrase in II. xv. 5 is anomalous. (2) 世叔, a clan-name in Wei. IX. xxix. 5; X. xxxii. 4; XII. xi. 7. (3) 世室, — see under 大.

丕  
p'ie  
丘  
k'ie

A clan-name in Tsin. V. xi. 1.

(1) A mound or hill. It is found often making up the names of towns, cities, and districts. We have 中丘 in Loo,—in the pres. dep. of Lan-shan, dep. E-chow, I. vii. 3; x. 1; 祝丘, also in Loo, and somewhere in the pres. dep. of E-chow, II. v. 5; III. iv. 1; 咸丘, in Loo,—in pres. dep. of Yeo-chow, II. vii. 1; 楚丘, in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Tracu, dep. Ts'au-chow, Shan-tung;



also another city in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Hwah, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le, V. II. 1: **桃丘**, in Wei,—in pres. dia. of Tung-a, dep. Tung-ch'ang (now in dep. of T'ao-gan), Shan-tung, II. x. 3: **穀丘**, in Sung,—in pres. dep. of Ts'au-chow, II. xii. 3: **乘丘**, in Loo,—in pres. dep. of T'ao-yang, Yen-chow, III. x. 4: **梁丘**, in Ts'e,—in pres. dia. of Shing-woo, dep. Ts'au-chow, III. xxii. 3: **葵丘**, in Sung,—in pres. dia. of K'au-shing, dep. Kwei-fung, V. ix. 2, 4: **牡丘**, in Ts'e,—in pres. dia. of Liao-shing, dep. Tung-ch'ang, V. xv. 3: **帝丘**, in Wei,—in pres. K'ao Chow, dep. Ta-ming, V. xxi. 13: **鄆丘**, in Ts'e,—in the pres. dia. of Tung-a, dep. T'ao-gan, VI. xvi. 3: **清丘**, in Wei,—in pres. K'ao Chow, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le, VII. xii. 6: **苕丘**, in Ts'in, situation unknown, VIII. xvi. 12: **邢丘**, in Ts'in,—in pres. dia. of Ho-nan, dep. Hwa-k'ing, Ho-nan, IX. viii. 4: **閭丘**, in Ken,—probably in pres. dia. of Ts'ow, dep. Yen-chow, IX. xxi. 2: **重丘**, in Ts'e,—in pres. dia. of Liao-shing, dept. Tung-ch'ang, IX. xxv. 5: **平丘**, in Ts'in,—in pres. dia. of Ch'in-law, dep. K'ao-fung, X. xiii. 4: **雍丘**, in Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of K'ao, dep. K'ao-fung, XII. ix. 2: (2) **於餘丘**, probably the name of a barbarous tribe, III. iii. 2. (2) **柏丘**, name of a duke of Sung, VI. xvi. 7. (3) The name of Confucius. In the 16th year of duke Gao, par. 4. (4) A territorial designation,—a space occupied by 144 families. **作丘甲**, he made the *t'ao* and bull-coat ordonances, VIII. 1, 4. **丘** is often written **邱**.

丙  
ching

# THE 2d RADICAL. 丨.

中  
chung

(1) Middle, that which is in the midst. **中夜**, at mid-night, III. vii. 2. **日中**, at mid-day, VII. viii. 10. **中軍**, the middle army, the army of the centre, —the third army, X. v. 1. (2) In the names of cities. **中丘**—see **丘中城**, in VIII. ix. 13; XI. vi. 6, is uncertain. Many think it was the name of a

city of Loo. I am inclined to suppose it means an inner wall in the capital, surrounding the ducal palace and the buildings belonging to it.

## THE 3d RADICAL.

丹  
tan  
主  
chou

To paint of a red colour, III. xxiii. 8.

A spirit-tablet, VI. ii. 2.

## THE 4th RADICAL.

乃  
no

A conjunction, meaning—*and*, and *so*. V. xxi. 3; VII. iii. 1; viii. 3; IX. vii. 2; xi. 3; X. ii. 4; xii. 4; xiii. 11; xxi. 6; XI. iii. 1.

之  
che

(1) Of. The sign of the possessive. The regent follows the 之 and the regimen precedes it, I, 1, 4; III. xix. 3; V. xv. 10; et al. (2) The objective case of the 3d personal pronoun, without reference to number or gender. In the Ch'un Ts'ew, however, only = *it*, him. I. iii. 2; II. iii. 4; xvii. 5 (In these and many other instances, 之 occurs in the phrase 日有食之—日有所食之者, descriptive of an eclipse): X. viii. 5, 9; xi. 2, 9; et al. (3) 舍之, a name, IX. xi. 3; xxv. 1.

乘  
shing

(1) Name of a viscount of Woo, IX. xii. 4. (2) **乘丘**, a city in Loo:—see **丘**.

## THE 5th RADICAL. 乙.

乙  
yih

A calendaric stem-character, I. ii. 7; III. i. 7; et saepe.

九  
kau

Nine. Used in the specification of years and months. **九年九月**, **十有九年**, &c. I. 1, 5; II. 5; ix. 1; III. xix. 1; xxix. 1; et saepe.

乞  
Pek

(1) To ask, to beg. V. viii. 3; xxvi. 3; VIII. xlii. 1; xvi. 5; et al. (2) Name of a minister of Ts'e, XII. vi. 7.

乾  
kuan

(1) **乾時**, a place in Ts'e,—in pres. dia. of Poh-hing, dep. T'ing-chow, III. ix. 5. (2) **乾侯**, a place in Ts'in,—in pres. dia. of Ch'ing-gan, dept. Kwang-ping, Chih-le, X. xxviii. 2; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1; xxxii. 1, 6. (3) **乾谿**, a city in Ts'oo,—in pres. Poh-chow, dep. Ying-chow, Gao-hwuy, X. xiii. 2.

亂  
luan

Confusion, disorder, II. ii. 3. To be in confusion, X. xxii. 6.



## THE 6th RADICAL 丿

事  
see

Business. Used for the business of sacrifice. 有事 VII. viii. 3; X. xv. 2.

大事, the great business, meaning the fortunate *te* sacrifice. VI. ii. 6.

## THE 7th RADICAL 二

二  
wā

Two; the second. In the specification of months and years. 二月二年.

十有二月十有二年二十 (the twentieth), &c. I. i. 6; ii. 1, 7; iii. 1; *et passim*.于  
yuA preposition. In, at. I. i. 2, 3, 5; ii. 1, 4, 7; *et passim*. Sometimes we must translate it by *to* as in I. ii. 6. In II. ii. 4, we must translate it—now by *from*, and now by *into*.五  
woo(1) Five. V. xvi. 1. The fifth. In the specification of months and years. I. i. 3; ii. 2; v. 1; *et passim*. A fifth time. VIII. x. 2. (2) 五氏, a city of Tsin, in pres. dia. of Han-tan, dep. Kwang-ping, Chih-le. XI. ix. 5.井  
say

野井, a city of Ts'u, in pres. dia. of Tse-ho, dep. Tse-nan. I. xxv. 6.

## THE 8th RADICAL 亡

亡  
wang

To perish, to become extinct. V. xix. 8.

交  
kiao

交剛, a place where Tsin defeated the Teli;—must have been near the pres. dep. of Yen-gan, Shen-se, but probably on the east of the Ho. VIII. xii. 3.

亥  
hai(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. viii. 4; II. vii. 1; *et passim*. (2) Name of a minister of Sung. X. xi. 7; xx. 4; xxi. 3; xxii. 2.享  
hang

To entertain. But the entertaining which went by this name was mainly confined to drinking, accompanied by complimentary offerings. The animals whose flesh should have served as food were set forth whole and not partaken of. It is not easy, however, to make out the exact difference in the Chow times between the 享 and the 宴 III. iv. 1.

京  
kingIn the phrase 京師, the capital II. ix. 1; V. xxviii. 15; xxx. 8; VI. i. 7; viii. 6; ix. 3; *et al.*亳  
poh

The name of the capital of T'ung, the founder of the Yin dynasty. We have 亳社 in XII. iv. 8, an altar to the capital of Lo, commemorative of the Yin or Shang dynasty. 亳城, the wall

of Poh in IX. xi. 3 is said to have been a city of Ch'ing; and to the K'ang-ho editors, in pres. dia. of Yen-sia, dep. Ku-nan; which would make the city the same as the ancient capital of Tang, which was in the royal State of Chow. Probably the reading of Kung and Kub, 京城—should here be adopted. King was in the pres. dia. of Yang-yang, dep. K'ang-fung.

## THE 9th RADICAL 人

人  
jin

Man, men. 人 is variously used in the Chun T'ew in a way which is very perplexing to the student. (1) It is often—the people, following the name of a State. E.g., I. iv. 6, 7; II. vi. 4; iii. 4; III. ix. 1, 6; V. xix. 1, 4; VI. vii. 4; xix. 7, 11, 12; xvi. 7; xviii. 3; IX. xvi. 2. In most of these, and the other instances where I have thus translated 人, the meaning is accepted by most commentators. What is predicated belongs to the action, as it were, of the whole State. (2) It is often—a minister or high officer, also following the name of a State.

E.g., I. i. 5; II. xi. 1; III. vi. 1 (王人); xix. 3; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 4; V. i. 1; ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5, 8; viii. 1 (王人); xix. 2, 7. This usage occurs *passim*. In many cases the meaning is obvious; in others, the meaning which immediately follows would also be suitable. (3) It often means *arm*, equivalent to a body of men, a small military force, under the command, we may suppose, of an officer of no great distinction;—the name of the State, as before, preceding. E.g., I. ii. 2, 9; iv. 4, 5 perhaps the 2d meaning is here preferable; x. 5, 6; III. viii. 1; xix. 5; xxviii. 1; IV. i. 2; ii. 1; V. ii. 8. (4)

夫人, the wife of the prince of a State. I. ii. 7; III. xix. 4; xx. 1; *et passim*. (5) 行

人, a messenger from one State to another, an envoy. IX. xi. 10; xviii. 2; X. viii. 4; xxiii. 3; *et al.* (6) In names

商人, a marquis of T'ew. VI. xix. 3; xviii. 3. 封人, a marquis of Ts'au.

II. xvii. 4. 佗人, a minister of Ch'iu. XI. xiv. 3.

仇  
chow

仇牧, name of a great officer of Sung. III. xii. 2. 州仇, name of a minister of Lo. XI. x. 6, 7, 11; xii. 3; XII. ii. 1, 2; iii. 4, 6.

仍  
jing

A surname, or clan-name. II. v. 2.

仍  
jing

The name of one of the wild tribes of the east,—in the pres. K'au-chow, dep. Iac-chow, Shan-tung. V. xxix. 1, 2; xxx. 1.



**令狐**, a place in Tsin, —in pres. dia. of E-sha, dep. P'ao-chow, Shan-se, VI. vii. 5. The scene of a battle between Tsin and Tsin.

**以** (1) Followed by a verb, —**歸**, **叛** or **來**, where it is itself —**將** or **把**, meaning to take. **以歸** —to take back with himself or with themselves, and **以來** —to bring back to Loo. **歸** and **來** being neuter verbs, we cannot resolve the cases into **以**'s being a sign of the accusative case; and the name of the party carried off occurs several times between **以** and **歸** or **來**, evidently in the objective case governed by **以** **以歸**, —see I. vii. 7; III. x. 5; V. I. 5; xxvi. 8; vii. xv. 3; VIII. ix. 1; IX. xvi. 3; X. xi. 8; xiii. 7; XI. iv. 2; vi. 1; xv. 3. **以來**, —see IX. xxi. 2; X. v. 4; XII. vii. 4; xiv. 2. **以叛** is a similar usage. **叛** being a neuter verb, the phrase —and there-with rebelled, and held...in rebellion. See IX. xxvi. 2; XI. xiii. 5, 6; XII. xiv. 7; et al. (3) With, by means of. II. i. 3. Before **師**, and sometimes other terms or phrases, it means —having under control, having at disposal. It is explained in such cases by —**能左右之**. E. g. V. xxvi. 8; XI. iv. 14. (3) To, in order to. II. ii. 3; III. viii. 1. Sometimes it —**遂**, to go on to, and thereupon. V. xxi. 4; XI. vii. 3.

**仲** (1) The second in order of birth, as in I. i. 4; v. 4. It is often the designation, as if it were a name. We have **祭仲**, a minister of Ch'ing, in II. xi. 4, and **原仲**, a minister of Ch'in, in III. xxvii. 3. (2) A clan-name of a great family: —[1.] in Loo, VII. viii. 3; VIII. xv. 2; [ii.] in Sung, X. xxxii. 4; XI. i. 1; x. 12; xi. 1. (3) **仲孫** was the clan-name of one of the three great families of Loo, descended from Duke Hwan. The Chung-suns owed their origin to K'ing-foo, styled **共仲**, first mentioned in III. ii. 2. After VII. ix. 3, where we have an entry about Chung-sun Mesh, the great-grandson of K'ing-foo, the clan-name is continually occurring in connexion with the successive chiefs of the family. (4) There was also a Chung-sun clan in Ts'ao. IV. i. 6. (5) **叔仲** The Shuh-chung was a branch from the Shuh-sun clan of Loo. VI. xi. 2. In xiv. 8, the **仲** is omitted. Different members of it frequently occur in the Tso-chuen.

**任** **商任**, the name of a place unknown. A meeting of the States was held at it. IX. xxi. 8.

**伐** To invade; to make an open attack on another State; —Tso-sha says, with drums beating and bells sounding. I. ii. 8; iv. 4, 5; et al. *et al.*

**伯** (1) The eldest in order of birth. Found often in speaking of the daughters of the marquises of Loo, the eldest of which was **伯姬**. I. ii. 5; III. xxv. 4; xxvii. 1, 6; V. v. 2; xxv. 3; et al. (2) The third title of nobility, —earl. I. i. 3, 6; iii. 7; II. i. 2, 3, 4; et al. (3) Used as the designation. **夷伯** combines the honorary or sacrificial title, and what had been the designation of the officer spoken of, in V. xv. 10. (4) **白紵**, a name. II. iv. 2.

**位** A seat, a place. **即位** is the phrase used for a marquis of Loo succeeding to the place of his predecessor. II. i. 1; VI. i. 1; VII. i. 1; VIII. i. 1; IX. i. 1; X. i. 1; XI. i. 1; XII. i. 1.

**佐** A name. 1st, of a minister of Ts'ao. VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10; —xviii. 3. 2d, of a duke of Sung. X. iv. 2; xxv. 8.

**何** **何忌**, the name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan of Loo; called also **Mang E-tze** (**孟懿子**). X. xxx. ii. 4; XI. iii. 5; vi. 4. (**何** is omitted) 7; viii. 12; xi. 6, 7; xii. 5; XII. i. 6; ii. 1, 2; iii. 9; vi. 8; xiv. 12.

**作** To make. VI. ii. 2. **新作**, to renew and make with alterations. —to enlarge. V. xx. 1; XI. ii. 4. Used with reference to the establishment of new ordinances or institutions. VIII. i. 4; IX. xi. 1.

**佗** A name. 1st, of a usurping marquis of Ch'in. II. vi. 4. 2d, of a minister of Wei. X. xi. 7. 3d, of an officer of Sung. XI. x. 12; xi. 1. **佗人**, a minister of Ch'in. XI. xiv. 2.

**佖** **佖夫**, name of a younger brother of King Ling. IX. xxx. 4.

To cause, to send. I. i. 4; vii. 4; V. xiv. 2; xxi. 6; et al.

(1) To come, meaning to come to Loo, i. e., to the court of Loo. I. i. 4, 6; iii. 8; vii. 4; III. xxvii. 4, 6; IV. i. 3, 6; et al. Only once is it used where the coming is not to Loo; —in V. iv. 3. (2) In names of places. **浮來** in Ken, —in pres.

Ken Chow, dep. E-chow, I. viii. 8. **時來** in Ch'ing, —in pres. dep. of K'ao-fung I. xi. 2. **州來**, in Ts'ao, —in pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy, VIII. vii. 7; X. xiii. 12; XII. ii. 7.



In a name. 黎來, III. v. 3, the chief of the attached territory of E.

侯  
hou

(1) The second order of nobility, = marquis, I. III. 7; IV. 4, 5; *et passim*. (2) 諸侯, the princes, = the States, or the princes of the States, — who have been previously mentioned. V. ix. 4; xiv. 1; xv. 4; VI. xv. 11; xvii. 4; *et al.* (2) 乾侯, — see 乾. (3) Name of a great officer of Ch'ing. V. vii. 3.

To make an incursion into, to make a raid upon. As distinguished from 伐

侵  
ts'in

侵 indicates the comparative secrecy of the invasion. III. xv. 4; xxiv. 8; VI. xv. 8, 12; *et supram.*

Spoils. III. vi. 5.

To wait for. III. viii. 1.

俟  
tsai

不信, — see 不.

To borrow. II. i. 3.

假  
tsai

偃陽, a small State, — in the pres. dia. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow, IX. x. 2.

偃  
tsai

(1) A place, — in pres. dia. of Pe, dep. E-chow, V. i. 8. (2) Name of a half-brother of duke Ch'ing. VIII. xvi. 18. Name of a minister of Ts'in. IX. xiv. 3; xvi. 7. (3) 偃師, name of a prince of Ch'in. X. viii. 1.

The name of a prince of Ts'oo. VIII. xvi. 7.

側  
tsai

The name of a minister of Ts'oo. III. xiii. 5.

係  
tsai

To be hurt, to receive some injury. VII. iii. 1.

傷  
tsai

An honorary or sacrificial title, meaning 'Careful and cautious.' 1st, of a marquis of Ts'oo. II. xv. 3. 2d, of a marquis of Loo. Title of Book V. VI. i. 4; ii. 2, 6; ix. 13; XII. iii. 3. 3d, of a baron of Hen. VI. vi. 1. 4th, of an earl of K'oo. XII. ix. 1.

僑  
tsai

(1) The name of a minister of Ch'in. IX. iii. 6, 7. (2) 僑如, the name of a minister of Loo, the Head of the Shuh-sun clan. VIII. ii. 3; iii. 9; v. 3; vi. 8; viii. 10; xi. 4; xiv. 3, 5; xv. 10; xvi. 13. K'oo-joo was so named from a Teih giant whom his father slew; — see the Chuan on VI. xi. 6.

儀  
tsai

(1) The name of a minister of Wei. IX. xix. 5. (2) 儀父, the designation of a chief of Choo. I. i. 2; II. xvii. 2. He was afterwards made a viscount; — see on III. xvi. 5. (3) 夷儀, a city which appears at first as a new capital of the State of Hing, — near the pres. dep. city of Tung-ch'ang, Shao-tung, V.

i. 3. Hing was afterwards extinguished by Wei; — see V. xxv. 2. Subsequently we meet with E in IX. xxiv. 8; xxv. 3, 7. The name of a viscount of Woo. X. xxvii. 2.

僚  
liao

# THE 10th RADICAL. 儿

元  
yuan

(1) The first. In the phrase 元年, the first year, with which the chronicle of each of the 12 marquises of Loo commences. I. i. 1; II. i. 1; III. i. 1; *et al.* (2) The name of a marquis of Ts'oo. VII. x. 4; of a marquis of Wei. XII. ii. 2; of a minister of Sung. VIII. iv. 1; viii. 4; *et al.* (3) A clan-name. V. xxviii. 11, 19; xxx. 3. (4) The honorary or sacrificial title: — of a duke of Sung. X. xxvi. 1; of a baron of Hen. XII. xiii. 8.

An elder brother. X. xx. 3.

兄  
hsing

(1) Former. XI. viii. 15 (先公, all the former dukes of Loo). (2) A clan-name in Ts'in. VI. vii. 6; ix. 4; VII. xiii. 4.

光  
kwang

The name: — 1st, of a prince of Ts'oo, IX. iii. 5; v. 7; ix. 5; x. 1, 7; xi. 4, 8; xxv. 2; 2d, of a viscount of Woo. XI. xiv. 4.

克  
k'ik

(1) To overcome, to conquer. I. i. 3. (2) To effect, to succeed in. VI. xiv. 7; VII. viii. 10; XI. xv. 12. (3) The name: — 1st, of a viscount of Choo, III. xvi. 6; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'in, V. ix. 6; x. 8; 3d, of another great officer of Ts'in, VIII. ii. 3; iii. 11.

免  
mien

To let go, — used of letting a victim off. V. xxxi. 3; VIII. vii. 1; IX. vii. 2.

兒  
erh

(1) 嬰兒, the name of a viscount of the Loo tribe of the Teih. VII. xv. 3. (2) 諸兒, name of a marquis of Ts'oo. III. viii. 5.

# THE 11th RADICAL. 入

入  
ju

To enter, to come or go in. III. xxiv. 5; VII. viii. 4; X. xv. 2; *et al.* The most common use of 入, however, is in connexion with military expeditions, meaning to enter and take possession of a hostile city. Some contend that the 入 implies that the entry is made against the will of the previous holders, — which, indeed, may be allowed; others hold that 入 implies that the city, though taken, was not permanently retained, — which depended altogether on circumstances. I. ii. 2, 3; v. 3; x. 6, 8; xi. 3; *et supram.* The addition of 于 — 入于 — modifies the violence indicated by the single 入. II. xv. 6, 9; III. iii. 4; vi. 2; ix. 4; VI. xiv.



3: IX. xxiii. 7; *et sup.* 復入 indicates the restoration of an individual, by means of violence, to his former place and station. VIII. xviii. 5; xx. iii. 7; *et al.*

Two. XI. ii. 1, 4. See 觀

The name of a great officer of Wei, VI. iv. 6.

### THE 12th Radical. 八

Eight. The eighth, in the specification of months and years. I. ii. 4; III. 5; *et sequens.*

(1) The highest title of nobility,—a duke. So it is used of the dukes of Sung, who possessed that title. But the title was also given to the various nobles of the royal domain, when they were in the position of the *Kung* or highest ministers at the court. The marquises of Loo are also all styled *Kung*, throughout the classic; and the title is given after their death to the rulers of all the States, whatever may have been their rank. I. i. 2, 4; II. 1, 4; III. 5, 7; II. viii. 6; xi. 2; *et passim.* (X) 公子 means the son of the ruler of a State, whether the father was duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron. I. i. 7; II. iii. 5; III. xix. 3; *et passim.* In translating, I have either said *Kung-son* or the *Kung-son*, treating the phrase as a surname or clan-name, or have introduced the posthumous title of the father in brackets,—duke [Hwuy's] son, duke [Hs'ang's] son, &c. (3) 公孫 means a son of a *Kung-son*,—the grandson of a ruler of a State. I have retained it as a surname, V. iv. 3; v. 3; xv. 4; xvi. 4; *et passim.* (4) 公叔 appears as a clan-name of Wei, in XI. xiv. 1. (5) 公孟 is another clan-name of Wei. XI. xix. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12. XII. x. 8.

(1) Six. The sixth, in the specification of months and years. I. v. 4; vi. 1; V. xvi. 1 (*six*); *et passim.* 六羽—six rows of dancers. I. v. 4. (2) A small State,—in the pres. dia. of Gan-hwuy; held by representatives of the ancient Keou-yang. VI. v. 6.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of an earl of Ts'ao, VI. ix. 14; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. x. 3; 3d, of this duke's wife, IX. xxx. 6.

Weapons of war. In the phrase 治兵, III. viii. 2; where, however, 兵 perhaps means soldiers. So the K'ang-he dictionary explains it, and 治兵—to exercise and train soldiers.

(1) The third possessive pronoun,—his, its, their. I. iv. 2; III. xii. 3; xiii. 3; xxvi. 3; IV. i. 8; V. v. 2; *et sup.* (X) 庶其, the name:—1st, of a viscount of Keu,

VI. xviii. 9; 2d, of an officer of Choo, IX. xxi. 2.

### THE 15th Radical. 冫

Winter; in winter. I. i. 6; II. 6; III. 11; *et passim.*

Ice. II. xiv. 2; VIII. i. 3; IX. xxviii. 1.

木冰, the trees were encrusted with ice. VIII. xvi. 1.

The name of a great officer of Ch'u. VII. ix. 13.

### THE 16th Radical. 几

The name of a small State in the royal domain,—in the pres. dia. of Hwuy, dep. Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. I. vii. 6, 7.

### THE 17th Radical. 凵

To go forth from, to leave. It is used with reference to rulers and officers leaving their own State, and fleeing to another, being followed by 奔. II. xi. 6; xv. 4; *et sequens.*

### THE 19th Radical. 刀

For the first time. I. v. 4; VII. xv. 8.

To carve. III. xxiv. 1.

To put to death, to execute. The term is appropriate to the execution of one of its great officers, or members of the ruling House, by the marquis or State of Loo. V. xxviii. 2; VIII. xvi. 16.

### 交剛—交

The name of a marquis of Wei, of more than questionable title. IX. xxvi. 1. In IX. i. 7, he appears as the 公孫割 being a grandson of duke Muh.

(1) The name of a place near the capital of Loo. IX. xv. 1. (2) A small State in the royal domain, whose holders were viscounts,—in the pres. dia. of Yen-see, dept. Ho-nan. IX. xv. 2; X. xiii. 4.

### THE 20th Radical. 勹

長勹, a place in Loo. Its situation has not been ascertained. III. x. 1.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tsai, VIII. xviii. 7; IX. xiv. 1, 7; xix. 9, 16 (in the Historical Records, the name is 巧); 2d, of an earl of K'e, IX. xxxiii. 2.

雨  
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雨

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公  
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勹



## THE 21st RADICAL. 匕

北  
pi4The north. 于北. *cc.* the north.

IX. xi. 5. Northern. V. xxvi. 3; VIII. ii.

1; *et al.* 北斗, the Northern Boshel,

—Ursa Major. VI. xiv. 5. 北戎, the

Northern Jung, called also the Hill Jung

in III. xxi. 7, had their seat in the pres.

dep. of Yung-ping, Chün-le. V. x. 4.

北燕, the Northern Yen, was a

State held by the descendants of Shih,

the duke of Shao, of the Shoo-king,

whose chief city was Ke (薊) in the

pres. dia. of Ta-hing (Peking), dep. Shan-

t'ien,—though some critics place it else-

where. IX. xxix. 10; X. iii. 7; vi. 3; *et**al.* (2) 北杏, a place or city in

T'ao,—in the pres. dia. of Tung-o, dep.

Yen-chow. It is famous as the place of

the first meeting under the presidency of

duke Hwan of T'ao. III. xiii. 1. 燕

北, a place in the State of Hing,—in

the pres. dia. of Liao-shing, dep. Tung-

ch'ang. V. i. 2. (3) 北宮, the clan-

name of a great family of Wei. VIII. xvii.

1; IX. xiv. 3; *et al.*

## THE 22d RADICAL. 匚

匡  
k'wang

(1) a city of Wei,—in the pres. dep.

of Ta-ming, Chün-le; but the identifica-

tion is uncertain. V. xv. 3. (2) The

honorary or sacrificial title of one of the

kings of Chow. VII. iii. 2.

## THE 23d RADICAL. 匚

區  
yoo

區夫, the name of an officer of

Chün. XII. xiii. 11.

## THE 24th RADICAL. 十

十  
shu

Ten. The tenth, in the specification

of months and years. I. i. 6; ii. 6; x. 1;

*et passim.*

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I.

viii. 6; III. viii. 2; *et seq.* (2) The

name:—1st, of a marquis of Chün. IX.

iv. 1; 2d, of a prince of T'ao. IX. xviii.

6; 3d, of an earl of T'ao. X. xxvii. 3.

升陞, a place in Loo, the site not

otherwise ascertained. V. xxii. 3.

(1) 無丕, the name of a great of-

ficer of T'ao. XII. xv. 2. (2) A clan-

or surname. V. xi. 1.

(1) To die. Used of the death of the

rulers of other States than Loo, as in I.

iii. 5; III. i. 6; *et al.*: of the death of午  
woo升  
shing丕  
pei卒  
tsuk卓  
chok  
nan

ladies of the House of Loo, as in III. ii. 3; iv. 2; *et al.*: of great officers of Loo, emissaries of the ruling House, as in I. i. 7; iii. 4; *et al.*: of royal princes, as in VI. iii. 2; of Confucius. XII. xvi. 3. (2) To complete, to accomplish. V. xxviii. 2.

The name of a young marquis of Tsin. V. x. 3.

(1) The south, as in V. xix. 2. South-

ern, as in V. xx. 1; VI. xiv. 2; *et al.*

(2) A clan-name. I. ix. i. (3) 南

里, the name of a quarter in the

capital of Sung. X. xxi. 3; xxii. 2.

## THE 25th RADICAL. 卜

卜  
pak  
ts'ien

To divine by the tortoise-shell. V. xxix.

3; VII. iii. 1; VIII. vii. 1; x. 2; IX. vii.

2; xi. 2; XI. xv. 2; XII. i. 3.

A city of Loo,—in pres. dia. of Sze-

shuwy, dep. Yen-chow. V. xvii. 3.

## THE 26th RADICAL. 卩

卯  
mao

A calendaric branch-character. I. ii. 7;

iii. 4; II. vi. 5; *et passim.*

The name of a viscount of Loo. XI.

iv. 9.

卽  
ts'ieh

To come to. In the phrase 卽位.

II. i. 1; VI. i. 1; VII. i. 1; VIII. i. 1; *et al.*

## THE 27th RADICAL. 厂

厚  
hou

The name of a great officer of T'ao. IX.

xvii. 4; xix. 11.

(1) A clan-name in Chün. III. xxvii.

3. (2) The name of a viscount of Tang.

X. iii. 1.

(1) The name of a minister of Tsin.

IX. i. 2. (2) 厥貉, the name of a

place,—probably in the pres. dia. of Heng-

shing, dep. Chün-chow, Ho-nan. VI. x. 7.

厥慙, the name of a place, site not

known. X. xi. 7; xiv. 1.

(1) The name of a small State,—in the

pres. Sze Chow, dep. Tih-gan, Hoo-ph.

V. xv. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrifi-

cial title of an earl of Ch'ing. III. xxi. 4.

厲  
le

## THE 28th RADICAL. 厶

去  
ts'ue

(1) To leave. 大去, to take a

grand leaving, i. e., to leave and never

return. III. iv. 4. (2) 去疾, the

name of a prince of Ch'ing. VIII. iii. 7.



去  
ku

(1) To put away. VII. viii. 4; X. xv. 2. (2) 去疾, the name:—1st of a viscount of Kien, X. i. 7; xiv. 5; 2d, of a marquis of Tsai, X. xxx. 2.—Why the 去 in VIII. iii. 7 should not also be marked in the second tone, I cannot tell. But the best editions do not so mark it, while they do so in the other two cases of the name.

參  
tsan

The name of a minister of Ch'ing, the son of the famous Tze-ch'au. X. xxxii. 4.

## THE 29th RADICAL. 又

又  
及  
k'eh

Also, again. VIII. vii. 1; X. xxx. 4.

To come up to or with. V. xxvi. 2. 弗及盟, would not make a covenant with him. VI. xvi. 1. Everywhere it occurs as a conjunction—and; but we must often construe it as a preposition—with, and sometimes—against. Many contend that it has often a peculiar signification in the Ch'ao Tseu,—and, involving also; but this is doubtful. I. i. 2, 3; ii. 4; iii. xiii. 1; et passim.

The name of a son of duke Hwan, from whom came the Ke-sun clan or family in Loo. III. xxv. 8; xxvii. 3; V. i. 9; iii. 8; vii. 6; xiii. 5; xvi. 2.

(1) The third in order of birth; used both of males and females. I. vii. 1; II. xi. 1; xv. 6; III. xii. 1; xxvi. 5; et passim. It is also often used as the designation;—as in II. v. 3; III. i. 5; xxiii. 2, 7; xxv. 1; et al. (2) A clan-name in Loo, derived from Shuh-heli, a brother of duke Senen, mentioned in VII. xvii. 7. IX. xiv. 1; xvi. 7; xx. 7; xxi. 3; xxx. 6; X. i. 9; ii. 2; iii. 2; et al. It seems also to occur as a clan-name in the royal domain, in VI. i. 3; but this is not certain.

(3) 叔孫, the clan-name of the 2d of the three great families of Loo, derived from Yu, or Shuh-ya, the son of duke Hwan, whose death is recorded in III. xxxii. 3. VI. i. 7; iii. 1; ix. 8; xi. 6; xviii. 5; VII. i. 4; VIII. ii. 5; IX. ii. 8; et passim. We find 叔 alone in VI.

xiv. 3. (4) 叔仲 was the clan-name of a branch of the Shuh-sun. It occurs only once in the text, in VI. xi. 2; but several members of it are mentioned in the Chuen. In VI. xiv. 3, the 仲 is omitted. (5) 世叔, a clan-name in Wei. See 世. (6) 叔公, a clan-name in Wei. See 公.

To take. II. ii. 4. It is used of the seizure of individuals; of the taking of towns, and territory; of the capture of an army. I. iv. 1; III. ix. 7; V. iii. 3; xxvi. 8; xxxi. 1; VI. vii. 2; VII. i. 8; VIII. vi.

取  
tsu

3; IX. xiii. 2; X. xxxii. 1; XII. xiii. 1; et al.

叛  
pwan

To revolt; to hold in rebellion. IX. xxi. 2; XII. xv. 1; et al.

## THE 30th RADICAL. 口

口  
kou

The month. VII. iii. 1.

旬  
shun

須旬.—a small State,—in the pres. Tung-ping Chow, dep. Tzu-gan. Its lords were Fung, and said to be descended from Fuh-he. V. xxi. 1; VI. vii. 2.

句  
kew

句繹, a place in Choo,—probably in the present dis. of Tsow, dep. Yen-chow. XII. ii. 2.

召  
shao

(1) A small State, in the royal domain,—in the pres. dis. of Yuen-k'eh, dep. Kiang Chow, Shan-se. It was held by the descendants of the duke of Shao of the Shoo-king, with the title of earl; but his appanage was more to the east, in Shun-se. The Shao of the Ch'ao Tseu was probably a grant from the crown after king Ping's removal of the capital to Loh. VI. v. 3; VII. xv. 6; VIII. vii. 7; X. xxvi. 8. (2) 召陵, a place in Tseu,—in pres. dis. of Yen-shing, Hen Chow, Ho-nan; famous for a covenant between Tse and Tseu. V. iv. 3; XI. iv. 2.

台  
tai

A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Pe, dep. E-chow. IX. xii. 1, 2.

司  
see

To preside over. We have 司馬, the minister of War, and 司城, the minister of Works, in XI. vii. 8; xv. 2. In both texts the reference is to ministers of Sung, whose 司城 bore, in Chow and in the other States, the title of 司空.

吁  
yu

(1) 州吁, a prince of Wei, who murdered his ruler, and made himself marquis of the State for a short time. I. iv. 2, 6. (2) 留吁, a tribe of the Red Teth, who had their seat in the pres. dis. of Tzu-lau, dep. Loo-gan, Shan-se. VII. xvi. 1.

合  
and

合比, the name of a great officer of Sung. X. vi. 3.

吉  
kai

(1) Fortunate. 吉禘, the service performed when the spirit-tablet of a deceased king or ruler of a State was solemnly placed in the ancestral temple. IV. ii. 2. (2) The name of a minister of Ch'ing. X. xiv. 2. (3) 吉射, an officer of Tsai, a son of the Fan or Sze clan. XI. xiii. 6.

同  
chung

(1) Together. Used often in accounts of covenants, with what precise significance is disputed. III. xvi. 4; xxvii. 3;



VII. xii. 6; VIII. vii. 5; ix. 2; *et. al.* In the account of a siege. IX. xviii. 4. (2) The name:—1st, of a son of duke Hwan of Loo, afterwards duke Chwang; II. vi. 5; 2d, of a great officer of Tain, VIII. viii. 5.

**后向** *hou-xiang*  
Queen,—the king's bride II. viii. 6; IX. xv. 2.

(1) A small State, held by Kiang—probably in the present Kou Chow, dep. E-chow. I. ii. 2 (**入向**—entered the principal city of Kiang) V. xxvi. 1; VII. ix. 1; IX. xiv. 1, probably all relate to the same place. But in II. xvi. 4, we seem to have a Kiang, properly belonging to Loo. (2) A clan-name in Sung IX. xv. 1; X. i. 2; xxi. 3; *et. al.*

**君** *jun*  
(1) A ruler. Applied to the rulers of the different States, without distinction of their different ranks. I. iv. 2; II. ii. 1; xviii. 5; V. ix. 8; *et. passim.* (2) **小君** is used for the wife of the ruler, so denominated by the people of the State. It is used in the Ch'un T'aiw in describing the burial of the wives of the ruler of Loo, and—duchess. III. xxii. 2; V. ii. 2; VI. v. 2; VII. viii. 9; IX. ii. 7; iv. 5; ix. 4; X. xi. 8.

Pearls and precious stones put into the mouth of a corpse. VI. v. 1.

(1) The name of a State,—the chief city of which was in the pres. dis. of Woo, dep. Soo-chow. The State might be said to date from Tse-pih, celebrated in the Shu and the Analects, the son of king Tse. He had his seat in Mei-lo (**梅里**),—in the pres. dep. of Chung-chow. King Woo constituted a great-grandson of Chung-yung, brother and successor of Tse-pih, viscount of Woo; but it is not till the 7th year of duke Ch'ing that the State appears in the text of the Ch'un T'aiw. VIII. xii. 2, 7; xv. 10; IX. iii. 1; *et. al.*

(2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Tain, IX. xxvi. 4; X. xv. 3; *et. al.* 2d, of a marquis of Ch'iu, X. xiii. 9; XI. iv. 1; 3d, of a great officer of Tain, X. xv. 3.

**吾** *woo*  
(1) **吾離**, name of a marquis of Tang, II. vii. 3. (2) **夷吾**, name of a marquis of Tain, V. xxiv. 5.

To announce, to represent with a request. III. xxviii. 7.

In the phrase **告月**, to inaugurate the beginning of a month with the usual ceremonies. VI. vi. 5.

**周** *chow*  
(1) The name of the appanage in the royal domain, granted by king Woo to his brother Tan, the famous duke of Chow, and which was held by one branch of his descendants, V. ix. 2. (2) **成周**, the eastern capital of Chow, VII. xvi. 2; X. xxvi. 7; xxxii. 4. (3) The name of a marquis of Tain, IX. xv. 7.

**命** *ming*  
(1) To charge. **胥命**, they charged or pledged each other. II. iii. 2. (2) The symbol of rank, constituting the investiture of a ruler by the king, with other tokens of dignity and of the royal favour. III. i. 6 (where these tokens are strangely sent to the deceased duke Hwan); VI. i. 5; VII. viii. 7.

(1) The name of a duke of Sung. I. iii. 5. (2) Paddy, rice. III. xxviii. 6.

**和咎** *ho-ko*  
(1) **無咎**, the name of a minister of Te's. VIII. xv. 10; xvii. 5. (2) **宜咎**, the name of a great officer of Ch'in. IX. xxiv. 11.

**咎** *ko*  
**鷹咎如**, a tribe of the Red Teth, VIII. iii. 11.

**威丘**, a district in Loo,—probably in Yen-chow dept.; but it may have been in dep. of Tseou-chow, II. vii. 1.

The name:—1st, of a minister of the king. I. i. 4; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, V. xxviii. 11, 19; xxx. 3.

(1) The posthumous title of:—1st, a marchioness of Loo, V. ii. 2; 2d, a marquis of Ch'in, X. viii. 10; 3d, an earl of T'aiw, XI. ix. 7. (2) **子哀**, the designation of a minister of Song, VI. xiv. 10. To wall,—on an occasion of calamity. VIII. iii. 4.

To condole with one,—on occasion of his meeting with calamity or misfortune. X. xxv. 6; xxix. 1; xxxi. 4.

A place, probably a city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Yu-tse, dep. Yen-chow. I. ii. 4; II. ii. 8, 9.

**商** *shang*  
(1) **商人**,—**人** (2) **商臣**, the name of a prince of Te'oo who murdered his ruler. VI. i. 10. (3) **商任**,—**任**.

**啟陽**, a city in Loo,—in dep. of E-chow. XII. iii. 4.

**善道**, a place in Woo,—probably in the pres. Soo-chow, Gan-hway. IX. v. 4.

The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, VIII. xiv. 4; xvi. 3; 2d, of a minister of Wei, IX. xxvi. 1, 7; xxvii. 3; 3d, of another minister of Wei, X. xxv. 2; xxvii. 4.

(1) The coffin and corpse. II. xviii. 3; V. i. 10; VI. xv. 4; VIII. ix. 1; XI. i. 2. (2) The mourning and early preparations for burial. XI. xv. 8.

The name of a State in the royal domain. VIII. xvii. 2, 8 sufficiently establish the existence of such a State. We there find—'the viscount of Shen.' It is probably the same that is mentioned in III. i. 2; xiv. 2, 4; VI. xiv. 17; xv. 6. There, indeed, we find—'the earl of Shun'; though many critics understand the characters as—Shen Pih, a great officer of Loo being intended. This seems to me very unlikely, and in other cases



喜  
xi

we had the rank of rulers of States, now raised, now degraded.

The name:—1st, of a prince and great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xxx. 12; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xii. 2; 3d, of a viscount of Shih (沈), XI. iv. 3.

嘗  
chang  
嘗  
chang  
嘗  
chang

To offer the autumnal sacrifice. II. xiv. 3.

A clan-name in Ts'oo, XI. iv. 14. Williams' tonic dictionary gives this character under 衣.

## THE 31st RADICAL. 口.

四  
sei  
四  
sei

Four; fourth, in the specification of months and years. I. iv. 1; V. 2; *et passim*. A fourth time, V. xxxi. 3.

The names:—1st, of a minister of Ts'oo, VII. v. 3, 5; xv. 7; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. xv. 6; 3d, of a marquis of Ts'oo, IX. xxx. 2.

A park, VIII. xviii. 10; X. ix. 5; XI. xii. 2.

開  
kai  
開  
kai

(3) A State, a country, III. iv. 4. (2) A clan-name in Ts'oo, V. xxxiii. 2; VII. x. 17; VIII. ii. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 10; *et supra*.

(3) 平國, the name of a marquis of Ch'in, VII. x. 8. 東國, the name of a marquis of Ts'oo, X. xxiii. 5.

The name of a great officer of Wei, XI. iv. 12.

園  
yu  
園  
yu

(1) To besiege, I. v. 8; III. viii. 3; V. vi. 2, 3; VI. iii. 4; *et supra*. (2) The name of a prince of Ts'oo, X. i. 2.

## THE 32d RADICAL. 土.

土  
too

踐土, a place in Ch'ing,—in the pres. dia. of Yung-tai, dep. K'ae-fung, where there was a great meeting of the States after the battle of Shing-pu, and duke Wan of Tsin was acknowledged as leader of the States. The king himself is said to have been present, V. xxviii. 8.

To be in—, IX. xxix. 1.

在  
tai  
在  
tai

(1) The earth. In the phrase 地震, there was an earthquake, VI. ix. 1; IX. xvi. 6; X. xix. 3; xxiii. 9; XII. iii. 2. (2) The name of a prince of Sung, XI. x. 9; xi. 1.

垂  
chui  
垂  
chui

(1) A place whose situation is not clearly ascertained, and which has been claimed for Wei, for Lo, and for Ts'ao. I. viii. 1; II. i. 2; III. iv. 3. (2) A place in Ts'oo,—in dia. of Ping-yin, dep. T'ao-gan, VII. viii. 3. (3) 垂龍, a place in Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of Yung-tai, dep. K'ae-fung, VI. ii. 4. (4) 垂蔭, a place, probably in the dep. of Ts'ao-chow, XI. xiii. 1.

城  
ching

(1) To wall, to fortify, I. vii. 3; ix. 4;

II. v. 5; *et supra*. (2) 司城—see 司.

(3) 中城—see 中. (4) 臺城,

—see 臺. (5) 城濮, a place in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Ts'ao, dep. Ts'ao-chow; the scene of a great battle between Tsin and Ts'oo, III. xxvii. 7; V. xxviii. 5. (6) 新城, a city in

Ch'ing,—in pres. dia. of Mei, dep. K'ae-fung, V. xvi. 2. There was a city of the same name in Sung,—in pres. dia. of Shang-k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih, VI. xiv. 4.

(7) 彭城, a city of Sung,—in the pres. dia. of Tung-shan, dep. Sau-chow, K'ang-soo. See 彭. (8) 容城, a city in the pres. dia. of K'een-le, dep. King-chow, Hoo-pih, to which Hea transferred its capital, XI. iv. 7. (9) 王城, the royal city, called Keah-juh (邾邾)—close by the pres. dia. city of Lo-yang, X. xxii. 8.

執  
chik  
執  
chik

To seize and hold as a prisoner, II. xi. 4; III. xvii. 1; V. iv. 4; v. 9; xix. i. 4; xxi. 4; xxviii. 4; VI. xiv. ii. 12; *et al*.

The name of an earl of Ch'ing, VIII. iv. 2.

To dismantle, to throw down the wall of a city, XI. xii. 3, 5.

塗  
too

溝塗, the name of a great officer of Ch'in, V. iv. 4.

To be broken, to go to ruin, VI. xiii. 5.

壤  
rang

黑壤, a place in Tsin,—in the pres. district of Ts'in-shway, dep. Tai-chow, Shan-se, VIII. vii. 3.

## THE 33d RADICAL. 士.

士  
sei  
士  
sei

A clan-name in Tsin, VI. ii. 4; ix. 6; VIII. viii. 9, 10; xv. 10; xviii. 7, 13; IX. xii. 3; xiv. i. 7; xia. 9, 15; *et al*.

(1) A celestialist stem-character, II. iii. 4; xi. 3; *et passim*. (2) Name of a marquis of Ts'oo, XII. xiv. 9. (3) 壬

夫, the name of a prince and great officer of Ts'oo, IX. i. 4; v. 6.

The name:—1st, of an earl of Ts'oo, VII. xiv. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Sung, VIII. viii. 5.

壽  
shou

## THE 34th RADICAL. 夕.

夏  
hia  
夏  
hia

Lower Ed tone. Summer; in summer, I. i. 3; ii. 2; *et passim*.

(1) A clan-name in Ch'in, VII. x. 8; X. xxiii. 7; XII. xiii. ii. (2) The name:—1st, of a viscount of Lu, IX. xv. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Ch'ing, a eunuch of



the ruling House, IX. xxv. 9; 3d, of a great officer of Ts'ao, XI. vii. 7, viii. 5; XII. iii. 1; vi. 4.

夔  
Fuei

A small State,—in the present Kwei Chow, dept. E-ch'ang, Hou-pih. Its lords were vassals; a branch of the House of Ts'ao, V. xxi. 4.

# THE 26th RADICAL. 夕

外  
wai  
多  
to  
夜  
yeh

The outside. 于外, outside [the city], III. i. 4.

(1) Many III. xii. 4. (2) 曼多, the name of a great officer of Ts'ao, XII. vii. 2; xiii. 7.

In the night-time, III. vii. 2. 夜中, at midnight, 16.

# THE 87th RADICAL. 大

大  
to

(1) Great, greatly; grand, I. ix. 2; II. ii. 4; et seq. We have 大雩, to have

a grand sacrifice for rain, II. v. 7; et al.; 大閱, to have a grand military review,

II. vi. 3; 大水, to have great floods, II. i. 3; xiii. 3; IX. xxiv. 5; et al.; 大

事, to have great sacrificial business, VI. ii. 5; 大旱, to have a great

drought, VII. vi. 4; et al.; 大饑, to have

a great famine, a failure of all the crops, IX. xxiv. 13; 大弓, a great bow that

had been conferred on the duke of Chow, and was one of the precious things of Lo,

XI. xiii. 16; ix. 3; 大去其國, to take a grand leave of one's State, to leave

it for good, III. iv. 4. (2) 大夫, a great officer, one in high position and employ-

ment, II. ii. 1; III. ix. 2; xii. 3; xxiv. 6; et seq. (3) 大棘, a place in Sung,

—in the pres. Say Chow, dept. Kwei-tih, the scene of a battle between Sung and

Ch'ing, VII. ii. 1. 大鹵, a place in Ts'ao, —probably in the pres. dia. of T'ao-yuen, dept. T'ao-yuen, Shao-sh. X. i. 5.

(4) 大辰, a space in the heavens, embracing part of Libra and Scorpio, X. xvii. 5. (5) 大心, the name of a

great officer of Sung, X. xxv. 2; XI. x. 8; xi. 2.

大  
tai

Great, grand. 太廟, the ancestral temple of the ruling House of Lo; or

specially, the temple of the first duke of Lo, V. viii. 5; VI. ii. 5; VII. viii. 2. 太

室, is the reading of Kuang-yang, adopted

天  
t'ien

by the K'ang-hsi editors, in VI. xiii. 5, meaning perhaps the shrine-house or temple of T'ih-k'in, the first duke of Lo.

Heaven. In the denominations of the

king, as 天王, —king by Heaven's

grace, expressive of his supremacy over

all the States, I. i. 4; iii. 3; II. iv. 2; viii. 2; xv. 1, 2; V. viii. 5; xxiv. 4; xxviii. 17; VI. i. 5; viii. 3; VII. x. 12; VIII. v. 6;

IX. i. 5; xxviii. 8; xxi. 4; X. xiii. 4; xiii. 5; XI. xiv. 16; and 天子, son

of Heaven, expressive of the foundation

of the royal authority in the favour of

Heaven, VIII. viii. 7.

(1) 大夫, —see 大. (2) 夫

人, the ordinary designation for the

marchioness, or the wife of the marquis,

of Lo, I. ii. 7; II. xviii. 7; III. ii. 4; iv. 1; et seq. (3) 夫鐘, a place in the

small State of Shing, —in the pres. dia. of

K'ing-yang, dept. Yen-chow, II. xi. 8. (4)

In names. 良夫, the name of a great

officer of Wei, VII. vii. 1; VIII. ii. 2, 3; et al. 倭夫, —see 倭. 區夫, —see

區. 壬夫, —see 壬.

The general name for the wild tribes of

the east. 淮夷, the tribes about the

Hwai, X. iv. 2, 4. (2) A place in Ts'ao,

according to Kuang-yang, or in Lo, acc.

to T'ao Yu, V. i. 3. (3) A place, called

also 城父, to which Hsu removed his

capital city, in X. ix. 2. It was in the

pres. Poh Chow, dept. Ying-chow, Gan-

hway. (4) 夷儀, —see 儀. (5) The name: —ist, of an earl of Ch'ing,

VII. iv. 3; 3d, of a marquis of Ts'ao, X. xvi. 4; 3d, of an earl of Seeh, XII. x. 9.

We have also 與夷, the name of a

duke of Sung, II. ii. 1; 夷吾, the

name of a marquis of Ts'ao, V. xxiv. 5;

夷皇, the name of a marquis of Ts'ao,

VII. ii. 4; 牟夷, the name of an offi-

cer of K'ao, X. v. 4; 夷未, the name

of a viscount of Woo, X. xv. 1; 夷伯

—see 伯夷 being there the honorary

epithet.

夫  
foo

夷  
i

夾  
chia

夾谷, the name of a valley, where

the marquises of Ts'ao and Lo had a

meeting, at which Confucius is said to

have distinguished himself, —probably in

the pres. dia. of Lo-wu, dept. T'ao-gan,

XI. x. 2; 3.

The name of a great officer of Ch'iu,

IX. xxviii. 2; X. viii. 9.

奂  
huan  
奔  
pan

(1) To flee to. Generally found along

with 出, II. xi. 5; IV. ii. 5; V. v. 7; et

seq. (2) To hurry to, XI. xv. 3.



奚  
he

- (1) A place in Loo, the scene of a battle between Ts'e and Loo,—in pres. dia. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. II. xvii. 3.  
(2) 奚齊, the name of a young prince of Ts'in. V. ix. 8.

## The 58th RADICAL. 女

女  
nu

A daughter; a young lady. It is used in the text for what we call a bride, the daughter of some noble House, while the marriage is in process of being celebrated; and in one case for the same after the celebration, with regard to the final ratification of the marriage. I. ii. 5; II. iii. 5; III. xxiv. 3; VII. 1. 2; VIII. ix. 5; xiv. 3; et al. See 逆 and 致.

女  
nu

- (1) A clan-name in Ch'in. III. xxv. 1.

(2) 女栗, a place unascertained, the scene of a covenant between duke Wan of Loo and a viscount of Soo. VI. x. 5.

如  
ju

(1) As, like. III. vii. 2. (2) To go to. II. iii. 3; v. 2, 9; xviii. 1; V. xxvi. 5; et al. (3) In names. 僑如,—see 僑.

意如, the name of one of the chiefs of the Ke-sun clan in Loo, X. x. 3; xi. 7; xiii. 7; xiv. 1; xvi. 6; xxxi. 2; XI. v. 4. (4) 膺咎如,—see 咎.

姬  
ki

The surname of the descendants of the great Yu. Used of ladies of the House of K'e, who were married to marquises of Loo. IX. iv. 3, 5; XI. xv. 9, 13.

姑  
ku

(1) In names. 射姑, the name:—1st, of a prince of Ts'au, II. ix. 4; afterwards xxi. III. xxiii. 9; 2d, of an officer of Ts'u, VI. vi. 7. 容姑, the name of an earl of K'e, IX. vi. 1. 益姑, the name of another earl of K'e, X. vi. 1. 曼姑, the name of a great officer of Wei. XII. iii. 1. (2) 落姑, a city of Ts'e,—in pres. dia. of Ping-yin, dep. Tao-gan. IV. i. 4.

姓  
xing

The name of a cadet of the House of Ts'au, and high officer, XI. iv. 3; XII. iv. 3.

姜  
jiang

The surname of the ruling House of Ts'e. It occurs generally, if not only, in connexion with ladies of that house, married to marquises of Loo, and is followed for the most part by 氏, equivalent, in such a connexion, to our lady. II. iii. 6, 8; xviii. 1; III. ii. 4; VI. iv. 2; et al. The surname of the House of Ke (紀) II. ix. 1. A tribe of the Jiang were also distinguished as the K'ang, Jiang, and said to be descended somehow from Yao's chief-minister. V. xxxiii. 3; and see the Chuan on IX. xiv. 1. But all the K'ang pretended to trace their lineage up to Shin-nung.

姬  
ki

The surname of the royal House of Chow. 王姬, a princess of the royal House, III. i. 3; xi. 4. The surname of the House of Loo. We have 伯姬, the duke's eldest daughter; 叔姬, the duke's third daughter; &c. I. ii. 6; vii. 1; III. xxv. 4; xxvii. 1, 4; et al. All the K'es traced their lineage up to Hwang-te.

婁  
lou

牟婁, a city of K'e,—in pres. dia. of Choo-shing, dep. Tsing-chow. I. iv. 1.

婁林, a place in Seu,—in the pres. dia. of Hung, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hway.

V. xv. 12. 袁婁, a place in T'ao, the site not satisfactorily determined. VIII. ii. 4.

營婁, a city of Choo,—in the pres. Tse-ning Chow, dep. Yen-chow. V. xxxiii. 6.

無婁, acc. to T'oo Yu, a city of K'e; and further acc. to Kung-yang, the 牟婁, above. But from the text we should not infer that it was in K'e at all, VII. xv. 7.

婦  
fu

A wife. III. xxiv. 6. But it is used for the lady, when she was only what we call a bride. III. xix. 3 (?); V. xxv. 3; xxxi. 7; VI. ix. 2 (?); VII. i. 2; VIII. xiv. 5.

To escort ladies to the harem of a newly married wife. III. xix. 3; VIII. viii. 11; ix. 6; x. 4.

嬰  
ying

(1) 嬰齊, the name:—1st, of a viscount of T'ang, V. xix. 1; 2d, of a scion of the House of Loo, and a great officer, the son of Shuh-beih in VII. xvii. 7. VIII. ii. 3; vi. 6; viii. 3; xvii. 10; 3d, of a prince of Ts'au, VIII. ii. 9; vi. 9; vii. 5; ix. 10; IX. iii. 1; 4th, of another high officer of Loo, a grandson of duke Chwang, and son of Chung Suy in VII. viii. 3, VIII. xv. 2. (2) 嬰兒,—see 兒.

贏  
ying

A city of T'ao,—in pres. dia. of Tao-gan, dep. Tao-gan. II. iii. 1.

## THE 39th RADICAL. 子

子  
zi

(1) A son. I. iii. 5; V. v. 2; ix. 9. Standing alone, and followed by a name, it denotes a son of the ruling, or just deceased, marquis of Loo. II. vi. 5; III. xxxii. 5; VI. xviii. 6; IX. xxxi. 2. 公

子,—see 公. 世子,—see 世. 王子, king's son, a son of the reigning or some previous sovereign. VI. iii. 2; VII. x. 12; xv. 5 (王札子, for 王子札, is a remarkable inversion of the terms); IX. xxx. 5; X. xxii. 3. 天子,—see 天. (2) In the sense of prince and successor in the State, the father



being dead but not yet buried. V. ix. 7; xxviii. 15; XI. iv. 2. Observe the case of

**衛子** in V. xxviii. 8. (3) A daughter. VI. xii. 8; xiv. 12; xv. 11; VII. v. 3. (4) In the sense of officer; after the clan-name or the designation. IV. i. 3; ii. 5. (5) In designations. **子帛**. I. ii. 7.

**子突**. III. vi. 4. **子還**. XII. xvi. 2. (6) The fourth of the titles of nobility, —viscount. V. xi. 2; xiv. 2; xxii. 2; xxiii. 4; *et suprasensu*. (7) The surname of the House of Sung, as representing the dynasty of Shang or Yin. I. ii. 7. Observe **孟子** in XII. xii. 2. (8) A calendaric branch-character. II. xviii. 2; VII. xvii. 1; *et al*.

**孔**  
kong

(1) **孔父**, the designation of a minister of Sung, from whom sprang the K'ung clan or family, to which Confucius belonged. II. ii. 1. We find it as Confucius' clan or surname in XII. xvi. 8. (2) A clan-name in Wei. VII. xiv. 1; XI. xv. 12. (3) A clan-name in Ch'in. IX. xxvii. 2; X. viii. 9. —There was also a K'ung clan in Ch'ing, individuals of which are mentioned in the Chun.

A comet. VI. xiv. 3; X. xvii. 5; XII. xiii. 9; xiv. 13. **孛星** and **彗星** are now the ordinary designations of a comet. From the style of the three passages in the text, I conclude that **孛** is descriptive of the appearance or motion of the **星** or star. That the texts refer to a comet there can be no doubt.

The honorary or sacrificial title of a marquis of T'ao, V. xxvii. 8; of an earl of K'uei, IX. xxiii. 4.

(1) The 4th (or, it may be, the 3d) in the order of birth, as becoming a designation. II. ix. 1; xvii. 5; III. iii. 4; V. xiv. 2; xv. 9; *et al*. **季友**. In V. xvi. 2, is the designation and name of the son of duke Hwan, from whom came the Ke or Ke-ian family in Loo. (2) The third or last. X. xxv. 4. (3) **季孫**, the clan-name of the third of the great clans of Loo. VI. vi. 2, 3; xv. 1, 9; xvi. 1; xviii. 3; VII. i. 4; x. 18; VIII. ii. 3; vi. 10; ix. 5; xi. 3; xvi. 12, 14; *et suprasensu*.

(1) The eldest. XII. xii. 2. (2) **公孟** —see **公**.

(1) Grandson; —which meaning is apparent in **公孫**; see **公**. We find **孫** also in various clan-names, such as **仲孫** (see **仲**); **叔孫** (see **叔**); **季孫** (see **季**); **華孫** (see **華**); **臧孫** (see **臧**). (2) A clan name of Wei. VII. vi. 1; vii. 1; VIII. ii. 2, 3; III. ii. 12, 13; ix. 4; vii. 9; *et sup*.

**孟**  
meng  
**孫**  
sun

**孫**  
sun

To retire, to withdraw. A euphemism for —to flee. III. i. 2; IV. ii. 4; X. xiv. 3.

# THE 40th RADICAL

**安**  
an  
**完**  
wan  
**宋**  
song

**安甫** the place of a meeting between the marquises of Tse and others, situation undetermined. XI. x. 9.

The name: —1st, of a marquis of Wei, I. iv. 2; 2d, of a minister of T'ao, V. iv. 3.

The State of Sung, of which the capital was Shang-k'uei, a name remaining in the dia. so called of dept. K'wai-tih. The country embraced in that department was the principal part of the dukedom of Sung; but it comprehended also portions of the pres. provinces of K'ang-soo and Gan-hway. Its dukes had the surname Tse (**子**) as being the representatives of the sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang.

It is to be observed that **宋** in the text, like the names of other States, frequently denotes the capital city of the State. I. i. 5; iii. 6, 8; v. 3; *et passim*.

(1) Connected with —having the same surname as —the rulers of the State, in connexion with which we find the term.

III. xxiv. 8 (**宗婦**). (2) A clan-name in Ch'in. XII. xiv. 4, 13.

(1) The honorary or sacrificial title: —1st, of a marquis of Wei, VIII. xv. 1; 2d, of a marchioness of Loo, IX. iv. 5; 3d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xxiii. 4; 4th, of a marquis of Loo (who gives the title to Book XI.) XI. xv. 12, and of his wife, 13.

(2) The name: —1st, of a great officer of Sung, IX. xxix. 5; X. xii. 3; *et al*; 2d, of an earl of Szech, XI. xii. 1.

The name: —1st, of a great officer of Ch'ing. I. viii. 2; 2d, of a great officer of T'ao, X. xxvii. 3.

(1) **宜申**, the name of a great officer of T'ao, V. xxi. 6; VI. x. 3. (2)

**宜咎**, the name of a great officer of Ch'in. IX. xxiv. 11.

The honorary or sacrificial title: —1st, of one of the kings of Chow, VII. xxi. 2; 2d, of a marquis of Loo (who gives his title to Book VII.), VIII. i. 2; 3d, of a marquis of T'ao, I. viii. 5; 4th, of a marquis of Wei, II. xiii. 2; 5th, of an earl of T'ao, VIII. xii. 6.

(1) A temple or shrine-house, —that of the first duke of Loo. VI. xiii. 6

(**世室**). (2) A House or family. X. xxii. 6 (**王室**, the royal House).

(1) A palace, V. ix. 3; IX. xxxi. 2. (2) A temple or shrine-house. I. v. 4; III. xxiii. 3; xxiv. 1; VIII. iii. 4; vi. 2; X. xv. 2; XI. i. 4; XII. iii. 3. (3) **北**

**宮** —see **北**.

**室**  
shih  
**宮**  
kung



**宰** *tsai*  
(1) The chief-minister. V. ix. 2; xxx. 7. (2) Another officer of the king, whom we may designate assistant or sub-administrator. I. i. 4; II. iv. 2.

A clan-name in Chow. II. viii. 2; xv. 1.

**家容** *tsia yung*  
(1) **姑容**—see **姑**. (2) **容城**—see **城**.

**宿** *shuk*  
(1) A small State.—in the pres. Tung-ping Chow, dep. T'ao-gan. Its chiefs were barons, with the surname Yung (風). I. i. 5; viii. 5; III. x. 3. (2) The name of one of the chiefs of the Ke-sun clan. IX. vi. 7; vii. 5; ix. 2; xiv. 1, 7; xv. 4; et al.

**寅** *yin*  
(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. viii. 2; II. xii. 2; et passim. (2) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxiii. 5; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'in, XI. xiii. 6.

**密** *mai*  
(1) A city of K'eu.—in pres. dia. of Ch'ang, dep. Lue-chow. I. ii. 6. (2) **密州**, the name of a viscount of K'eu. IX. xxii. 7.

**御寇**, the name of a prince of Ch'in. III. xxii. 8.

**甯** *ning*  
(1) A clan-name in Wei. VI. iv. 8; IX. xxvii. 8; et al. (2) This name:—1st, of a great officer of Sung, X. xi. 4; xxi. 3; xxiii. 2; 2d, of an earl of Ch'ing, X. xxviii. 3; 3d, of a viscount of T'ang, X. xxviii. 5; 4th, of a baron of Hsu, IX. xxv. 8. (3) **甯母**, a city of Loo,—in pres. dia. of Yu-t'ao, dep. Yuen-chow. V. vii. 4.

To place. XII. xiv. 3.

**寢** *tsin*  
A chamber of the palace. We have **路寢**, the State chamber, III. xxxii. 4; VII. xviii. 7; VIII. xviii. 11; **小寢**, the Small chamber, V. xxxiii. 11; and **高寢**, the High chamber, XI. xv. 6.

**寤生**, the name of an earl of Ch'ing. II. xi. 2.

**賁** *pin*  
(1) To yield fruit. V. xxxiii. 12. (2) Written **賁**, probably the name of a duke of Chow. II. vi. 1.

The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. IX. xiii. 3.

**寶** *pu*  
Precious, valuable. **寶玉**, the precious sceptre of jade. XI. viii. 16; ix. 3.

### THE 41st RADICAL 寸

**封** *fung*  
(1) The name of a great officer of Ts'oo. IX. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 8. (2) **封人**, the name of a marquis of Ts'oo. II. xvii. 4.

**射** *shih*  
(1) The name of an officer of Little Chou. XII. xiv. 2. (2) **射姑**—see **姑**.

**射吉**—see **吉**.

### THE 42d RADICAL 小

**小** *shiao*  
Small, little. (1) **小寢**—see **寢**.

(2) **小君** is the designation employed for a marchioness of Loo, in the record of her burial. See **君**. (3) **小白**, the name of a marquis of Ts'oo, the famous 'duke Hwan.' III. ix. 3; V. xvii. 5. (4) **小穀**, apparently a city of Loo. III. xxiii. 1. (5) **小邾**, the name of a small State, in the pres. dia. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. It first appears in the text under the name of E (邾), in the 5th year of duke Chwang, when it was only an attached territory of Sung. Afterwards its lords were made viscounts, and the name changed to Little Choo. V. vii. 2; IX. ii. 9; et passim.

The name of an officer of Chow. XI. xiv. 9.

**尙** *shang*  
The name of an officer of Chow. XI. xiv. 9.

### THE 44th RADICAL 尸

**尹** *yin*  
(1) A clan-name of an officer of Ch'ing, who accompanied duke Yin to Loo. This, however, is uncertain, as is the reading **尹氏** in I. iii. 4. (2) The name of a State in the royal domain of Chow,—in the pres. dia. of E-yang, dep. Ho-nan. Its lords were viscounts. VIII. xvi. 10; xvii. 2.

(1) To dwell, to reside. V. xxiv. 4; X. xxii. 7; xxvi. 2, 5; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 8. (2) The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. X. xxvi. 6.

A clan-name in Ts'oo. It originated from the K'ueh-hia, mentioned in the Chuen appended to II. xi. i. V. ix. 3; IX. xxv. 8; xxvii. 2; X. v. 2.

(1) A roof. VI. xiii. 5. (2) **瓦屋**, a place in the royal domain,—in the pres. dia. of Wei-ch'uan, dep. K'ao-fung. I. viii. 6.

**展** *shan*  
**展輿**, the name of a viscount (though not so designated in the text) of K'eu. X. i. 8.

(1) The name of a prince of Ts'oo. IX. xx. 5. (2) **履綸** (the reading of Kung and Kueh in I. ii. 5), the name of a great officer of Ko (紀).



## THE 46th RADICAL. 山

山  
shan

(1) A mountain, a hill. VIII. v. 4 (梁山). (2) In VIII. xv. 9. 山 appears as if it were the name of a great officer of Sung; but it is an abbreviation for 子山, the designation of the officer intended. (3) 山戎 the Hill Jung, is another name for the 北戎 or northern Jung. III. xxx. 7.

岸  
gan

長岸, a place in Ta'oo, the scene of a battle between Ta'oo and Woo,—in the pres. dia. of T'ang-too, dep. T'ao-p'ing, Gan-hway. X. xvii. 6.

崇  
ts'ung

A small State, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Tein,—in the pres. dia. of Hoo, dep. Se-gan, Shen-se. VII. i. 13.

崔  
ts'ui

A clan-name in Te'v. VII. x. 5: VIII. xviii. 14: IX. i. 3; xxiv. 3; xxv. i. 2.

崩  
pung

(1) To fall down. Used of a land-slip. V. xiv. 3: VIII. v. 4. (2) To die. The term appropriate to narrate the death of a king. I. iii. 3: II. xv. 2; et al.

昌  
s'ang

A city in what was a kind of neutral territory between Ch'ing and Sung. XII. xiii. 1.

## THE 47th RADICAL. 州

州  
chow

(1) A small State, held by K'ang, —in the pres. dia. of Gan-k'w, dep. Te'ing-chow. II. v. 9. Its ruler appears as a duke, and visits the court of Ts'ao, apparently abandoning his own State, which was then absorbed by K'c (杞).

蒲  
pu

(2) In names. 州吁,—see 吁. 州蒲, the name of a marquis of Tein. VIII. xviii. 2. 密州,—see 密. 州仇,—see 仇. (3) In names of places. 平州, a city of Ts'v,—in the pres. dia. of Lau-woo, dep. T'ao-gan. VII. i. 6. 舒州, also a city of Ts'v,—in the pres. dia. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. XII. xiv. 3, 2. 州來, a city of Ta'oo,—in the pres. Show Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hway. VIII. vii. 7: X. xiii. 12: XII. ii. 5. 陽州,—a city on the borders between Loo and Te'v, in the pres. dia. of Tung-p'ing, dep. T'ao-gan. X. xiv. 5.

巢  
ch'au

(1) To build nests in trees. X. xxv. 3. (2) A State, lying between Woo and Ta'oo,—in pres. dia. of Ch'au, dep. Len-chow, Gan-hway. VI. xii. 4: IX. xxv. 10: X. xxiv. 8. The lords of Ch'au were earls, but their surname is unknown. (3) The name of a great officer of Sung. XII. vi. 10: xii. 5; xiv. 9.

## THE 48th RADICAL. 工

巫  
woo

The name of a prince of Ch'ing. IX. v. 3.

## THE 49th RADICAL. 己

己  
ts'ie

A calendaric stem-character. I. iii. 1: II. xlii. 1; et passim.

巳  
ts'ie

A calendaric branch-character. I. iii. 1: II. xlii. 1; et passim.

巴  
pa

A considerable State, the name of which remains in the dia. so called of dup. Ch'ung-k'ing, Sze-ch'ueo, its lords were K'ee, and had the title of viscount. VI. xvi. 8.

## THE 50th RADICAL. 巾

帥  
shuei

To lead. I. ii. 3; iv. 5: V. i. 9; xxvii. 4; et passim.

子帛

子帛,—see 子

帝丘

帝丘,—see 丘

師

(1) A army, a force. I. ii. 3; iv. 5: II. xlii. 1; et passim. (2) 京師, the capital. See 京. (3) In names. 益師, a prince of Loo, I. i. 7. 偃師,—see 偃. 偃師, an internundus of Ch'ia. X. vii. 4.

幣

Pieces of silk,—offered in contracting a marriage. III. xxi. 8: VI. ii. 8: VIII. viii. 5. Offered to a recently married wife. III. xxiv. 6.

## THE 51st RADICAL. 干

干

A clan-name in Ch'ia. X. viii. 4.

平

(1) Peace, friendship. I. vi. 1. To make peace. VII. xv. 2: XI. x. 1: XII. xv. 7. To reconcile. VII. iv. 1. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Tein, X. x. 5; 2d, of a duke of Sung, X. xi. 1; 2d, of an earl of Ts'ao, X. xviii. 4; 4th, of a marquis of Ts'ao, X. xxi. 1; 5th, of an earl of K'v, X. xxiv. 7. (3) 平國, the name of a marquis of Ch'ia. VII. x. 8. (4) In names of places. 平州,—see 州. 平陽, a city of Loo,—in pres. dia. of Siu-t'ao, dep. Tse-nan. VII. viii. 11. 平丘,—see 丘.

年

(1) An year. I. i. 1; ii. 1; et passim. (2) In the phrase 有年 to have a



good or plentiful year. II. iii. 10; VII. xvi. 4. (7) The name of a prince of T'v'e, I. vii. 4; II. iii. 9.

## THE 520 RADICAL. 𠂔.

幽

A city of Sung,—in pres. dia. of K'aon-shing, dep. Kwei-tih. III. xvi. 4; xxvii. 2.

A great officer of Sung. X. xxxii. 4; XI. i. 1.

## THE 576 RADICAL. 𠂔.

庚

(1) A calendaric stem-character. I. ii. 4; III. 3, 6; II. x. 1; *et passim*. (2) The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. iii. 12, 13. We have also 庚輿 the name of a viscount of K'ou. X. xxiii. 3.

庚其—see 其.

庶

(1) A small State of which little is known,—in the pres. dia. of Chuh-shan, dep. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. VI. xvi. 6. (2) 舒庸, a State held by Yenz, descendants of K'ou-yauu,—in the pres. dep. of Leu-chow, Gan-hwuy. VIII. xvii. 14.

Stables. III. xxi. 1.

庶

An ancestral temple. V. xv. 10; VI. vi. 8. 太廟, the temple of the duke of Chow in Loo. II. ii. 4; V. viii. 4; VI. ii. 8; VII. viii. 3.

A granary. II. xiv. 4. See 御.

廩

廩谷如一—see 谷.

The name:—1st, of an earl of T'v'ou. VIII. xii. 4; 2d, of a marquise of T'v'ou. X. xiii. 2; xxi. 5.

## THE 54TH RADICAL. 廐.

廐

廐. Descriptive somehow of the ducal stables in Loo. III. xxix. 1.

The name of a great officer of T'v'ou. IX. xxv. 8; xxvii. 2.

## THE 56TH RADICAL. 弋.

弋

To put to death, to murder;—the term appropriated to the death of a ruler by a subject, or of a father by a son. I. iv. 2; II. ii. 1; III. viii. 5; xii. 3; VI. i. 10; xiv. 9; xvi. 7; xviii. 3; VII. ii. 4; iv. 3; x. 8; VIII. xviii. 2; IX. xxx. 1; xxvi. 1; xxix. 4; xxx. 2; xxxi. 7; X. xiii. 2; xiv. 2; xxvii. 2, 10; XI. xiii. 5; XII. vi. 8; xiv. 10.

## THE 57TH RADICAL. 弓.

弓

弗

弘

弟

弱

張

強

(1) A bow. XI. viii. 16; ix. 3. (2) The name of a great officer of Loo. IX. xxx. 6; X. ii. 2; iii. 2; v. 6; vi. 8; vii. 3; ix. 1; x. 3; xi. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 2. Not. II. x. 8; V. xxvi. 2; VI. xiv. 7; xvi. 1.

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing. XII. vii. 3.

A younger brother. I. vii. 4; II. xiv. 3; *et al.*

The name of a small State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Wei (隗).—in the pres. dia. of K'e-shwuy, dep. Hwang-chow, Hoo-pih. V. v. 6.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Sung. IX. vi. 2; 2d, of a great officer of T'v'e. X. i. 2; xi. 7.

The name of a great officer of T'v'e. X. xxix. 1; xxxii. 4; XII. vi. 4.

The name:—1st, of a prince of Loo. I. v. 7; 2d, of a great officer of Sung. XI. x. 12; xi. 1; 3d, of a great officer of Wei. XI. xii. 4; xiii. 4; xiv. 12; XII. x. 8.

## THE 59TH RADICAL. 彪.

彪

彭

彭

彭

The name of a marquis of Tsin. X. x. 4.

(1) 彭生, the name of a great officer of Loo. VI. xi. 2; xiv. 3. (2) In names of places. 彭衙, a place, probably, in T'v'ou,—acc. to T'ou Yu, in the pres. dia. of Pih-shwuy, dep. Tung-chow, Shen-se. VI. ii. 1. 彭城, a city of Sung,—in pres. dia. of Tung-shan, dep. Sen-chow, K'ang-soo. VIII. xviii. 5; IX. i. 2.

## THE 60TH RADICAL. 徐.

徐

徐

徐

徐

The name of a State, whose lords were viscounts, with the surname of Ying (嬴).—in the pres. Sze Chow, Gan-hwuy. Sze was occupied by tribes of the Jung in the early part of the Chow dynasty. A chief is said to have usurped the title of king, and to have been put to death by king Muh, who reconstituted the State. III. xxvi. 4; V. iii. 3; VI. i. 7; X. iv. 2, 4; *et al.*

(1) To get. XI. ix. 2. (2) 得臣, the name:—1st, of a great officer of T'v'ou, who lost the battle of Shing-puh, V. xxviii. 6; 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-san clan in Loo. VI. iii. 1; ix. 3; xi. 6; xviii. 5.



從  
tsung

To accord with, to be favourable. In the phrase 不從, used of the result of divination as adverse. V. xxxi. 3; VIII. x. 2; XI. vii. 2; ix. 2.

御  
ya

(1) In II. xiv. 4 we have the phrase 御廩, meaning the granary connected with the ancestral temple, in which the grain grown in the field said to be cultivated by the ruler was stored. 御 is, perhaps, =docal, that which was specially connected with (the duke). (2) In names 御寇—see 寇 御說, the name of a duke of Sung. V. ix. 1.

To return. VI. viii. 6; VII. iii. 2; X. ii. 4; et al.

復  
fuh  
復  
fou

Again. In the phrase 復入—see 入. 復歸 denotes the return to his dignity and position by a prince who has been in exile or degraded for a time. II. xv. 5; V. xxviii. 2, 10, 21; VII. xvi. 3; IX. xxvi. 3; et al.

徵  
ching

In names. 徵舒, an officer of Ch'iu. Head of the Hsia family. VII. x. 8. 徵師—see 師.

## THE 61st RADICAL. 心

心  
shin

In a name:—大心. See 大.

忌  
ki

In a name:—何忌. See 何.

快  
kuai

The name of an officer of Choo. X. xxvii. 6.

忽  
huh

The name of an earl of Ch'ing, from whom the text strangely withholds his title. II. xi. 6; xv. 3.

恆  
hang

(1) Constant, regular. 恆星, the regular stars. III. vii. 2. (2) The name of a great officer of T'ao. XII. xiv. 2.

恢  
hwei

意恢, a prince of K'ou. X. xiv. 6.

息  
shih

The name of a great officer of T'ao. V. x. 3.

惠  
hwei

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Loo. I. i. 4; 2d, of a marquis of T'ao. VII. x. 10; 3d, of a marquis of Ch'iu. XI. iv. 6; 4th, of an earl of T'ao. XII. ix. 2; 5th, of an earl of Soeh. XII. x. 10.

惡  
yoh

(1) The name:—1st, of a great officer of Wei. IX. xxvii. 2; xxviii. 2; 2d, of another officer of Wei, unless there be an error in the text. X. i. 2; 3d, of a marquis of Wei. X. vii. 5. (2) 惡曹, the name of a place, situation unknown. II. xi. 1.

悼  
tau

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei. IX. xvi. 1; 2d, of a viscount of Choo. X. i. 10; 3d, of a baron

of Hoo. X. xix. 3; 4th, of an earl of T'ao. X. xxviii. 1; 5th, of a viscount of T'ang. X. xxvii. 6; 6th, of an earl of K'ou. XI. iv. 10; 7th, of a marquis of T'ao. XII. x. 7.

意  
yeh慶  
ching意  
yeh懷  
hwei懷  
hwei懷  
hwei

In names. 意如—see 如意 恢—see 恢

(1) A clan-name in T'ao. IX. xxvii. 6; xxviii. 1; xxviii. 6; X. iv. 5. (2) The name of a great officer of K'ou. III. xxvii. 6; V. xxi. 7. (3) 慶父, the name of a prince of Loo, a son of Duke Huan, and ancestor of the Chung-shan family. III. ii. 2; xxvii. 6; IV. ii. 5.

(1) The name of a prince of Loo. X. xii. 8. (2) 厥懋—see 厥

The honorary or sacrificial title of a marquis of Ch'iu. XI. viii. 12.

## THE 62d RADICAL. 戈

戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu戊  
wu

A calendaric stem-character. I. ix. 2; II. i. 1; III. xi. 2; et passim.

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. iii. 3; x. 3; et passim. (2) The name of a minister of Sung. IX. xv. 1; X. i. 2.

(1) The name of a great officer of Wei. XI. xiv. 1. (2) To guard a territory. V. xxviii. 2; IX. v. 9; x. 9.

The name appropriate to designate the wild tribes of the west; but we find Jung in many different quarters. I. ii. 1, 4; III. xviii. 2; xxi. 4; xxiv. 6; xxvi. 1, 2; et al.

Specially, we have:—the 山戎, in III. xxx. 7; xxxi. 4.—another name for the 北戎, or northern Jung. VI. viii. 5;

雒戎, who had their seat in the pres. dep. of Ho-nan; the 茅戎, who had their seat in the pres. dia. of Ping-tuh,

K'uei chow, Shan-se; 陸渾之戎, who were removed by Tsin from their earlier seat in dia. of Tan-hwang, dep. Gau-se, Kan-suh, to the pres. dia. of Kong,

dep. Ho-nan, X. xvii. 4; 戎蠻, a tribe in the pres. Joo Chow, Ho-nan; and the 姜戎, said to be a branch of the Jung of Luh-t'wan. V. xxviii. 3.

(1) To settle, to pacify. II. ii. 2. (2) Also written 郕, a city of Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow.

II. vi. 2; III. xxx. 2; IX. xv. 3, 4; et al.

(3) 成周—see 周. (4) The name:—1st, of a prince of Sung. VIII. xv. 9; 2d, of a duke of Sung. X. x. 5; 3d, of an earl of K'ou. XI. iv. 5; 4th, of a baron of Hoo. XII. xiii. 2; 5th, of a great officer of Wei. XII. xvi. 2. (5) A clan-name in T'ao. X. xii. 6. (6) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marchioness of Loo. VI. v. 2; ix. 13; ix. 13, 2d, of a



marquis of Loo, (who gives the title to Book VIII.), VIII. xviii. 15; 3d. of an earl of Ts'ao, IX. xix. 6; 4th. of a viscount of Tsang, X. iii. 3.

(1) **我** *me*, II. xviii. 5; III. ix. 6; V. xv. 3; XII. viii. 2; *et al.* (2) **錫我**

the name of a baron of Hsu, VII. xvii. 1.

**畀我**, an officer of Choo, IX. xviii. 3.

To kill;—the term appropriate to the murder of a ruler by a person of another State, VII. xviii. 4.

A city of Wei.—in the pres. dia. K'ao Chow, dep. Ts'ing, Ch'ing, VI. i. 9; VIII. xv. 3; IX. ii. 6, 9; v. 7; *et al.*

To fight a battle, II. x. 4; xii. 9; V. xv. 13; xvii. 3; VIII. ii. 2; *et al.*

Called also **戲童**. A city of Ch'ing, —in the pres. dia. of Fan-shway, dep. K'ao-fung, IX. ix. 5.

A small State, held by Tsze (子), —in the pres. dia. of K'ao-shing, dep. Kwei-tih, I. x. 6.

# THE 83rd RADICAL. 戶

Place. **王所**, the place where the king was, V. xxviii. 10, 17.

A city of Ch'ing.—in the pres. dia. of Yuen-woo, dep. Hwao-king, III. xxiii. 10; VI. vii. 8; xv. 10; xvii. 4; VII. ix. 7; 9; VIII. xvi. 14; X. xxvii. 4.

# THE 84th RADICAL. 手

**承** *shing*, a city of Sung.—in the pres. dia. Say Chow, dep. Kwei-tih, VI. xi. 2.

A place, the situation of which has not been determined, II. xi. 7.

The name of a prince of Ch'ao, X. i. 2; viii. 19.

The name of a place, said to be unascertained; but it is probably the same as **剡**, *et al.* XI. iii. 5.

The name:—1st. of a great officer of Tsai, VIII. viii. 6; 2d. of a great officer of Wei, VIII. xvii. 1; IX. xiv. 3.

An officer of K'ao, V. i. 9.

An officer of Loo, I. ix. 3.

(1) Prisoners and spoils of war, III. xxii. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The name:—1st. of a duke of Sung, III. xii. 3; 2d. of an earl of Ch'ing, V. xxii. 2. (3) **捷**

**菑**, the name of a claimant of the State of Choo, VI. xiv. 7.

# THE 86th RADICAL. 攴

To change, VII. iii. 1; VIII. vii. 1; XI. xv. 2; XII. i. 3. Always in connexion with circumstances which made it necessary to change the bull for sacrifice.

To send away, to banish, VII. i. 5; X. viii. 9; XII. iii. 7.

On account of:—after the word it governs, IX. xxx. 2.

To relieve, to succour, III. vi. 1; xviii. 3; IV. i. 3; V. i. 2; vi. 3; *et al.*

The name of the son of King-foo, the first of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan in Loo, V. xv. 4; VI. i. 9, 11; ii. 4; vii. 10; viii. 6; xiv. 8; *et al.*

To defeat, I. a. 3; V. xxviii. 3. **敗**

**績**, to suffer a great or disgraceful defeat, II. xiii. 1; III. ix. 6; xxviii. 1; V. xviii. 3; *et al.*

**不敢**—*not*.

The honorary title of a marchioness of Loo, VII. viii. 3.

# THE 87th RADICAL. 文

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st. of a marchioness of Loo, III. xvii. 2; 2d. of a marquis of Tsai, the famous duke Wan, V. xxxiii. 4; 3d. of a marquis of Loo, giving the title of Book VI, VI. xviii. 4; 4th. of an earl of Ts'ao, VII. xiv. 5; 5th. of a marquis of Tsze, VII. xvii. 3; 6th. of a duke of Sung, VIII. iii. 5; 7th. of an earl of K'ao, X. vi. 4; 8th. of a viscount of Loo, XI. iv. 13.

# THE 88th RADICAL. 斗

**北斗**—*see* **北**.

# THE 89th RADICAL. 斤

The name:—1st. of a baron of Hsu, XI. xi. 1; 2d. of one of the chiefs of the K'ao clan in Loo, XI. vi. 4, 7; viii. 13; XII. i. 1; iii. 4, 6.

(1) New, VIII. iii. 4. To repair, III. xxix. 1. **新作**, to repair and enlarge.

V. xi. 1; XI. ii. 1. (2) **新臣**, the name of a baron of Hsu, V. ix. 2. (3)

In names of places. **新鄭**, a city of Ch'ing.—in pres. dia. of Mei, dep. K'ao-fung, V. vi. 2. Another city of the same name in Sung.—in pres. dia. of Shang-



k'ow, dep. Kwei-tih, VI. xiv. 4. 新

築 a place in Wei, scene of a battle between Wei and T'ao.—in pres. dia. of Wei, dep. Ta-ming, VIII. iii. 2.

斷 斷道 a place in Tain.—in pres. dia. Terin Chow, Shan-se, VII. xvii. 5.

### THE 70th RADICAL. 方

方 A quarter or region. 東方 the eastern quarter of the heavens. XII. xii. 10.

於 (1) 於餘丘.—see 丘 於 越.—see 越 It is difficult to give any explanation of the 於.

施 The name of an officer of T'ao, X. x. 2.

族 The name of a viscount of T'ao, VII. xviii. 5.

### THE 71st RADICAL. 无

既 Completely. Found in descriptions of a total eclipse of the sun, II. iii. 4; VII. viii. 8; IX. xxiv. 4.

### THE 72d RADICAL. 日

日 (1) The sun. 日有食之, the sun was eclipsed. I. iii. 1; II. iii. 4; xvii. 8; III. xviii. 1; xxv. 3; xxvi. 5; xxx. 8; V. v. 8; xii. 1; xv. 5; VI. i. 2; xv. 5; VII. viii. 8; x. 3; xvii. 4; VIII. xvi. 4; xvii. 11; IX. xiv. 2; xv. 5; xx. 8; xxi. 5, 6; xxii. 1; xxiv. 4, 7; xxvii. 8; X. vii. 4; xv. 4; xvii. 2; xxi. 4; xxii. 10; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 7; XI. v. 1; xii. 8; xvi. 9; XII. xiv. 5. (2) A day. VIII. iii. 4. We may translate it by *day*, or by *sun*, in VII. viii. 10; XI. xv. 12.

旱 Drought; to be suffering from drought. V. xxi. 3; VII. vii. 4.

昃 The sun declining to the west; in the afternoon. XI. xv. 12.

昌 昌間 a district in Lo, perhaps taken from the name of a mountain;—probably in pres. dia. of Sze-chow, dep. Yen-chow, X. xxi. 8.

星 A star, the stars. III. vii. 2 (6ia). 星

孛 a comet.—see 孛

春 In spring. I. i. 1; II. i. 1; III. i. 1; at passion.

昭 (1) The name of a marquis of T'ao, V. xxvi. 2. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of an earl of T'ao, V. vii. 7; 2d, of a baron of Hou, VII. xvi. 3; 3d,

of a viscount of T'ao, IX. xxviii. 9; 4th, of a marquis of Tain, X. xvi. 7; 5th, of a marquis of Lo, who gives its title to Book X, XI. i. 4; 6th, of a marquis of T'ao, XII. iv. 10.

Thus,=the same, V. xvi. 1.

是  
時  
晉

In names of places. 時來—see 來 乾時.—see 乾

The State of Tain, a marquisate held by K'ao, descended from one of the sons of king Woo,—one of the most powerful States of the Ch'un T'ao period. The pres. depp. of T'ao-yuen and Ping-yang in Shan-se may be considered as the centre of its territory; but it reached east to the depp. of Kwang-ping and Ta-ming in Chih-le, and indeed extended much in every direction. Its capital city was first Tang (唐) in pres. dia. of T'ao-yuen; then Tain or Tain-yang, in same district; then K'ang (絳), in dia. of Yih-shang, dep. Ping-yang, which was subsequently called Yih (翼). The capital was then moved to K'ueh-yuh, still the name of a dia. in Ping-yang; retransferred to K'ang; and finally fixed at Shu-t'ao, in dia. of K'ueh-yuh, which was also called K'ang. V. v. 1; vi. 8; viii. 4; xi. 4; xiv. 7; XI. xii. 8. (5) 晉陽, a city of Tain, mentioned above, XI. xiii. 5.

晦  
景

The last day of the moon. V. xv. 10; VIII. xvi. 8.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of T'ao, IX. xxx. 8; 2d, of an earl of Tain, X. vi. 2; 3d, of one of the kings of Chow, X. xxii. 5; 4th, of a marquis of T'ao, XII. v. 8.

暴  
暨

A place in Ch'ing, VI. viii. 5.

And, with, X. vii. 1; XI. x. 12.

### THE 73d RADICAL. 日

曲

In names of places. 曲池 a place in Lo,—in the pres. dia. of K'ueh-fow, dep. Yen-chow, II. xii. 2. 河曲 a place in Tain,—near the pres. dep. city of P'oo-chow. The scene of a battle between Tain and T'ao, VI. xii. 7. 曲

沃 a city of Tain.—see 晉 IX. xxi. 7. 曲棘 a city of Suo.—in the pres. dia. of K'ao, dep. K'ao-fung, X. xxv. 8.

曲漢 a city of Wei.—in pres. dia. of P'oh, dep. Tung-ch'ang, XI. viii. 14.

旱  
昃  
昌

昌

星

孛

春

昭

昭



書  
sho  
書  
sho  
書  
sho

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'in, VIII. vi. 11; xiii. 2; ix. 8; 2d, of a great officer of T'ao, XII. xi. 1, 4.

(1) A State, an earldom held by descendants of one of king Wan's sons. Its capital was T'ao-k'uei, in pres. dia. of T'ing-t'ao, dep. T'ao-chow, Shan-tung. II. v. 9; ix. 4; *et passim*. T'ao was extinguished by Sung before the end of the Ch'un T'ao period, and the name appears as a city of Sung, in XII. xiv. 7, 2. (2)

惡曹, the name of a city, of which the situation has not been ascertained. II. xi. 1.

曼

In names. 曼姑—see 姑 曼

多

(1) To have a meeting or conference with. I. ii. 1; vi. 2; x. 1; xi. 2; XI. xiv. 5; *et passim*. This meeting or conference. V. xv. 8; XI. iv. 5; *et passim*. To be present at, to take part in. VI. i. 3; v. 3; IX. xxxi. 3; XI. xv. 11. To join,—and, with. I. iv. 5; x. 2; III. xiv. 2; VII. i. 12; *et al.* (2) The name of a prince of T'ao. X. xx. 7.

## THE 47th RADICAL. 月

月

A month. I. i. 2, 3, 4, 5; *et passim*. In VI. vi. 8, 告月—to announce the month. I. e., the first day of the month.

(1) To have. I. iii. 1. In the phrase for an eclipse,—see 日. 有疾, to fall sick. X. xxiii. 10. (2) As an impersonal verb. 有年,—see 年 有事.

有年,—see 年 有事. 有星, there was a comet. XII. xiii. 10.

(3) The name of a prince of Ts'ao. X. xi. 2.

Used constantly after 十, 二十, 三十, in specifying months and years.

十有一, the eleventh, 二十有

二, the 22d. I. i. 6; ii. 7; iii. 7; *et passim*.

The designation of an officer of the court. VI. i. 3. Such at least is the account of the character given by Too Yu and Kung Ying-tah.

(1) The first day of the moon. I. iii. 4; III. xxv. 3; xxvi. 3; xxx. 5; *et passim*.

視朔, to give audience to ministers on the first day of the moon, and arrange for the business of the month. VI. xvi. 2.

(2) The name:—1st, of a marquis of Wei, II. xvi. 5; III. vi. 3; xxv. 3; 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in, VI. xiii. 2.

The name of a sacrifice. 三望 to offer the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey. Spoken of the marquises of Lo; but what those objects were is not fully settled. V. xxxi. 3; VII. iii. 2; *et al.*

朝

chao

(1) A clan-name in Ts'ao. X. xv. 2.

(2) The name of a royal prince. X. xxiii. 5; xxvi. 8. (3) 朝歌 appears in XI.

xiii. 6 as a city of Ts'in, which had appropriated it after Wei changed its capital to T'ao-k'uei. Before that, it had been the chief city of Wei; and before the Chow dynasty, it was the last of the capitals occupied by the sovereigns of the Shang dynasty—in the pres. dia. of K'uei, dep. Wei-hway, Ho-nan.

朝

chao

To come or go to court;—whether to the royal court, or to that of one of the feudal States. I. xi. 1; *et passim*.

朝公, to pay a court visit to the duke. III. xxiii. 7. 來朝 is frequent, meaning

—to come to the court of Lo. In V. v. 2, 來朝其子—came and presented her son at our court. The term is applied also to a ruler's solemnly presenting himself in his ancestral temple. VI. vi. 8.

## THE 75th RADICAL. 木

木

mo

Trees. 木冰, the trees were all over ice. VIII. xvi. 1.

未

wei

(1) Not yet. IX. vii. 10. (2) A calendaric branch-character. I. iii. 8; x. 4; II. i. 4; *et passim*.

夷

yi

夷末—see 夷

札

chah

(1) The name:—1st, of a royal prince, VII. xv. 5; 2d, of a prince of Woo, IX. xxii. 8.

朱

shu

The name:—1st, of a viscount of Kou, VIII. xiv. 1; 2d, of a marquis of Ts'ao, X. xxi. 6.

村

tsu

盧村, a place, probably in Sung, the situation of which is not further ascertained. VIII. xxiii. 14.

李

li

(1) A plum tree. V. xxiii. 12. (2) 橋李, a place in Woo,—in pres. dia. of K'uei-hing, dep. K'uei-hing, Cheh-keang. XI. xiv. 5.

杏

xing

北杏—see 北

杞

qi

A State, whose lords were Szas, descendants of the line of the great Yu. They must originally have been dukes; but in the Ch'un T'ao period we find them now with the title of marquis, now with that of earl, and again with that of viscount. In the Ch'un T'ao period K'uei appears as one of the eastern States, between Ts'ao and Kou. In the Ch'un on V. xiv. 1, we find the marquis of Ts'ao, with the States, walling Yuan-ling, in the pres. dia. of Ch'ang-loh, dep. T'ing-chow. Its capital before that is supposed to have been Shou-yu, in pres. dia. of Gan-k'uei, also in T'ing-chow; but as that belonged to the State of Chow (州), up to the 5th year of duke Ilwan (See the note on II.

望

wang



v. 9), we cannot tell where K'e had its capital in the east in the time of duke Yin. The first lord of the State was invested by king Woo with a portion of the dep. of K'an-fung in Ho-nan, having as his principal town Yung-k'ew, (雍丘) in the pres. dia. of K'e in that dept. When and how his descendants moved away to the east I have not been able to discover. In the 29th year of duke Ssang we find the capital of K'e once more in the dia. of Gan-k'ew. I. iv. 1: II. ii. 5, 7; et passim.

(1) Eastern. IX. viii. 6; et al. (2) 東國.—see 國.

The name of a minister of Ts'ao. VIII. xliii. 14: IX. i. 3; II. 9; xlv. 4; xxv. 1, 1.

(1) The name of a marquis of Ch'in. III. i. 3. (2) 林父, the name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'in. VII. ix. 3; xii. 3: III. 12. 3d, of a great officer of Wei. VII. vii. 9; xiv. 2; xv. 10: IX. ii. 6, 9; v. 4; et al. (3) 裴林, a place in Ch'ing.—in pres. dia. of Sui-ch'ing. dep. K'an-fung. (4) 裴林.—see 裴.

杵白, the name:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'in. V. xii. 4; 2d, of a duke of Sung. VI. xvi. 7; 3d, of a marquis of Ts'ao. XII. v. 4.

The name of a great officer of Loo. II. xi. 7.

A place.—in the pres. dia. of Yili. dep. Yen-chow. Tso Yu says that it belonged to Ts'ao; others with more probability assign it to Sung. IX. x. 1; XII. vi. 5.

(1) A city in Ts'ao.—in pres. dia. of Tung-o. dep. T'ao-gan. III. xlii. 4. Another city belonging, probably, to Wei.—in pres. dia. of Ta-ming. IX. xix. 13. (2) 柯陵, a place in Ch'ing, with situation otherwise undetermined. VIII. xvii. 2. (3) 祝柯, a city of Ts'ao.—in pres. dia. of Chang-ts'ing. dep. T'ao-gan. IX. xix. 1.

The name of a marquis of Ch'in. XI. viii. 3.

柏舉, the scene of a battle between Woo and Ts'ao.—probably in pres. dia. of Ma-ching. dep. Hwang-chow. Hoo-pih. XI. iv. 14.

女栗, a place, the situation of which is not ascertained. VI. vi. 5.

根牟, probably the principal town belonging to one of the E tribes of the east.—in pres. dia. of E-shway. dep. E-chow. VII. ix. 6.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Wei. I. v. 2; 2d, of a marquis of Ch'in. II. v. 2; 3d, of a marquis of Ts'ao. II. xii. 10; 4th, of a marquis of Loo, which gives its title to Book II. II. xliii. 8: III. i. 6; et al.; 5th, of one of the kings of Chow. III. iii. 3;

6th, of a marquis of Ts'ao, the famous duke Hwan. V. xviii. 5; 7th, of an earl of K'e. IX. vi. 3.

(1) An earldom, held by Ying.—in the pres. dia. of Han-shing. dep. Tung-chow. Shen-se. Leang was extinguished by Ts'in in the 19th year of duke Ho. V. xix. 8. (2) A mountain, probably in the same district and department.

VIII. v. 4. (3) 梁丘.—see 丘.

(4) 溴梁, a city.—in pres. dia. of Ts'ao-yuen. dep. Hwan-k'ing. IX. xvi. 2.

Plum trees. V. xxxii. 12.

(1) A city of Loo.—in pres. dia. of Wan-shang. dep. Yen-chow. IX. xvii. 4.

(2) 桃丘.—see 丘.

Baifera. III. xxiv. 1.

(1) To abandon, to throw away. IV. ii. 6. (2) 棄疾, a prince of Ts'ao, afterwards king. X. xi. 3; xiii. 3.

裴林.—see 林.

A place in Loo.—in pres. dia. of Yu-ts'ao. Yen-chow dep. I. v. 1.

(1) A city ceded by Ts'ao to Loo.—in the pres. dia. of Fei-shing. dep. T'ao-gan. VIII. iii. 9. (2) In names of other places.

大棘.—see 大. 曲棘.—see 曲. 赤棘, a place in Ts'in, not otherwise determined. VIII. i. 3.

A great officer of Ts'ao. VI. ix. 12.

(1) One of the largest and most powerful States of the Ch'an Ts'ao period. Its lords were Mei (華), and said they were descended from the ancient emperor Chuen-k'ueh. At first they had their principal city in Tan-yang 丹陽.—in the pres. dia. of Kwei-chow. dep. E-ch'ang. Hoo-pih. Not long before the beginning of the Ch'an Ts'ao period, the ruling viscount assumed the title of king, and moved his capital to Ying (郢), a few miles from the pres. dep. city of King-chow, from which a temporary change was made to a city called Juh (郢). Ts'ao extended its territory in every direction, till at last, long after the Ch'an Ts'ao period, it was extinguished by Ts'in. V. i. 6; xv. 2; et passim. (2) 楚宮, the Ts'ao palace, built by duke Ssang in Loo. IX. xxxi. 3. (3) 楚丘.—see 丘.

雍榆, a city of Ts'in.—in the pres. dia. of Ssang. dep. Wei-hway. Ho-nan. IX. xlii. 9.

東  
杼  
林

杵

柔  
祖

柯

柳  
柏

栗  
根

桓

梁

梅  
桃

柳

棄

裴

棠

棘

椒

楚

榆



業 *geh* The name of a baron of Hsu. VI. v. 7.

極 *geh* A small State, an attached territory of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Yu-tue, dep. Yen-chow. I. ii. 3.

樞 *ging* Pillars. III. xxiii. 2.

射 *shay* An archery court. VII. xvi. 2.

榮 *ying* A clan-name in Chow. III. i. 6; VI. v. 1.

樂 *leh* Music, musicians. X. xv. 2.

長 *ch'ang* 樛, a place near the capital of Tsin. IX. iii. 3.

秦 *ch'ing* 秦, a place in Woo,—in the pres. dis. of Ch'ao, dep. Loo-chow, Gan-hung. XII. xii. 3.

樛 *ch'ing* 李—see 李

李 *li* A city of Ch'ing,—in the pres. Ch'in Chow, dep. K'ao-fung. V. i. 7.

(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VIII. vi. 11; viii. 2; ix. 8; xvi. 5; IX. i. 2; *et al.* (2) A clan-name in T'ao. X. x. 2.

# THE 76th RADICAL. 欠

欠 *ts'ieh* To halt, to rest for a time. III. iii. 5; viii. i. 2; 4; xix. 2; VI. x. 7; *et al.*

款 *ku'ian* The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'in, afterwards marquis, V. viii. 4; viii. 1; xxviii. 13; 2d, of an earl of North Yen, X. iii. 7.

歌 *ko* 朝歌—see 朝

# THE 77th RADICAL. 止

止 *ch'ih* (1) The name:—1st, of a great officer of T'ao, IX. xxix. 5, 10; 2d, of a prince of Hsu, X. xix. 2. (2) 首止, a city of Wei,—in the pres. Sui Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. V. v. 4, 5.

正 *ch'ing* First. Always in specifications of 正

月 *ch'ing* the first month. I. i. 1; *et passim.* (1) The name of a minister of Tsin. IX. xxvii. 2; X. i. 2. (2) A clan-name in Chow. I. iii. 8. (3) The honorary or sacrificial title:—of an earl of T'ao, X. xiv. 4; of a marquise of Loo, earlier than the Ch'ao T'ao period, VIII. vi. 2; X. xv. 2. (4) 武文, a place in Ch'ing,—in pres. dis. of Tung-ming, dep. Taming. II. xii. 7.

歷 *leh* 適歷, a city of Tsin, not otherwise determined. X. xxx. 7.

歸 *kuai* (1) To return, to go back,—with various degrees of significance. 以歸.

—see 以. 復歸—see 復. In VII. xvi. 2, and VIII. v. 1, the subject is of a divorced wife returning to Loo. (2) To restore; to send back. VI. xv. 4, 11; VII. x. 2; VIII. viii. 1; XI. v. 5; *et al.* (3) To carry to, to render up. V. xxviii. 10; VIII. xv. 4; XII. iv. 6. (4) To send to, to present. I. i. 4; III. vi. 2; VI. v. 1; ix. 13; XI. v. 2; xiv. 10. 1; viii. 2 may also be thus explained, or—to surrender. (5) To go to be married;—either as the wife, or as other member of the harem. I. ii. 5; vii. 1; II. ix. 1; III. i. 7; *et al.* In III. vii. 1, the word is used of a widow going to the place where her husband had died to continue the sacrifices to him. (6) The surname of a marchioness of Loo. X. xi. 4, 8. (7) In names. 歸父, the name:—1st, of a great officer of T'ao, V. xxxiii. 2; 2d, of a grandson of duke Chwang, belonging to the Tung-mun clan, VII. x. 10, 13, 16; xiv. 6; xv. 1; xviii. 6. 2. 歸生, the name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, VII. ii. 1; iv. 3; 2d, the grandson of one of the marquises of T'ao, IX. xxvii. 2.

# THE 78th RADICAL. 歹

死 *ts'ieh* To die. Used of a bull. VII. iii. 1.

殂 *ch'ih* A great officer of Wei. IX. i. 2; II. 5; xvi. 7.

殲 *ts'ieh* To be slaughtered. III. xvii. 2.

# THE 79th RADICAL. 殳

段 *ts'ieh* The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, I. i. 3; 2d, of a grandson of an earl of Ch'ing, IX. xxix. 5.

殺 *shat* To kill, to put to death. I. iv. 6; III. v. 1; *et al.* Applied to vegetation. V. xxxiii. 12; XI. i. 6, where 殺, which, perhaps, is the true reading, ought to be found,—in XII. iv. 1.

殲 *ts'ieh* A dangerous defile, the scene of a great defeat of T'ao by Tsin, in pres. dis. of Yang-ning, dep. Ho-nan. V. xxxiii. 8.

毀 *ts'ieh* To pull down. VI. xvii. 5.

# THE 80th RADICAL. 母

母 *mu* 甯母—see 甯. 虞母 (母) a viscount of T'ang, XII. xi. 5.



## THE 81st RADICAL 比

**比** *pe* (1) The name:—1st, of a prince of T'ao, XI. i. 12; xiii. 2, 3; 2d, of an earl of Szech, XI. xiii. 3. (2) **合比** *me*

**合**

**比蒲**, a place or district in the south of Loo, X. xi. 5; XI. xiii. 3; xiv. 14. A city in the western borders of Loo, not otherwise determined. XII. v. 1.

## THE 82d RADICAL 毛

**毛** *mao* A small State in the royal domain, whose lords were earls,—in the pres. dia. of E-ch'ang, dep. Ho-nan. VI. i. 5; ix. 7; VII. xv. 5; X. xxvi. 8.

## THE 83d RADICAL 氏

**氏** *shih* (1) Having such and such a surname. Thus we find it after the surnames of ladies, I. ii. 7; II. iii. 4, 5; xviii. 1; VI. iv. 7; *et al.* (2) Having such and such a clan-name, and denoting the Head of the clan, I. iii. 3, 4; VII. x. 5. (3) **英氏**, a small State, held by Yena, descendants of Kao-yau,—in the pres. Luh-gan Chow, one of whose districts is still called Ying-shan, Gan-huy. V. xvii. 1. (4) **潞氏**, a tribe of the Red T'ieh,—in the pres. dia. of Loo-shing, dep. Loo-gan, Shan-se. VII. xv. 8. (5) **甲氏**, another tribe of the Red T'ieh,—in pres. dia. of Ke-t'ieh, dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. VII. xvi. 1. (6) **五氏**—see **五**

## THE 84th RADICAL 水

**水** *shue* Water. **大水**, there were great floods. II. i. 5; xiii. 3; III. xxiv. 7; VII. x. 14; VIII. v. 5; IX. xxiv. 6. **渚水**, the K'oh water, a stream which ran through Choo. IX. xix. 4; XII. ii. 1.

To ask for. I. iii. 5; II. xv. 1; V. xxxi. 5; VI. ix. 1.

**江** *kyang* A small State, whose lords were Yings,—probably in the pres. dia. of Ching-yang, dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. V. ii. 4; iii. 4; iv. 5; VI. iii. 4, 7; iv. 3.

**池** *chi* **黃池**, a place in Wei,—in the pres. dia. of Kuang-t'ze, dep. K'ao-fung. XII. xiii. 3. **曲池**, a place in Loo,—in the pres. dia. of K'uei-fow, II. xii. 3.

**汶** *wen* **汶陽田**, a district of Loo, lying north of the river Wan,—in the pres. dia. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. VIII. ii. 7; viii. 1.

**沃** *wo* **曲沃**—see **曲**

**沂** *yi* **沂西田**, the lands on the west of the E, a river which gives its name to the pres. dep. of E-chow. XII. ii. 1.

**沈** *shin* A small State, whose lords were K'ei, with the title of viscount,—in the dep. of Joo-ning, Ho-nan. VI. iii. 1; X. iv. 2; v. 8; XI. iv. 2.

**沓** *tsap* The name of a place, the situation of which has not been ascertained. VI. xiii. 6.

**沙** *sha* (1) The name of a place,—in the pres. dia. of Yun-shing, dep. Ta-sing, Chih-le. XI. vii. 5. It is called **瑣** in the

Chuen. (2) **沙鹿**, a hill, near the above

**沙**. V. xiv. 3. **沙** should probably be

pronounced so. (3) **沙隨**, a city in Sung,—in pres. dia. of Ning-ling, dep. Kwei-t'ih. VIII. xvi. 8; IX. xxii. 4.

**河** *ho* (1) The Ho or Yellow river. X. xii. 4; xiii. 11. (2) **河陽**, a place belonging to Tsin,—in pres. dia. of Mang, dep. Hwa-k'ing, Ho-nan. V. xxviii. 16.

(3) **河曲**—see **曲**.

The name of a river in Sung. V. xxii. 4.

**泓** *hung*

**治** *chi* To exercise.

**治兵**—see **兵**.

**泉** *tsuen* (1) **翟泉**, a place in Chow,—in

pres. dia. of Luh-yang, dep. Ho-nan. V. xix. 3. (2) The name of a tower in

the capital of Loo. VI. xvi. 3. (3) **蜎**

**泉**, a place in Loo, not otherwise deter-

mined. X. v. 6. (4) **狄泉**, a fortified

place outside the wall of the capital of

Chow. X. xiii. 8. 7 i. q. (1).

A stream flowing through Loo into the

Sze. III. ix. 3.

A clan-name in Chin. VII. ix. 13.

(1) Probably the same as **桃** q. v.

III. xviii. 1; V. xxv. 7. (2) A city in

Ts'ao,—in the pres. Puh Chow, dep.

Ts'ao-chow. V. viii. 1; XI. xiii. 9.

To deepen. III. ix. 8.

**浮來**—see **來**.

To go and superintend. V. iii. 6; VI. vii. 2; X. vii. 3; XI. xi. 4.



**淮** *huai* The river Hwai. **淮夷**—see **夷**.  
A city on the Hwai,—in pres. Sze Chow,  
Gan-hway. V. xvi. 5.

**淵** *yuen* (1) **澶淵**, a city of Wei,—in pres.  
K'as Chow, dep. Ta-ming. IX. xx. 2;  
xxvi. 5; xxi. 9. (2) **蛇淵**, the name  
of a park of Loo,—in pres. dis. of Pei-  
shing, dep. Tso-nan. XI. xiii. 2.

**清** *ching* (1) A city of Wei,—in pres. dis. of  
Tung-o, dep. Yen-chow. I. iv. 3. (2)  
**清丘**—see **丘**.

**渠** *ch'ue* (1) The name of a city in Chow, used  
as a clan-name. II. iv. 2. (2) **渠蔭**,  
a place in Sung, not otherwise determin-  
ed. XI. xv. 7.

**溫** *wen* A State in the royal domain, held by  
K'uei (己), with the title of viscount,—  
the pres. dis. of Wan, dep. Hwai-king.  
But in the time of duke Yin, we find Wan  
given by the king to Ch'ing. Subsequently  
it was re-constituted as a State, and then  
extinguished by the T'eh in the 10th year  
of Ho. Afterwards it came into the  
possession of Tsin. V. x. 2; xxviii. 10.

A clan-name in Ch'ing. X. xxv. 2; XI.  
vi. 1; x. 10.

**游** *yü*  
**渾** *hun* **陸渾**, the name of a tribe of the  
Little Jung. VII. iii. 4; X. xvii. 4.

**渙** *huan* **渙梁**—see **梁**.

**滅** *mieh* To extinguish, to put an end to. Applied  
to the overthrow of States, when the  
ruling House was displaced, and the State  
sacrificed to its ancestors abolished. III.  
x. 4; xiii. 2; V. xii. 2; xvii. 2; xxv. 1;  
et al. The term is applied to the taking  
of a city, in V. ii. 3; but that was in  
connexion with other measures against  
the State to which it belonged. It is  
also applied to the overthrow and death  
of individuals in X. xxiii. 7.

The name of a marquis of Ch'in. X.  
viii. 2. Also of a prince of Loo. III. iii. 1.

**滑** *hwa* A small earldom, held by Kuei—in pres.  
dis. of Yen-mo, dep. Ho-nan. It was  
extinguished by Tsin in the time of duke  
Ho; but we find it subsequently belong-  
ing to Tsin. III. xvi. 4; V. xx. 4; xxxii.

1. **滑** in III. iii. 5 is probably the  
capital of this State, though Tso Yu gives  
it as a city of Ch'ing.

(1) A small State, whose lords were  
Kuei, marquises at first, but subsequently  
only viscounts,—in the present dis. of  
T'ung, dep. Yen-chow. I. vii. 2; III. xvi.  
4; et passim. (2) The name of an earl  
of T'ao. X. xiv. 2.

A city of Choo. IX. xxi. 2; XI. xv. 14.

**漆** *ts'ik*  
**渚** *ch'ue* See **水**.

**潘** *pan* The name of a marquis of T'ao. VI. xiv.  
3. On p. 264 this character is printed  
**潘**, and so many good editions give it.  
But no such character is to be found in  
the K'ang-he dictionary.

A place somewhere in Loo,—probably  
in the south-west of Yen-chow. Sept. I.  
II. 1.

**潞氏**—see **氏**.

To scatter, to disperse. Used of the  
people's abandoning their superiors. V.  
iv. 1; VI. ii. 1; X. xxix. 3.

(1) **潞澤**, a city,—probably the  
same as **沙澤**; see **沙**. (2) **雞澤**,  
a city of Tsin,—in the pres. dep. of  
K'uang-p'ing. Chih-le. IX. iii. 5.

**澶淵**—see **淵**.

A river. See on the Shuo, III. i. Pl. I.  
20. III. xviii. 2. It was part of the bound-  
ary between Loo and T'ao. Hence we have  
**魯濟**, the country on the Loo side of  
the T'ao. III. xxx. 6. **濟西田** is a  
name for a tract on the west of the river.  
V. xxxi. 1; VII. i. 5; x. 2.

**濤塗**—see **塗**.

A city of Choo. X. xxxi. 6.

(1) The name of a city of Ch'in, near  
the river Puh. I. iv. 6. (2) **城濮**—  
see **城**. (3) **曲濮**—see **曲**.

A place near the river so named, be-  
tween Loo and T'ao. II. xviii. 1.

## THE 85th RADICAL 火

To be set on fire. VII. xvi. 2.

To take fire;—suddenly, and as if by  
the act of Heaven. II. xiv. 4; III. xx. 2;  
V. xx. 3; VIII. iii. 4; IX. x. 1; xxx. 3;  
X. ix. 3; xviii. 2; XII. iii. 3; iv. 8.

To offer the winter sacrifice in the an-  
cestral temple. II. viii. 1, 3.

To burn,—to hunt, burning the country  
to drive the animals from their covert.  
II. vii. 1.

(1) The impersonal verb,—there is,  
was, &c. no. III. vii. 3; xviii. 5; VIII.  
1. 3; IX. xxviii. 1. (2) In names. **無**,  
**駭**, a prince of Loo. I. ii. 3; vii. 10.

**無知**, a son of the ruling House of  
T'ao. II. viii. 5; ix. 1. **無野**, a mar-  
quis of T'ao. VII. ix. 7. **無咎**—see



咎 無平—**平** (平) A city  
of K'ou of K'ou, VII. xv. 7.

Honorary title of the second duke of  
Loo, long before the Ch'iu-T'ang period.  
XI. i. 6.

The name of a great officer of T'ao. X.  
xii. 6.

There were two States called Yen.—the  
Southern Yen, which appears simply as  
Yen, a small satrapy, held by Keih  
(姑)—in the pres. dia. of Keih, dep.  
Wei-hway, Ho-nan, II. xii. 3; and the  
Northern Yen,—see 北.

Name of a marquis of Wei. Y. xxv. 1.  
2.

The name:—1st, of a great officer of  
Tsin. VIII. viii. 3, 10, xv. 10; 2d, of a  
prince of T'ao. IX. xx. 3.

### THE 87th RADICAL. 父

父  
fo

(1) Used after the clan-name, and  
being the designation. II. viii. 2; xv. 1.

(2) Forming part of the designation. 1.  
1. 2. 儀父. II. ii. 1. (孔父) (3)

In names. 考父, a marquis of T'ao.  
I. viii. 4. 祿父, a marquis of T'ao.

II. xiv. 6. 慶父—**慶** 茲父,

a duke of Sung. V. xxiii. 2. 處父, a

great officer of Tsin. VI. ii. 3; iii. 7; vi.

4. 行父, a grandson of Ke-yew the

ancestor of the Ke-sun clan in Lo. VI.

xi. 2, 3; xv. 1, 9; xvi. 1; *et supra*. His

death is recorded in IX. v. 13. 鄭父,

a great officer of Tsin. VI. ix. 6. 甲

父, a great officer of Tsin. VII. i. 3. 林

父, 1st, a great officer of Tsin. VII. ix.

8; xii. 3; 2d, a great officer of Wei. VIII.

vii. 9; xiv. 2; *et supra*. The last notice of

him is in IX. xxvi. 1. 歸父, 1st, a

minister of T'ao. V. xxiii. 2; 2d, a grand-

son of duke Ch'uang of Lo, the Kung-

tsen Soy, and styled Tzu-k'ou (子家).

VII. x. 10, 13, 16; xiv. 6; xviii. 6, 8. (4)

In names of places. 武父—**武**.

雞父, a place in T'ao,—in present

Shou Chow, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hway.

X. xxiii. 7. 黃父, another name for

黑壤 in III. vii. 5;—see 壤. X. xxv. 3.

### THE 89th RADICAL. 犛

犛  
feng

A viscount of Tsin. XI. xiv. 3.

牙  
ya

### THE 92d RADICAL. 牙

A son of duke Hsuan of Lo. III. xxii. 3.

牛  
niu

### THE 93d RADICAL. 牛

The cow kind. Always masculine.—  
a bull. VII. iii. 1; VIII. vii. 1; XI. xv. 2;  
XII. 4, 3.

(1) A small attached State,—in pres.  
dia. of Lo-woo, dep. T'ao-gan, II. xv. 3;  
V. v. 3. (2) 牟婁, a city of S'ue,—  
in pres. dia. of Chao-shing, dep. T'ing-

chuw, I. iv. 1; X. v. 4. (3) 根牟,—  
see 根. (4) 牟夷,—see 夷.

see 根. (4) 牟夷,—see 夷.

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see 根. (4) 牟夷,—see 夷.

牡  
mu

牡丘—**丘**

(1) 蟲牟, a city of Ch'ing,—in pres.

dia. of Sung-yow, dep. K'uo-fung. VIII.

v. 7. (2) 虎牟, a city of Ch'ing,

held for a time by Tsin,—in pres. dia. of

Sao-shway, dep. K'uo-fung. IX. ii. 9; x. 9.

In a name. 仇牧—**仇**

A victim, an animal to be used in

sacrifice. III. xxv. 3, 5; XII. 3. V. xxi.

3; VI. xv. 3; IX. vii. 2.

A viscount of Chao. IX. xvii. 1.

A city of Wei,—probably in pres. dia.

of Seun, dep. Wei-hway. XI. xiv. 7.

祁犁, an officer of Sung. XI. vi. 3.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

A great officer of Tsin. VIII. xi. 2; xvi.

14; xvii. 13.

狄  
dik

### THE 94th RADICAL. 犬

(1) The general name for the wild

tribes of the north. III. xxvii. 7; IV. ii.

7; V. viii. 4; x. 2; xiii. 1; xiv. 4; X. i. 6.

We have 赤狄, the Red Tribe, in VII.

iii. 6; iv. 4; xv. 3; xvi. 8; and 白狄,

the White Tribe, who occupied about the

pres. dep. of Yen-gan, Shou-se, in VII.

viii. 6; VIII. ix. 11; IX. xviii. 1. (2) 狄

泉—**泉**

A viscount of K'ou. XII. xiv. 3.

A viscount of K'ou. XII. xiv. 3.

A viscount of K'ou. XII. xiv. 3.

A viscount of K'ou. XII. xiv. 3.

A viscount of K'ou. XII. xiv. 3.

A viscount of K'ou. XII. xiv. 3.

狂  
kuang

(1) A clan-name in Tsin. VI. vi. 7.

(2) 令狐—**令**

(1) To hold the winter hunting. II.

iii. 1; III. iv. 7; XII. xiv. 1. (2) To

hold a court of inspection. Used of the

king. V. xxviii. 17.

Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

Used of the king. V. xxviii. 17.

狐  
hu

狩  
shou



**猛** *māng*  
A son of king King of Chow. In X. xxii. 7, & 2, he is mentioned as **王猛**, Mang, the king, but he died so soon after his father that he can hardly be said to have reigned.

Still, but still. V. xxxi. 3; VI. vi. 8; VII. iii. 2; viii. 4; VIII. vii. 4.

**猶** *yū*  
A marquis of Tsai. VIII. x. 3.

**獲** *huò*  
To take, to capture; to be taken. V. i. 9; xv. 10; X. xx. iii. 7; et al.

**獵** *liè*  
A great officer of Tsao, grandson of one of its marquises. XII. iii. 7.

**獻** *xiàn*  
(1) To present; to exhibit. I. v. 4; III. xxxi. 4; V. xxi. 6. (2) The honorary or sacrificial title.—1st. of a marquis of Wei, IX. xxix. 9; 2d. of an earl of Ch'ing, XI. ix. 4. (3) **獻舞**, a marquis of Tsao. III. x. 5.

### THE 96th RADICAL. 玉

**王** *wáng*  
King, the king. I. i. 1; iii. 1; II. viii. 6; V. v. 4; et passim. Often **王** is preceded

by **天**, meaning the king by the grace of Heaven, the king *de jure*. See **天王**.

**子**, king's son.—see **子王城**.—see **城王**.—see **室王**. (2) **王臣**, a duke of Sung. VI. vii. 3.

**玉** *yù*  
Jade. **寶玉**.—see **寶**.

An earl of Ts'ao. V. vii. 5.

(1) The name:—1st. of a prince of Wei, V. xxx. 3; 2d. of a royal prince, IX. xxx. 5. (2) **邾瑯**, a city of Choo, taken and fortified by Lo,—in pres. Tsao-chow, dep. Yen-chow. XII. xi. 1.

A great officer of Sung. XII. vii. 1; ix. 2; xii. 4.

(1) A viscount of Choo. III. xxviii. 2. (2) **瑯瑯**.—see **瑯**.

A *peu*, the round jade-taken of rank. II. i. 3.

A marquis of Ts'ao. IX. xix. 5.

### THE 98th RADICAL. 瓦

**瓦** *wǎ*  
(1) The name of a minister of Ts'ao. XI. iv. 14. (2) A city of Wei,—in pres. dia. of Hwah, dep. Ta-ning. XI. viii. 7.

**瓦屋**.—see **屋**.

A place in Ts'ao,—in pres. dia. of Leih-shing, dep. Ts'ao-nan. V. xviii. 3.

### THE 100th RADICAL. 生

**生** *shēng*

(1) To be born. II. vi. 5. To be produced;—of insects. VII. xv. 2. (2) In names. **終生**, an earl of Ts'ao. II. x. 1.

**寤生**.—see **寤申生**, a prince of Tsai. V. x. 1. **彭生**.—see **彭**.

**歸生**.—see **歸陽生**, a marquis of Ts'ao. XII. vi. 7; x. 3.

### THE 101st RADICAL. 用

**用** *yòng*

To use. III. xxiv. 6; xiv. 3, 5; xxx. 3; VI. xv. 5; VIII. xvii. 8. —to institute. XII. xii. 1. To use the occasion;—**一遂**, and thereon, V. viii. 5. To put to death and use as a victim,—of human beings. V. xix. 4; X. xi. 2.

**安甫**.—see **安**.

See **寧**.

### THE 102d RADICAL. 田

**田** *tián*

Fields or lands. We have **許田**, certain lands of Lo, parted with to Ch'ing by a bargain,—in the pres. Hen Chow, K'ao-fung, II. i. 3; **濟西田**.—see **濟**; **汶陽田**.—see **汶**; **龜陰田**, a part of the **汶陽田**, so named from their lying on the north of mount Kwai, XI. x. 5; **鄆東田**, lands on the east of the K'oh (See **水**). XII. ii. 1; **沂西田**, lands lying west of the **沂** (See **沂**). XII. ii. 1. **田賦**, a certain contribution levied for military purposes from the lands. XII. xii. 1.

(1) A calendaric stem-character. II. viii. 2; xii. 3. (2) A buff coat;—used for a certain number of soldiers armed with buff-coats. VIII. i. 4. (3) **甲父**.—see **父**.

(4) **甲氏**.—see **氏**.

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. iv. 2; II. ii. 1; et passim. (2) A marquisate, held by K'angs, whose capital was Shai (謝),—in Nan-yang dia. dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. It appears to have been absorbed by Ts'ao in the 6th year of duke Chwang, and thenceforth appears as a city of Ts'ao, X. iv. 2; xi. 2. (3) A clan-name in Ch'ing. V. vii. 3. (4) The name:—1st. of a marquis of Ts'ao. VII. xvii. 2; 2d. of a prince of Ts'ao, IX. ii. 10; 3d. of another great officer of Ts'ao,

**甲** *jiǎ*

**申** *shēn*



X. v. 2; 4th. of a great officer of Wei, X. xxii. 4; 5th. of another marquis of Tsao, XII. xi. 1; of a third great officer, a prince, of Ts'oo, XII. xiii. 5. (5) In names: 申生—see 生 宜申—see 宜. The fifth or lowest title of nobility:—baron. I. viii. 5; V. iv. 12; *et seqs.*

男  
界  
留  
畝  
疆

(1) To give to. V. xxviii. 4. (2) 界

我—see 我

(1) A prince of Chin. X. viii. 3. (2)

留吁—see 吁

A name;—a Chinese serf. VII. xv. 3.

To lay out the boundaries of lands. X. I. 3.

The 104th RADICAL. 疒.

疾

(1) Illness. 有疾, to be taken ill.

X. xxiii. 1a. (2) In names. 去疾

—see 去 and 去 棄疾—see 棄

A prince of Sung. IX. xxvi. 6.

癘

THE 105th RADICAL. 癘.

癸

A calendaric stem-character. II. xi. 2; III. viii. 3; *et seqs.*

The name:—1st. of a prince of Ch'ing. IX. v. 2; x. 8; 2d. of a great officer of Ts'oo, X. xix. 4.

THE 106th RADICAL. 白.

白

(1) White. 白狄—see 狄. (2)

小白—see 小. (3) 白羽, called

also 析, a city of Ts'oo,—in pres. dia. of Tang, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. In X. xviii. 3, Hsü appears moving its capital to this place.

皇

(1) A city of the royal domain,—in pres. dia. of Kung, dep. Ho-nan. X. xxii. 7. (2) A clan-name in Sung. XII. vii. 1; ix. 2.

THE 107th RADICAL. 皿.

孟

A city of Sung,—in the pres. Sui Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. V. xxi. 4.

(1) The name:—1st. of an officer of Tsin, IX. xxi. 4; xxiii. 7, 12; 2d. of another officer of Tsin, IX. xxi. 5.

盈

益

(1) A descendant of Chou. XII. vii. 4; viii. 4; x. 1. (2) 益師—see 師.

盜

益姑—see 姑

A robber, ruffian. IX. x. 8; X. xx. 3; XI. viii. 16; XII. xiii. 11; *et al.*

盟

To covenant, a covenant. I. i. 2, 5; ii. 4, 6; iii. 7; vi. 2; II. i. 4; *et passim.*

盧

葛盧, the chief of one of the wild tribes of the east. V. xxix. 1, 5.

THE 108th RADICAL. 目.

盾

The name of a minister of Tsin. VI. viii. 5; xiv. 5; VII. i. 11; ii. 4; vi. 1.

瞽

Inadvertent offences. III. xiii. 1.

督

The name of a minister of Sung. III. xxi. 1.

輪

Name of an earl of Ch'ing. IX. ii. 4.

THE 111th RADICAL. 矢.

知

無知—see 無.

THE 112th RADICAL. 石.

石

(1) A stone, stones. V. xvi. 1. (2) The name of an officer of Sung. VIII. xv. 9; xviii. 5. (3) A clan-name in Wei. IX. xxi. 3; xviii. 2; xxvii. 2; xxviii. 1; XI. x. 12. Also a clan-name in Chou. XI. xiv. 2. (4) 石門, a city of Ts'oo,—in pres. dia. of Ch'ang-ting, dep. Tsen-nan. I. iii. 8.

THE 113th RADICAL. 示.

祁

祁皐—see 皐.

社

The sacrifice at the altar of the Spirits of the land. III. xxiii. 3; xxy. 3, 5; xix. 5; VI. xv. 3; XII. iv. 8.

祀

To sacrifice to. XI. viii. 15.

訪

A city and lands adjacent, originally assigned to Ch'ing, near mount T'ao,—in pres. dia. of Po, dep. Yen-chow; afterwards assigned by Ch'ing by contract to Leo. I. viii. 2, 3.

祝

祝丘—see 丘. 祝柯—see 柯.

祥

霞祥, a city of Loo,—probably in pres. dia. of Tsen-yang, dep. Yen-chow. X. xi. 6.







## THE 119th RADICAL. 米

粟  
mù  
糴  
ró  
糶  
liáo

A species of millet or maize. XI. v. 2. Perhaps it means grain generally.

To buy grain. III. xxviii. 7.

## THE 120th RADICAL. 糸

糾  
jiū

(1) 伯糾.—see 伯 (2) 糾, a prince of T'w. III. ix. 3;—called 子糾, as being the eldest, in par. 7.

紀  
jǐ

A small State, a marquissate held by Kiang, the chief city of which was in the pres. dia. of Kwang, dep. T'ing-chow, Shan-tung. It was extinguished by T'w. in the 4th year of duke Chwang of Loo. I. II. 5, 6; II. vii. 6; et al.

紅  
hóng

A tract of Loo, which it is impossible to determine with any certainty. X. viii. 5.

紀  
jǐ

The name of a great officer of Loo. IX. xxiii. 11.

納  
nà

(1) To present, to offer. III. xxii. 6; VI. II. 8; VIII. viii. 5. (2) To in-state; sometimes—in restore. III. ix. 3; V. xxy. 5; VI. xiv. 7; X. xii. 1.

終  
zhōng

終生.—see 生

結  
jié

The name:—1st, of a prince of Loo, III. xix. 3; 2d, of a great officer of Wei, XI. vii. 4; xiv. 4; 3d, of a prince of T'w. XI. xiv. 3; XII. x. 11; 4th, of a viscount of Tang, XII. ix. 9.

綏  
suí

The name of an earl of Koh. II. vii. 2.

緡  
mián

A city of Sung, in the pres. dia. of Kiang, dep. Yen-chow. V. xxiii. 1; xxvi. 7.

緣  
yuán

緣陵, a city to which the capital of K'o was moved,—in the pres. dia. of Chang-loh, dep. T'ing-chow. V. xiv. 1. see 杞

綸  
lún

履綸.—see 履

數  
shù

The name of a great officer of Tain. VI. II. 4; ix. 6; VII. xii. 4.

熟  
shù

An elder brother of a marquis of Wei. X. xx. 3.

績  
jī

Merit, service. Always in the phrase 敗績.—see 敗

緡  
mián

(1) To repeat a sacrifice on the day after its first and great celebration. VII. viii. 4. (2) A city of Choo,—in the pres. dia. of Tsow dep. Yen-chow. VII. x. 11. (3) 句緡.—see 句.

## THE 131st RADICAL. 缶

缺  
quē  
鑿  
záo  
鑿  
yāng

The name of a great officer of Tain. VI. xi. 2; xv. 7; VII. ix. 12.

The name:—1st, of an earl of Tain, VI. xviii. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Tain, VIII. xvii. 7; IX. I. 7; II. 6, 9; III. 9.

## THE 123rd RADICAL. 网

罕  
hǎn

A clan-name in Ch'ing. X. i. 2; xi. 7; XI. xv. 6.

罷  
bà

The name of a great officer of T'w. IX. xxi. 1; X. vi. 7.

驪  
lí

A prince of T'w. III. xxiv. 8.

## THE 123rd RADICAL. 羊

羯  
jiē

The name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan in Loo. IX. xxiv. 2; xxviii. 5; xix. 11.

## THE 124th RADICAL. 羽

羽  
yǔ

(1) The long feathers of a bird. As they were carried in the hand by dancers or pantomimes, we have the term used for a row of pantomimes. I. v. 4. (2) 白羽.—see 白. (3) 章羽.—see 章

翟  
dí

翟泉.—see 泉

翟  
dí

A prince of Loo. I. iv. 6; x. 2; II. iii. 5.

## THE 125th RADICAL. 老

老  
lǎo

The name of an officer of Loo. IX. xiv. 1; xvi. 7; xx. 7; xxii. 3.

考  
kǎo

(1) To finish, to complete. I. v. 4. (2) 考父.—see 父

## THE 126th RADICAL. 而

而  
ér

And.—In what in Index III. to vol. III. I have called its idiomatic use. VI. viii. 6; VII. viii. 10.

## THE 128th RADICAL. 耳

耳  
ěr

重耳, the name of a marquis of Tain. V. xxxii. 5. 諸耳, the name of a marquis of T'w. III. viii. 5.



**聘** *p'ing*  
The term used to describe a complimentary or friendly invasion,—to go on such a mission. I. vii. 4, 6; II. iii. 2; viii. 2; *et seqs.*

**聞** *min*  
To hear, to be informed. IX. xix. 9.

**聲** *shing*  
The honorary title of a duchess of Loo. VI. xvii. 2.

**聃** *tan*  
the name of a prince of Wei. XI. xiv. 1; XII. ii. 5; xvi. 1.

**聃北** *tan*—**北**  
北.

### THE 129th RADICAL. 聿

**聿** *sei*  
To pardon, to remit. III. xxii. 1.

### THE 130th RADICAL. 肉

**肯** *k'ing*  
To be willing. VII. iv. 1.

**肱** *h'ing*  
黑肱 the name of an officer of Choo. X. xxxi. 6.

**肱** *h'ing*  
The name:—1st, of a marquis of Tsao, V. xiv. 3; 2d, the name of a brother of duke Seuen of Loo. VII. xvii. 7. See on 叔.

**背** *pei*  
黑背, the name of a prince of Wei. VIII. x. 1.

**胡** *hoo*  
A small State held by Kwei (歸) viscounts,—the chief city of which was in the north-west of Ying-chow dep., Gan-hway. It was extinguished by T'oo in the 15th year of duke Ting. X. iv. 2; XI. iv. 2.

**胥** *see*  
(1) Mutually, each other. II. iii. 2.  
(2) A clan-name in Tsin. VII. i. 5; VIII. xviii. 1.

**胥** *shin*  
(1) Flesh used in sacrifice, and afterwards sent by the king to the feudal nobles of his surname. XI. xiv. 10. (2)

**鯀** *gun*  
鯀 the name of a place, site unknown. VIII. xvii. 10.

**髡** *sun*  
髡, the name of a marquis of Tsin. VII. ix. 2.

### THE 131st RADICAL. 臣

**臣** *chin*  
The name of a great officer of Sung. IX. xvii. 6. In names. We have 新臣—**新** 得臣—**得** 商臣—**商** 王臣—**王**

**臧** *tsang*  
(1) The name of a prince, afterwards marquis, of Wei. VII. xviii. 1; VII. xiv. 8. (2) 臧孫 a clan-name of Loo.

The Tsang-sun, or Tsanga, if the 孫 be omitted, were descended from a Tsang-tung, a son of duke Hsiao, who appears in the Chuen of I. v. as Tsang He-pih (臧僖伯). III. xviii. 7; VI. x. 1; VIII. i. 5; ii. 3; iv. 4; IX. xviii. 11.

### THE 132nd RADICAL. 自

**自** *tsai*  
From. II. ii. 9; III. 8; xvi. 2; xvii. 5; *et seqs.*

**皇** *tsau*  
More properly 臯 (1) 夷臯—a name; see 夷. (2) In names of places. 皇颺, a city of Ch'ing.—In the pres. dia. of Lin-ying, Hen Chow, Honan. XI. iv. 4. 臯臯—**臯**

### THE 133rd RADICAL. 至

**至** *chi*  
(1) To come to, or as far as. V. xxvi. 2; VI. viii. 6; VII. viii. 2; xvii. 6; *et al.*  
至于=until. VI. x. 4. The term is frequently used of the return of the dukes of Loo to their capital, after having been absent on business of the State, and has reference to a ceremony then performed in the ancestral temple. II. ii. 9; iii. 5; xvi. 3; xviii. 3; *et seqs.* We have the same usage in the case of great officers returning from other States where they had been kept as prisoners. X. xiv. 1; xxix. 3. There is a difficulty with VI. xv. 6. (2) The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. xvii. 13.

**致** *che*  
Apparently meaning—to complete. We have 致夫人, to complete the position of a deceased marchioness by placing her tables in the temple, V. viii. 5; and 致女, to complete the position of a daughter, who has been married three months and is acceptable to her husband, by a mission from her parents. III. ix. 5.

**臺** *tsai*  
A tower. III. xxxi. 1, 3, 5; VI. xvi. 5; xviii. 1.

### THE 134th RADICAL. 白

**白** *pie*  
杵白—**杵**

**與** *yu*  
(1) And. II. xviii. 1. (2) 與夷—**夷**

**與** *yu*  
To be present at, to take part in. X. xiii. 6.

**舉** *tsu*  
柏舉—**柏**



## THE 135th RADICAL 舌

舍  
shay

- (1) To place or lodge. VIII. xvi. 12.  
(2) The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'e, VI. xiv. 3; 2d, of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-sun clan, called 姑 by T'ao-shu, X. vii. 3; x. 5; xxiii. 1, 8; xxiv. 2; xxv. 1, 7. (2) 舍之.—see 之.

To dispense with, to disband. X. v. 1.

舍  
shoo

- (1) A small State, held by T'eng, viscounts,—in the pres. dia. of Shoo-shing, dep. Lou-chow, Gan-hway. V. iii. 8. In the Chun on VI. xii. 4, we read of the seizure of a viscount of Shoo by a general of Ts'oo, and we may suppose that Shoo was then extinguished; but we meet with a 舒蓼, in VII. viii. 7, extinguished then by Ts'oo; a 舒庸, extinguished by Ts'oo, in VIII. xii. 4; and a 舒鳩, also extinguished by Ts'oo, in IX. xxi. 8. All these are placed, like Shoo, in the same dep. of Lou-chow. They were no doubt a confederacy of small States, somehow linked together. (2) 微舒.—see 微. 追舍, a great officer of Ts'oo. IX. xxi. 6. (3) 舒州.—see 州.

## THE 136th RADICAL 舛

舞  
moo

獻舞.—see 獻

## THE 137th RADICAL 舟

般  
pan

- The name:—1st, of a son of duke Chwang, III. xxxii. 5; 2d, of a prince, afterwards marquis, of Ts'ao, IX. xxx. 2; X. xi. 2.

## THE 138th RADICAL 艮

艮  
gang

- (1) A clan-name in Ch'ing. IX. xi. 10; xxvi. 5; xxvii. 2; xxx. 7. (2) 艮夫.—see 夫.

## THE 140th RADICAL 艸

艾  
gai

- (1) The name of a hill in Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Mung-yin, dep. E-chow, I. vi. 2; II. xv. 7. (2) 艾陵, the scene of a battle between Loo and Ts'ao,—in the pres. dia. of Ts'ao-gan, dep. Ts'ao-gan, XII. xl. 4.

芻  
chow

負芻, name of an earl of Ts'ao. IX. xviii. 5.

苕  
chiao

苕丘.—see 丘. VIII. xvi. 12.

苗  
miao

Growing grain,—in the blade. III. vii. 3.

英  
ying

英氏.—see 氏.

茅  
mao

茅戎.—see 戎.

茲  
tze

(1) Name of a grandson of duke Hwan of Loo, father of the first of the Shuh-sun chiefs. V. iv. 5; v. 3; xvi. 4.

(2) 茲父.—see 父. (3) A city of Ken,—in pres. dia. of Ch'ow-shing, dep. T'ung-chow, X. v. 4.

荆  
king

(1) The earlier name of the State of Ts'oo.—see 楚. III. x. 5; xiv. 3; xviii. 3; xxviii. 3.

草  
ts'ao

Grass. V. xxiii. 12.

荀  
sunA clan-name in Ts'ao. N. x. 3; VII. ix. 8; xii. 3; VIII. ix. 1; viii. 4; et *supra*.茶  
ts'ao

Name of a marquis of Ts'ao. XII. vii. 8.

莊  
ch'ang

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of an earl of Ch'ing, II. xi. 5; 2d, of a marquis of Ch'ing, III. ii. 1; 3d, of a duke of Sung, III. iii. 2; 4th, of an earl of Ts'ao, III. xxiv. 2; 5th, of a marquis of Loo (giving its title to Book III.), IV. I. 3; ii. 2; 6th, of a viscount of Chou, VI. iv. 4.

莒  
kuA State, the name of which remains in the present Ken Chow, dep. E-chow. Its chiefs were viscounts, claiming to be descended from the prehistoric Shiao-hao, with the surname of Sze (巳) or Ying (贏). I. ii. 2, 6; IV. ii. 5; V. xxvi. 1; et *passim*.莘  
sin

A place in Ts'ao,—in the border of the pres. dia. of Joo-yang, dep. Joo-sing, III. x. 5.

菅  
kwa

A place in Sung,—probably in the south-west of the pres. dep. of Yen-chow, I. x. 8.

菑  
tze

捷菑.—see 捷.

華  
hua

(1) The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'ing, V. vii. 4; 2d, of a viscount of Chou, X. i. 5.

(2) A clan-name in Sung. VII. ii. 1; VIII. iv. 1; viii. 4; xv. 9, 10; xvi. 8; IX. i. 1; et *supra*. Instead of 華 we have

華孫 in VI. xv. 2.

P'ao. XI. i. 7.

菽  
shuk

A small State, held by Keangs, with the title of viscount,—in the dia. of Hwang, dep. T'ung-chow, Shan-tung. VII. vii. 2, 3; ix. 4; IX. vi. 8. It was extinguished in Seang's 8th year by Ts'ao.



萬  
落  
葉  
葛

- (1) An officer of Sung III. xii. 3, 4.  
(2) Danour, pantomimes. VII. vii. 4.

## 落姑—see 姑

A city of Ts'ao, to which Hsien removed its capital, in VIII. xy. 11. It was in the pres. dis. of Shih, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan.

- (1) A small walled town, held by Ying, in the present dis. of Ning-hing, dep. Kwei-tih II. xv. 5. (2) 長葛, a city of Ch'ing, in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-koh, Hsu Chow, Ho-nan I. v. 8; vi. 4.

(3) 葛盧, the name of a chief of the State of K'uei. V. xxix. 1, 5.

To bury, I. ii. 7; iii. 8; v. 2; II. v. 4; et *supra*.

## 垂葭—see 垂

## 葵丘—see 丘

The name of the spring hunting. Used for—to hold a military review, X. viii. 6; xi. 5; xxii. d.

邈除, name of a viscount of Chao. VI. xii. 3. 渠蔭, see 渠

## 樹職—see 職

- (1) A city of Wei, in the pres. dis. of Ch'ang-yuan, dep. Ta-ming, II. iii. 2; VIII. ix. 2. (2) 比蒲, see 比

## (3) 州蒲—州

## 舒蓼—see 蓼

A city of Loo, in pres. dis. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow, III. ix. 2.

- (1) A place in Loo, in pres. dis. of Sze-shui, dep. Yen-chow, I. i. 2. (2) The name:—1st. of a great officer of Tsin, VI. vii. 6; 2d. of one of the chiefs of the Chung-an clan in Loo, VII. ix. 3; xv. 7; VIII. v. 2; vi. 8; et *supra*.

A marquise, held by Kea. Its capital at first was 上蔡 which is still the name of one of the districts of Tso-ning, dep. Ho-nan. Subsequently it was moved to 新蔡 which is the name of another dis. in the same dep. In the 11th year of duke Ch'ou of Loo, Ts'ao extinguished it; and though it was soon restored, it finally became a portion of that great State. I. iv. 4; vii. 4; et *passim*.

A clan-name in Song. V. xiv. 2.

- (1) A small attached State of Sung, afterwards incorporated as a city with it. Its name remains in the dis. of Szeau, dep. Sze-chow, Kiang-soo. V. xxx. 6; VII. xii. 5; XI. xi. 1, 2; xiv. 15. (2) 蕭魚, a city of Ch'ing, in the pres. dis. of Hsu Chow, Ho-nan, IX. xi. 5.

葬  
葭  
葵  
萬  
蔭  
蔭  
蒲蓼  
蔭  
蔭  
蔭

蔡

蕭  
蕭  
蕭薄  
薛

薨

薨  
蘇  
蓮  
蘭

虎

虞  
虞  
虞  
虞

虞

虞

A city of Sung, in the pres. dis. of Shang-k'ew, dep. Kwei-tih. V. xxi. 7.

- (1) A State, in the pres. dis. of T'ang, dep. Yen-chow. In I. xi. 1, we have the marquis of Szech, but afterwards its lords appear with the title of earl only. They were Jiao (任), and claimed to be descended from Hwang-te. I. xi. 1; III. xxxi. 2; et *supra*. (2) A city of Loo, but it is not known where situated. III. xxxi. 3.

The term appropriate to narrate the death of the ruler of a State, or of his wife; but confined in the text to the decease of the marquises and marchionesses of Loo, I. xi. 4; II. xviii. 2; III. xxi. 3; xxxii. 4; IV. ii. 3; V. i. 5; et *supra*.

A clan-name in Ts'ao. IX. xxx. 1; X. vi. 7.

A State in the royal domain, in the pres. dis. of Wan, dep. Hsue-k'ing. VI. x. 6.

## See 蔭

Name of an earl of Ch'ing. VII. iii. 8.

## THE 141ST RADICAL 虍

- (1) The name:—1st. of a royal prince, VI. iii. 1; 2d. of a great officer of Ch'in, IX. xxxiii. 9; 3d. of a great officer of Ch'ing, X. i. 2; xi. 7. (2) 虎牢, see 牢.

The name (assumed by himself) of one of the viscounts or kings of Ts'ao. X. xi. 2; xii. 2.

## 處父—see 父

- (1) A city of Sung, perhaps in pres. Szei Chow, dep. Kwei-tih. II. xii. 5. (2) 虛打, see 打

(1) A small dukedom, held by Kea, descended from Chung-yung, second son of king Tsin, the grandfather of king Wen. Its chief city was in the pres. dis. of Ping-luh, Kase Chow, Shan-su. V. ii. 5; v. 9. It was extinguished by Tsin in the 3th year of duke He of Loo. (2) 鮮虞, the territory occupied by a tribe of the White Teih, whose chiefs were Kea, in the pres. dis. of Chin-ling, Chih-le. X. xii. 10; xv. 6; XI. iv. 12; v. 6; XII. vi. 2. (3) 虞母, see 母.

A city of Ch'ing, probably the chief city of the State of the Eastern Kwoh, extinguished by Ch'ing before the Ch'an Ts'ao period, in the pres. dis. of Yan-shuey, dep. K'as-fang. XI. 2.

A city of Ch'ing, probably the chief city of the State of the Eastern Kwoh, extinguished by Ch'ing before the Ch'an Ts'ao period, in the pres. dis. of Yan-shuey, dep. K'as-fang. XI. 2.







by Ts'ao. I. xi. 3; II. xv. 6; at *suppissimae*.  
(2) 許田, some lands originally granted to Loo, near the first capital of Hen. II. i. 3. (3) The name of one of the chiefs of the Tsang-sun clan in Loo. VIII. i. 3; II. 3; iv. 4.

**訾婁**—see 婁

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing. III. xvii. 1, 3.

The name of one of the chiefs of the Shuh clan in Loo. X. xxv. 3; xxiv. 3.

**詭諸**, name of a marquis of Tsin. V. ix. 5.

To beguile, to inveigle. X. xiv. 2.

Name of a prince of Ch'ing. II. xvi. 3.

**御說**—see 御

(1) In the phrase 諸侯—see 侯

(2) A city in Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Choo-shing, dep. T'ing-chow. III. xxix. 5; VI. xii. 8. (3) 諸耳—see 耳

(4) 詭諸—see 詭

A small State, whose lords were Tsao (子) and viscounts,—in the pres. dia. of Leih-shing, dep. Tso-nan. It appears in the text only once, when it was extinguished by T'ao. III. x. 6.

A city of Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Fei-shing, dep. T'ao-gan. II. iii. 6; 8; XI. x. 5; viii. 3, 7.

THE 150th RADICAL. 谷

A valley. 夾谷—see 夾

**乾谿**—see 乾

THE 151st RADICAL. 豆

The name of a great officer of Ch'in. XII. xiv. 6, 10.

THE 153d RADICAL. 豸

(1) The name of one of the chiefs of the Shuh-sun clan. IX. ii. 8; iii. 7; iv. 2; v. 3; xiv. 3; at *supp.* His death is mentioned in X. iv. 8. (2) A viscount of Hoo. XI. xv. 3.

**厥貉**—see 厥

**鯀** 鯀—see 鯀

(1) The name of one of the chiefs of the Chung-sun clan. X. ix. 4; x. 3; xi. 6; xxiv. 1. (2) 獲且—see 且

THE 154th RADICAL. 貝

The name of a prince of Tsao. IX. v. 10; vii. 8; x. 3, 8, 10; xii. 5; xiv. 6.

**負芻**—see 芻

A city of Sung,—in the pres. dia. of Ts'ao, dep. Ts'ao-chow. V. ii. 4. But this identification proceeds on the supposition of 貫's being for 貫, in which case the pronunciation should be different.

The name:—1st, of a prince of Loo, a son of duke Chwang. V. xxviii. 2; 2d, of a great officer of Wei. IX. xvii. 3; xviii. 2; 3d, of a baron of Hen. X. xix. 2; 4th, of a great officer of Ch'in. XII. xiv. 14.

(1) The name of an earl of Ch'ing. VIII. vi. 7. (2) A city of Loo,—in the pres. dia. of Pe, dep. E-chow. It was the principal city of the Ke-sun clan. IX. vii. 4; X. xiii. 1; XI. xii. 5.

To levy or collect taxes. 田賦, a certain contribution levied for military purposes from the land in Loo. XII. xii. 1.

To give to, to confer on. VIII. viii. 7.

A small State, whose lords were viscounts, surname unknown,—in pres. dia. of Shung-shing, Kwang Chow, Hu-nan. It was extinguished by T'ao, in X. iv. 6. Presents for the burial of the dead:—especially of carriages and horses. I. i. 4; VI. v. 1.

Presents or contributions of money for the burial of the dead. I. iii. 4.

THE 155th RADICAL. 赤

(1) Red. In the name 赤狄—see 狄. (2) The name:—1st, of a prince, perhaps an earl, of Ts'ao, III. xxiv. 8; 2d, of a viscount of the Jung-man, XII. iv. 6. (3) 赤棘—see 棘

THE 156th RADICAL. 走

The name of a minister of Tsin. X. ii. 1; xi. 7.

(1) The name of a city in Wei, or, acc. to others, in Ts'ao. If not identical with 垂, it was near it.—see 垂. II. i. 4.



## (2) A large State, called also 於越.

whose lords were Szes (姒), and the counts, having their principal city in the pres. dis. of Shan-yin, dep. Shann-hing, Choh-k'ang. It first appears in Tso-shu in the 5th year of duke Seuen X. v. 8; VIII. 9; xxxii. 2. 於越 seems to be an attempt to give the name of the State as it was pronounced by its own people.

A clan-name:—1st, in Tsin, VI. vii. 4; xiv. 5; VII. i. 11, 13; et seq.; 2d, in Wei, XI. xiv. 2.

A city in Loo,—in the borders of the present districts of Sun-shuey and Taw. II. xvii. 2.

趙  
趙  
趙

## THE 157th RADICAL. 足

路  
踐  
躋  
躋  
躋

Great, state. In the phrase 路寢.

—寢  
踐土—see 土.

To advance, to raise higher. VI. ii. 8.

The name of a marquis of Ch'in. II. xii. 5.

The name of a great officer of Tsin. X. xxxi. 2, 4.

## THE 159th RADICAL. 車

車  
軍  
軫  
輒

A carriage. II. xv. 4.

An army;—consisting, properly, of 12,500 men. IX. xi. 1; X. v. 1.

The name of a viscount of T'ao. XII. vi. 6.

The name:—1st, of the grandson of one of the earls of Ch'ing. IX. x. 4, 5; 2d, of one of the Heads of the Shih clan in Loo. X. xxi. 5; 3d, of a marquis of Wei. XII. xvi. 1.

To offer, to make overture of. I. vi. 1.

庚輿—see 庚 展輿—see 展

A clan-name in Ch'in. V. iv. 4; XII. xii. 2; xiv. 14. See 袁.

辛

## THE 160th RADICAL. 辛

A calendaric stem-character. I. iii. 4; III. vii. 2; et passim.

## THE 161st RADICAL. 辰

辰

(1) A calendaric branch-character. I. ii. 4; III. 5; ix. 2; xi. 4; et passim. (2) The name:—1st, of a minister of Loo, one of the Heads of the Tsang-sun clan. III. xxxiii. 7; VI. x. 1; 2d, of a brother of a duke of Sung. XI. x. 11; xi. 1; xiv. 13; 3d, of a grandson of a marquis of Tsue. XII. iv. 2. (3) 辰陵, a city of Ch'in,—in the pres. dep. of Ch'ing-show, Ho-nan. VII. xi. 2. (4) 大辰—see 大

## THE 162nd RADICAL. 追

追

(1) To follow after, to pursue. III. xviii. 2; V. xxvi. 2. (2) 追舒—see 舒

退

Retiring, backwards. V. xvi. 1.

送

To escort. II. iii. 6; III. i. 3.

逃

To slink away, to make one's escape from. III. xvii. 3; V. x. 6; IX. vii. 11.

逆

To meet. Generally used of officers going to meet a bride for their ruler, or for the king. I. ii. 5; II. iii. 3; viii. 8; III. xxiv. 3; V. xxv. 3; VII. i. 2; VIII. xiv. 2; IX. xv. 2. To meet one's own bride. III. xxvii. 5; VI. iv. 2. To go to meet a coffin. VIII. ix. 1.

遄

The name of a viscount of Shun (沈). X. xxi. 1.

速

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Wei. V. xxvi. 1; 2d, of a marquis of Wei. VIII. ii. 6; 3d, of one of the Heads of the Chung-sun clan in Loo. IX. xx. 1, 4; xxi. 10; 4th, of a great officer of Ch'ing. XI. vi. 1; x. 10.

遂

(1) And thereon, and then. II. vii. 6; xviii. 1; III. xix. 3; V. vi. 3; et seq. (2) A small State, held by Kwei (嬌), descendants of Shun,—in the pres. dis. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. III. xiii. 2; xvii. 2. (3) The name of a son of duke Chwang of Loo, whose descendants had the clan-names of Chung (仲) and Tung-mun (東門). V. xxvi. 5; xxvii. 4; VI. ii. 8; vi. 3; VII. i. 2, 3, 7; viii. 2, 3; et seq.

遇

(1) To meet hurriedly,—without previous agreement. I. iv. 3; viii. 1; III. iv. 3; xiii. 6; xxx. 6; xxxii. 2; et al. To meet with. II. x. 3. (2) A city in Loo, situation unknown. IX. xv. 3.

過

To pass by. V. xvi. 1.



**過** *kuo*  
The name:—1st, of a prince of Ch'in, X. viii. 7; 2d, of an earl of K'o, XII. viii. 6.

**過** *kuo*  
The name of a viscount of Woo. IX. xiv. 10.

**道** *dao*  
In names of places. **斷道**—see **善**.  
**斷善道**—see **善**.

**達** *tal*  
The name:—1st of a great officer of Wei, VII. xiv. 1; 2d, of a great officer of Ch'ing, XI. xv. 6; XII. li. 6; xiii. 1.

**適** *tek*  
**適歷**—see **歷**.

**還** *tsuen*  
To remove, to transport. Used both transitively and intransitively. III. i. 8; x. 3; IV. li. 1; V. i. 3; xxi. 7; X. ix. 2.

**還** *tsuen*  
To return. III. viii. 4; VI. xiii. 8; IX. xia. 9. Read *tsuen*, **還** should not be marked **還**.

**還** *tsuen*  
The name of a great officer of Loo, XI. xi. 4; XII. v. 3; vi. 5; xiv. 4. **子還**, the designation of a great officer of Wei, XII. xvi. 2.

# THE 163d. RADICAL 邑

**邢** *hing*  
(1) A small marquisate, held by the descendants of one of the sons of the duke of Chow. Its principal city at first was in the pres. dis. of Hing-t'ao, dep. Shan-tih, Chih-le; but it was afterwards moved to K'uei in dep. Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung. III. xxii. 7; IV. i. 2; V. i. 2, 3, 4; xix. 1; xx. 5; xiv. 1. The last passage records Hing's extinction by Wei.

**邲** *pek*  
A place in Ch'ing,—in present Ch'ing Chow, dep. K'uei-fung; the scene of a famous battle between Tsin and Ts'oo. VII. xii. 3.

**邲** *pek*  
(1) A small State, held by Tszou (曹), claiming to be descended from the ancient emperor Chun-hu. It was at first merely an attached territory of Loo, but afterwards its chiefs were advanced to be viscounts:—in pres. dis. of T'ow, dep. Yen-chow. I. i. 2; II. viii. 4; V. xix. 2, 4; cf. *supra*. (2) **小邲**—see **小邲**.

**邲** *pek*  
(3) **邲瑕**—see **瑕**.  
A small State, near Loo,—in the pres. T'ao-ling Chow, dep. Yen-chow, IX. xiii. 2.

**郁** *guk*  
**郁釐**, the name of an earl of K'o. X. xiv. 5.

**邲** *pek*  
A city of Loo,—in the pres. Tung-ping Chow, dep. T'ao-gan. It belonged to the Shih-pan clan. XI. x. 6; 7; xii. 3.

**邲** *pek*  
(1) A harder sacrifice, and to offer it. V. xxi. 3; VII. iii. 1; VIII. vii. 1, 4; x. 2; xiii. 6; cf. *supra*. (2) A city of Chow. X. xiii. 4.

**邲** *pek*  
A small State, held by earls, K'uei, descended from one of the sons of King Wan,—in the pres. dis. of Wan-shang, dep. Yen-chow. I. x. 3; x. 8; II. iii. 3; vi. 2; III. viii. 2; VI. vii. 1.

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

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**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

**邲** *pek*

A city of K'uei,—in the pres. dis. of Gan-k'ow, dep. T'ao-nan. III. i. 8. (2) A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Sze-shway, dep. Yen-chow, VI. vii. 2.

Outer suburbs. VI. xv. 12; IX. xv. 4; xix. 14; XII. iv. 7.

(1) A city of Sung,—in pres. dis. of Shing-woo, dept. T'ao-nan-chow. I. x. 4. This was called South Kaou. (2) Another city of Sung, not far from the former, and called North Kaou. It had been the chief city of a small State. II. ii. 4. (3) A viscount of Kaou is mentioned in V. xx. 2, which may possibly be the same referred to in II. ii. 4, in which case Kaou could not have been another city of Sung.

A city of Loo,—in the pres. dis. of Yu-t'ao, dep. Yen-chow. I. ix. 4; II. iv. 1; 3, 4; III. viii. 1; x. 4; xxi. 1; X. ix. 5.

The capital of Ts'oo,—see **楚**. XI. iv. 15.

A clan-name:—1st, in Tsin, VI. xi. 2; xv. 7; VII. ix. 12; VIII. ii. 9; iii. 11; xi. 2; xiii. 1; xvi. 14; xvii. 13; 24, in Ts'oo. XI. iv. 2. This character is unfortunately read in the translation as *K'uei* or *K'uei*, from its having been confounded with **邲**, formed from **邲**. **邲** and **邲** are constantly confounded together.

**邲丘**—see **丘**.

A small State, held by Sze (巳), some read **己**, K'uei, viscounts, claiming to be descendants of the ancient Shao-hou. VII. iv. 1; xvi. 3; VIII. vii. 2; viii. 10; IX. vii. 1; X. xvii. 3.

A city of K'uei,—in pres. dep. of T'ing-chow. III. i. 8.

The same as Little Choo,—see **小邲**. III. v. 3; xv. 3.

The name of a State; but where it was is unknown. III. xiv. 9.

(1) A capital. V. xvi. 1. (2) The name of a great officer of Tsin. VI. ix. 4.

A city of Loo,—in the pres. Tung-ping chow, dep. T'ao-gan. III. xxviii. 4.

A small State,—originally in the pres. dis. of Hui-huang, Nan-yang dep. Honan. Afterwards its capital was removed to Joh,—in the dis. of Lo-hing, dep. Szeang-yang, Hon-pih. After this it became an attached territory of Ts'oo, which afterwards on an emergency removed its capital to it. Ts'oo must have, before that, quite extinguished the independent existence of Joh. VI. v. 5.

A city of Wei,—in the pres. Pub-chow, dep. T'ao-nan-chow. III. xiv. 4; xv. 1; xix. 3.

A small State, held by viscounts, with the surname Yen (姪). Its chief city



was K'e-yang (啟陽)—in the pres. dep. of E-chow. X. xviii. 2.

鄆  
jun

A city of Loo.—in the pres. dia. of E-chow, dep. E-chow. But this city sometimes appears as belonging to Kien. VI. x. 8; VIII. ix. 10; IX. xii. 2; *et al.* There appears to have been another Yun in Loo.—in pres. dia. of Wan-shang. VIII. ix. 8, and perhaps some other places.

鄆  
jun

(1) A city of Ke.—in pres. dia. of Chang-yih, dep. T'ing-chow. III. ix. 8. (2) A place in Loo.—somewhere in Yen-chow dept. III. xi. 2.

鄆  
jun

A city of Wei.—in the pres. dia. of Joo-kou, Tung Chow, Kiang-soo. XII. xii. 4. It was also called 發陽.

鄆  
jun

Border, frontier. III. ix. 3; V. xxvi. 2, 5; VI. vii. 7; *et al.*

鄆  
jun

(1) A small State, an attached territory of Loo,—perhaps in the pres. dia. of Tan-shing, dep. E-chow. VIII. vi. 3. (2) 鄆陵 A city, site unknown; by some said to be the same as the preceding. X. xxvi. 4.

鄆  
jun

A city of Ching.—in the pres. dia. of Yen-ling, dept. Kuo-fung. I. i. 3. Later on, You received the name of 鄆陵 and gave its name to one of the famous battles between Tain and T'ao. VIII. xvi. 6.

鄆  
jun

A small attached State, held by Kiangs.—in the pres. Tung-ping Chow, dep. T'ao-gan. III. xxx. 3.

鄆  
jun

(1) A marquise held by Maus (曼).—probably in the pres. Tang Chow, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. II. vii. 3. (2) A city of T'ao.—in the pres. dia. of Yen-shing, Hsu Chow. II. ii. 4.

鄆  
jun

(1) A small State, held by Szes (姒), viscounts, descendants of Yu.—in the pres. dia. of Yih, dep. Yen-chow. It was extinguished by Kien in the 6th year of Chuan into the possession of Loo. V. xiv. 2; xv. 9; xvi. 3; xix. 3, 4; VII. xiii. 4; *et al.* (2) A city of Ching.—in the pres. Say Chow, dep. Kwai-tih. IX. i. 2. A place in Ching.—No more is known of it. IX. vii. 9.

鄆  
jun

(3) An earldom, held by Kuo, descended from a son of King Loo. The investiture of the first earl was in B.C. 805, and the seat of the territory was then in the present Hwa Chow, dep. Tung-chow, Shen-so. His successor moved to the east, and settled in what he called 'New Ching,' still the name of a district in K'ao-fung dep. I. i. 3; II. ii. 9; III. 7; iv. 4; x. 6; xi. 2; *et al.* (2) The name of a marquise of Wei. VII. ix. 10. (3) 鄆

鄆  
jun

父.—see 父. A place in Ching. No more is known of it. IX. vii. 10.

鄆  
jun

A city of T'ao.—in the pres. dep. of T'ao-chow. X. xx. 2.

鄆  
jun

(1) A city of Ke.—in the pres. dia. of Lin-tse, dep. T'ing-chow. III. iii. 4; xii. 1. (2) A city of T'ao.—in pres. dia. of Tung-o, dep. T'ao-gan. V. xxvi. 2.

鄆  
jun

Name of a place in Loo. V. i. 9.

# THE 164th RADICAL 酉

酉  
yü

A calendaric branch character. I. vi. 2; III. ix. 5; xxi. 2; *et passim.*

# THE 165th RADICAL 采

采  
cai

To liberate. V. xxi. 7.

# THE 166th RADICAL 里

里  
li

(1) A neighbourhood, a district. 南里.—see 南. (2) A clan-name in Tain. V. ix. 6; x. 6.

重  
chung

重耳.—see 重. 重丘.—see 丘.

野  
yü

(1) The name of a son of Duke Seang of Loo. IX. xxxi. 3. (2) 無野.—see 無. 野井.—see 井.

釐  
lin

郁釐.—see 郁.

# THE 167th RADICAL 金

金  
kin

Metal, the precious metals;—may be translated by money. VI. ix. 1.

錡  
kin

The name of a great officer of Tain. VIII. xiii. 1; xvii. 12.

錫  
sik

(1) To confer on, to give to. III. i. 8; VI. i. 5. (2) 錫我.—see 我.

鍾  
chung

(1) A clan-name to Chin. IX. xxiv. 11. (2) The name of a prince of Tain. X. i. 4.

鍾  
chung

(1) 夫鍾.—see 夫. (2) 鍾離, a city of T'ao.—in pres. dia. of Fung-yang, dep. Fung-yang, Gan-hwuy. VIII. xv. 10.

鐵  
t'ieh

And 鐵上, a hill.—in the pres. K'ao Chow, dept. Ta-ming. XII. ii. 6.

# THE 168th RADICAL 長

長  
chang

In names of places. 長葛.—see 葛. 長勺.—see 勺. 長檣.—see 檣.

長  
chang

長岸.—see 岸.



## THE 169th RADICAL 門

門  
mun

(1) A door or gate,—double-leaved. III. xxv. 5; V. xx. 1. 雉門, the name of the south gate of the ducal palace of Lo. XI. li. 1, 4. (2) To attack a gate. IX. xxv. 10. (3) 石門—see 石.

Intercalary. VI. vi. 8; XII. v. 6.

闕

昌闕—see 昌

闕

闕丘—see 丘

闕

(1) To examine the carriages of a State—to hold a military review. II. vi. 2. (2) The name of a great officer of Sung. IX. xiv. 7.

闕

A gate-keeper, a porter. IX. xxix. 4.

闕

A city of Lo, —in the pres. dia. of Wan-shang, dep. Yen-chow. II. xi. 9; X. xxii. 1.

闕

A city of Lo, —in pres. dia. of Ning-yang, dep. Yen-chow. XII. xiii. 3. 7.

闕

## THE 170th RADICAL 阜

防

(1) A city of Lo, —in the pres. dia. of Pe, dep. E-chow. I. ix. 5; III. vii. 1; xxii. 5; xxix. 5; V. xiv. 2; IX. xiii. 4; xvii. 4. (2) A city of Sung. Lx. 4. (3) A city of Keu, —in pres. dia. of Gan-k'w, dep. Ta'ing-chow. X. v. 4. To surrender. III. viii. 3. To reduce. III. xxx. 3.

防

降

(1) A place in Ta'oo, —in pres. dia. of Yen-shing, Heu Chow. Ho-nan. V. ix. 1. (2) 升陞—see 升.

降

陞

龜陰, a city of Lo, —in the borders of the present dep. of Tai-gan. XI. x. v.

陞

A marquisate, held by Kwaie (姁), claiming to be descendants of the ancient Shun. Its capital was Yuen-k'w (宛).

陞

邱, —in the pres. dia. of Hwao-ning, dep. Ch'in-chow, Ho-nan. I. iv. 4; II. 3; et passim.

陞

In names of places. 召陵—see 召

陞

綠陵—see 綠 馬陵, a city of Wei, —in pres. dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le. VIII. vii. 5. 鄆陵—see 鄆

陞

柯陵—see 柯 鄆陵—see 鄆 艾陵—see 艾

陞

陸渾—see 渾

陞

(1) A marquisate, held by Keu, —in the pres. dia. of E-shway, dep. E-chow. We hear nothing about it after this notice

陞

in IV. li. 1. (2) A city of North Yen, —in pres. dia. of T'ang, dep. Pan-t'ing, Chih-le. X. xii. 1. (3) A clan-name in Tai. VI. iii. 7; vi. 6. (4) The name: —1st, of a great officer of Wei. XI. xiv. 2; 2d, of an earl of T'ao, XII. viii. 1. (5)

下陽—see 下 陽穀—see 穀  
河陽—see 河 平陽—see 平  
汝陽—see 汝 偃陽—see 偃  
晉陽—see 晉 敢陽—see 敢  
陽生—see 生 陽州—see 州

To fall. III. vii. 2; V. xvi. 1; xxiii. 12; XL. i. 7.

(1) A marquisate, held by Keu, —in the pres. Say Chow, dep. Tih-gan, Ho-pih. V. xx. 6. (2) 沙隨—see 沙.

The honorary title of a marquis of Lo, giving its title to Book I. XI. xi. 6.

垂龍—see 垂

## THE 172d RADICAL 隹

雉

雉門—see 門

雍

(1) 衡雍—see 衡 (2) 雍丘

雍

—see 丘 雍榆—see 榆

雒

雒戎—see 戎

雞

雞澤—see 澤 雞父—see 父

雞

吾雞—see 吾 鍾離—see 鍾

## THE 173d RADICAL 雨

雨

Rain, there was rain. I. ix. 2; III. vii. 2; xxii. 6; V. li. 5; III. i. 2; 4; et al.

雨

To rain, —followed by an object. I. ix. 2; II. viii. 5; V. x. 7; VI. iii. 5; X. iii. 6.

雪

Snow. I. ix. 2; II. viii. 5; V. x. 7.

雪

A sacrifice for rain; to offer that sacrifice. II. v. 7; V. xi. 3; xiii. 4; VIII. iii. 10; vii. 8; IX. v. 5; xvi. 9; xvii. 5; xxviii. 4; X. iii. 5; vi. 6; viii. 8; xvi. 5; xxiv. 4; xxv. 1; XI. i. 5; vii. 6; 8; xxii. 6; XII. iv. 4.

雪

Hail. V. xxix. 4; X. iii. 6; iv. 1.

電

Lightning; to lighten. I. ix. 2.

電

(1) To thunder. I. ix. 2. The thunder struck. V. xv. 10. (2) To shake, to quake. In the phrase 地震—see 地.

電



青  
chung  
霜  
shang  
露  
loo  
雲  
lung

The name of a great officer of Ch'ing, IX. xl. 10; xxvi. 2; xxvii. 2; xxx. 7.

The name of a grandson of one of the marquises of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 5.

Heartbeat, V. xxxii. 12; XI. l. 7.

The name of an earl of Ts'ao, XI. viii. 5.

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'ia, VII. xii. 1; 2d, of a marquis of Ts'ao, IX. xix. 13; 3d, of a baron of Hou, IX. xxvi. 10; 4th, of a marquis of Ts'ao, X. xiii. 10; 5th, of a marquis of Wei, XII. ii. 7.

### THE 174th RADICAL 青

靖  
tang

The honorary or sacrificial title of an earl of Ts'ao, XI. viii. 11.

### THE 177th RADICAL 革

鞅  
yang

The name:—1st, of a great officer of Ts'ao, IX. xxix. 6; X. xxi. 2; *et al.*, down to XI. viii. 10; 2d, of another great officer of Ts'ao, X. xxi. 2; XI. x. 4; *et al.*, down to XII. xv. 6; 3d, of a great officer of Loo, X. xxii. 5; xxi. 2.

鞏  
gon

A place in Ts'ao,—the scene of a great battle and the defeat of the forces of Ts'ao. It was, probably, in the pres. dep. of Ts'ao, VIII. ii. 3.

### THE 178th RADICAL 韋

韓  
han

(1) A place in Ts'ao, the scene of a battle between Ts'ao and Ts'ao, in Ping-yang dep., Shao-se V. xv. 15. This place, called the plain of Han, ought to be distinguished from the State of Han, which was in Shao-se. (2) A clan-name in Ts'ao,—derived from the name of the old State, VIII. viii. 1; IX. i. 3; X. ii. 1.

### THE 181st RADICAL 頁

頃  
king  
頃  
hang

The honorary or sacrificial title:—1st, of a marquis of Ts'ao, VIII. ix. 9; 2d, of a viscount of Ts'ao, XII. iv. 11.

The name of a small State,—in the pres. dia. of Hsiao-shing, dep. Ch'iao-chow, Ho-nan, V. xvii. 2. It appears there as extinguished by Loo, but it was afterwards territory of Ts'ao.

(1) The name of an earl of Ts'ao, X. xviii. 1. (2) 須句.—see 句.

須  
su  
顧  
sun

A small State, whose lords were Kuo, and viscounts. Its chief city was, probably, in the pres. dia. of Shang-shung, dep. Ch'iao-chow, Ho-nan, V. xxv. 4; IX. iv. 7; X. iv. 2; XI. iv. 2 (extinguished by Ts'ao).

顏  
yan  
顏  
yan  
顏  
yan  
顏  
yan

Name of a great officer of Ch'ia, XII. xi. 2.

髡 顏 the name of an earl of Ch'ing, IX. vii. 10.

Name of a marquis of Ts'ao, VI. i. 10.

### THE 182d RADICAL 風

風  
fung

The surname of the rulers of Lin (任) and some other States, who claimed to be descended from the ancient Ts'ao-hao, VI. iv. 7; v. 2; ix. 13.

### THE 183d RADICAL 飛

飛  
fei

To fly, V. xxi. 1.

### THE 184th RADICAL 食

食  
shih

(1) To eat;—to nibble away, VIII. vii. 1; XII. i. 3. (2) In the phrase 日有食之, descriptive of an eclipse;—see 日.

餘  
yu

(1) 餘祭.—see 祭. (2) 於餘丘.—see 丘.

館  
guan

A lodging or reception house, III. i. 4.

饑  
ke

A famine; there was a famine, VII. x. 18; xv. 10; IX. xxiv. 13; XII. xiv. 18.

### THE 185th RADICAL 首

首  
shou

(1) The name:—1st, of a prince of Ts'ao, VIII. ii. 3; 2d, of a great officer of Ts'ao, VIII. v. 3. (2) 首止.—see 止.

### THE 187th RADICAL 馬

馬  
ma

(1) 司馬, minister of War, VI. viii. 3; xv. 3. (2) 馬陵.—see 陵.

馮  
fung

The name of a duke of Sung, III. ii. 5.

駟  
sun

(1) A clan-name in Ch'ing, XII. vii. 6. (2) Name of a prince and great officer of Ts'ao, XII. ii. 8.

駟  
sun

無駟.—see 無.



駢 *pei*  
The name of a prince of Ch'ing. IX. x. 8.

驪 *li*  
The name of a marquis of Tsin. VI. vi. 4.

Amia

THE 189th RADICAL. 高

高 *gao*  
(1) A clan-name in T'w'e. III. xxii. 5; IV. ii. 6; VII. v. 3, 5; xv. 7; VIII. xv. 10; et al. (2) 高寢.—see 寢

THE 190th RADICAL. 𡵚

𡵚 *kuo*  
(1) The name:—1st, of a viscount of Hoo, X. xxiii. 7; 2d, of a great officer of Sung, XII. iii. 5.

THE 194th RADICAL. 鬼

魃 *ca*  
The name of a great officer of Sung. XII. xiv. 7, 9.

魃 *ca*  
A clan- or sur-name in Tsin. XII. vii. 2; xii. 7. The origin of the surname is to be found in the Chuan introduced after IV. i. 3.

THE 195th RADICAL. 魚

魚 *yu*  
(1) Fish. = fishermen. I. v. 1. A clan-name in Sung. VIII. xv. 9; xviii. 5. (2) 蕭魚.—see 蕭

魯 *lu*  
The State of Loo, having for its capital K'uh-fow (曲阜), in the pres. dia. so named in the dep. of Yen-chow. It occurs in the text only in the combination

魯濟.—see 濟

魴 *fang*  
The name of a great officer of Tsin. VIII. xviii. 13; IX. xii. 3.

魴 *fang*  
The name:—1st, of a marquis of Ch'in, II. v. 1; 2d, of a duke of Sung, VIII. ii. 5.

魴 *fang*  
The name of a prince of Ch'ing. VIII. xv. 16.

魴 *fang*  
鮮虞.—see 虞

魴 *fang*  
The name of a prince of Wei. IX. xxvii. 4.

THE 196th RADICAL. 鳥

鳩 *hou*  
舒鳩.—see 舒

鸛 *guan*  
鸛鵒 the grackle. X. xxx. 3.

gah

鵒 *yu*  
A kind of Bsh-bawk. V. xxi. 1.

鵒 *yu*  
See 鵒 above.

Y'en  
K'uen

THE 197th RADICAL. 囟

囟 *loo*  
大囟.—see 大. Kuh-jang observes that this was the name given to the place by the barbarous tribes, while the Chinese called it 大原.

囟 *loo*  
(1) A city in Wei.—in the pres. K'ue Chow, dep. Ta-ming. V. xiii. 3; XI. vii. 3. (2) A place in Loo, site unknown. VI. xi. 6.

THE 198th RADICAL. 鹿

鹿 *lu*  
(1) Deer. VIII. xviii. 10. (2) 鹿上.—see 上. (3) 沙鹿.—see 沙

麋 *mei*  
(1) The name of a viscount of Ts'oo. X. i. 11. (2) A small State, ruled by viscounts. Its chief city was called 錫

穴.—in the pres. dia. of Yun, dep. Yunyang, Hoo-ph. VI. xi. 1. Some critics wrongly assign it to the dep. of Pih-ho, Hing-gan Chow, Shen-so.

Probably the red deer. III. xvii. 4.

麋 *mei*  
The female of the K'e-lin, a fabulous animal; but probably founded on some animal of the deer tribe. XII. xiv. 1.

THE 199th RADICAL. 麥

麥 *mai*  
Wheat. III. vii. 3; xxviii. 5.

THE 201st RADICAL. 黃

黃 *huang*  
(1) A city of T'w'e.—perhaps in the pres. dia. of Poh-hing, dep. Ts'ing-chow. II. xvii. 1; VII. viii. 2; XI. xii. 7. (2) A small State, held by Yings.—in the pres. dia. of Shang-shing, Kwang Chow, Ho-nan. V. ii. 4; iii. 5; iv. 5; v. 7; xi. 4; xii. 2. (3) The name of a prince of Ch'in. IX. xx. 6; xxiii. 6. (4) 黃父.—see 父 黃池.—see 池

THE 202d RADICAL. 黍

黎 *li*  
黎來.—see 來

















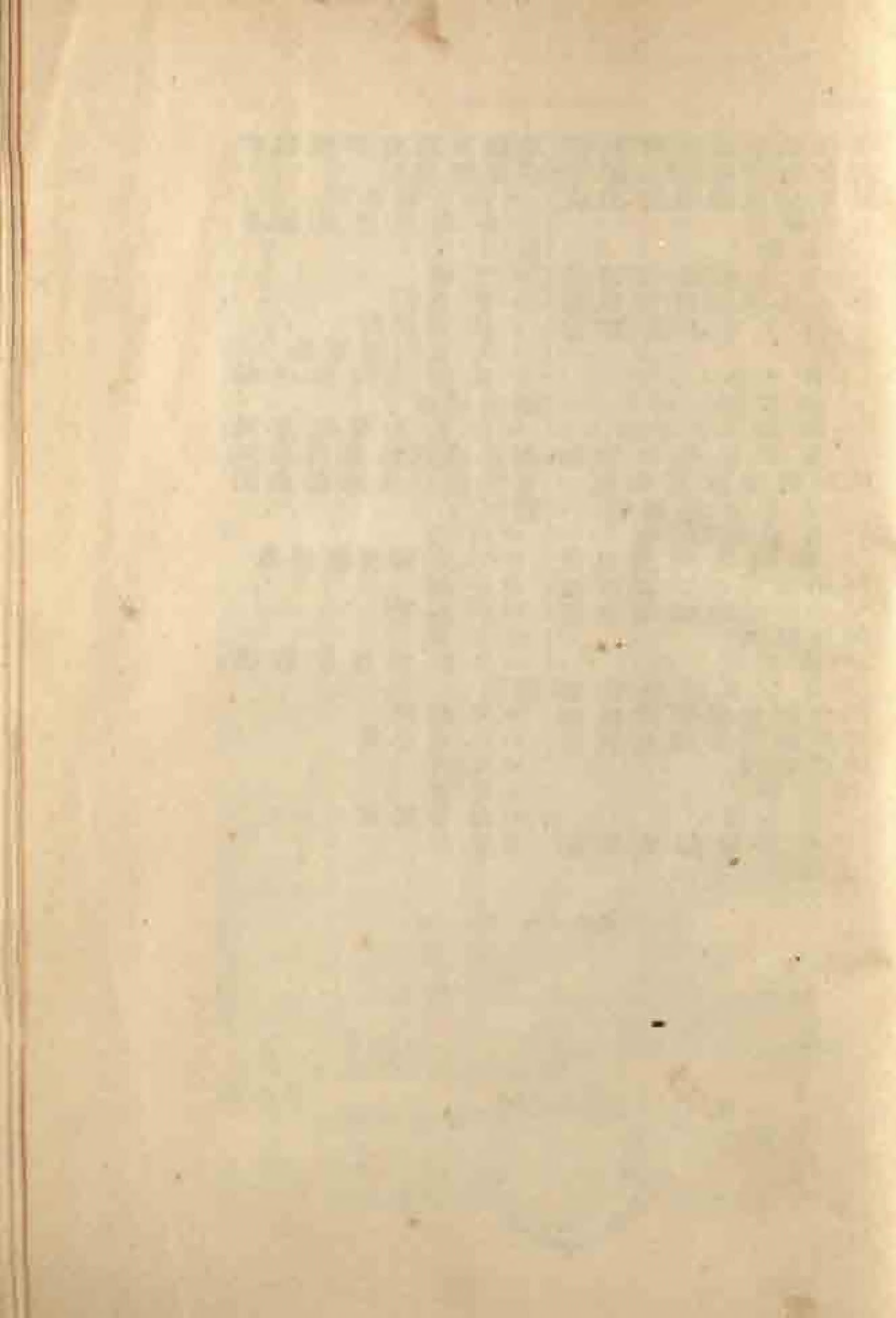




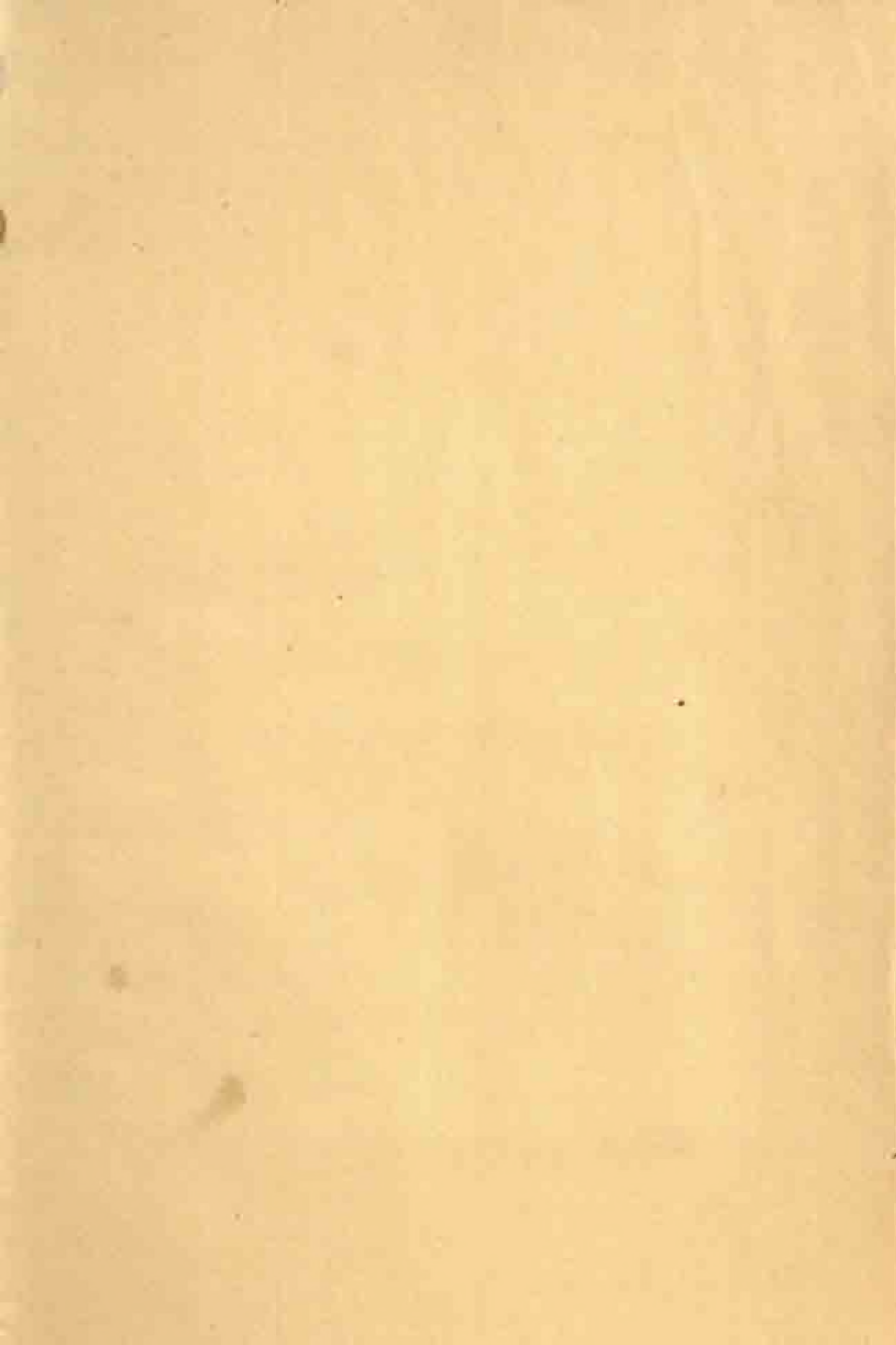


















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